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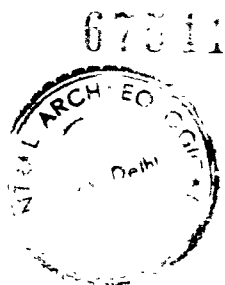
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 11, last line from bottom,—for Anapôtâ-Redḍi read Anapôta-Redḍi.

„ 15.—Cancel footnote 1.

„ 22, note 7.—for “His enemies clenched their fists in rage” read “The palms of his enemies’ hands closed together in token of submission.”

„ 31, paragraph 2, line 7 from bottom,—for Pravarasena read Pravarasêna.

„ 58.—The date of the inscription published by Dr. Fleet on this page is intrinsically wrong, but admits of an easy and certain correction. In the date, as published, the full-moon *tithi* of Kârttika is joined with the *nakshatra* Mûla (the 19th *nakshatra*); but in Kârttika the moon is full in or near Kṛittikâ (the 3rd *nakshatra*). On the other hand, an examination of native calendars for different years shows that in the majority of cases the *nakshatra* is **Mûla on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika.**¹ This observation some years ago, when I first saw the text of the inscription in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Roman text, p. 95, at once convinced me that the writer of the text erroneously must have put *suddha-puṇṇameyam* (where the word *suddha* would really be superfluous) for *suddha-pañchamiyam*. The date thus would give us for calculation the **fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, a Monday, and the *nakshatra* Mûla;** and during the period (A.D. 989-1005), to which according to Dr. Fleet the inscription must be assigned, it would be correct for **Monday, the 7th October A.D. 989, and for Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992.**

Monday, the 7th October 989, was entirely occupied by the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, and on it the *nakshatra* was **Mûla**, by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. And on —

Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika ended 20 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Mûla**, by the equal space system from 5 h. 16 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 50 m., and according to Garga for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

Which of these two days, or whether either of them, is the true equivalent of the original date, it is impossible to say at present.— F. K.

„ 59, No. 8, l. 13,—for (Pr.) read (N.).

„ 78, text line 2,—for Karabenâ- read Karabenâ-.

„ 79, l. 5,—for Karabenâ read Karabenâ.

„ 82, No. 12, text line 1,—for Dinikaputrena read Dinikapûtrena (i.e. °putrêna).

„ 101, text line 1,—for शुतिलेह्यं read शुतिलेह्यं, and for °शगरिणी read °शगरिणी.

„ 104, note 1.—for आसुख read आसुखं.

„ 111, „ 6,—for महद्वा° read महद्वा°.

„ 115, text line 73,—for सनसन्धितं read सनसन्धितं.

„ 121, l. 15,—for वार read वारं.

„ 123, l. 2 from bottom,—for left side read right side.

„ 126, note 3, l. 3,—for Balagâmi read Baligâmi.

¹ In 7 calendars out of 12 Mûla is joined with the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, and in 3 with the 4th *tithi*; in 2 (in which Kârttika is preceded by an intercalary month) Mûla goes with the 3rd *tithi*.

Page 126, note 3, ll. 5 to 12.—[Professor Hultzsch has critically edited the three Udiyāvara inscriptions quoted here (Nos. 108, 98 and 97 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) on pp. 18, 22 and 23 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX., respectively. In the light of his remarks some alterations in this note appear necessary. In numbers 97 and 98 the alternative forms Ponvulcha and Udayapura also occur. The word *nakara*, which I took to mean 'trading classes' in both these inscriptions, is taken by Professor Hultzsch as being placed in apposition to *Pombulchada* and *Udayapurada*, and as meaning 'city.' In No. 108 the attribute *Paṭṭi-oḍeyon*, which I took as applying to Śveta-vāhana, probably refers to a Śaiva priest. It was not Svētavāhana that fell in battle, but a servant of the Āluva prince Raṇasāgara, named Kāmakoḍa.—H. K. S.]

- „ 127, note 2, last line,—for *leunmolested* read *unmolested*.
- „ 128, l. 16 from bottom,—for *decidedly* read *decidedly*.
- „ 138, No. 11.—In a letter dated Nagpur, 4th October 1906, Mr. Hiranand communicated to the Editor the following extract from a letter of the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur District, to the Superintendent, Nagpur Museum, dated 15th September 1889 :—“The plate (*viz.* the plates edited on p. 138 ff) was found by Dusti Kulta, resident of **Satlama** in the Barpali Zamindari, in June 1897 (read: 1887?). He found it under a stone while he was constructing the embankment of his field near the Gandapara.” Mr. Hiranand adds :—“From this it is evident that the **Satallamā** of the inscription is the very place where the plates were found.”
- „ 147, paragraph 5,—for “**Muṭtagi** is represented as forming the eastern boundary” read “**Muṭtagi** figures among the boundaries.”
- „ 173, paragraph 2, l. 5,—for *Pushyavnddhi* read *Pushyavuddhi*.
- „ 183, l. 11,—for *southern* read *northern*.—Note the form of *rtha* in ll. 15 and 31 of the inscription.
- „ 200, l. 12 from bottom.—With *khattaka* Mr. Krishna Sastri compares the Kannada *gaddige* and the Hindi *gaddi*, ‘a throne.’
- „ 204, l. 14 from bottom.—With *āṣṭāhikā* Mr. Krishna Sastri compares the *āṣṭāhika* of the Southern Jains; see p. 137, note 4.
- „ 216, v. 37.—Regarding this verse see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 175 ff.
- „ 216, v. 42.—Mr. Krishna Sastri remarks :—“I suggest that the word *माता* be taken as an apposition referring to Yaśodā, and not independently as is done in the translation. I cannot understand how Kṛishna's splendour was *augmented* by his mother. स्वयमधिकप्रतापस्य भगवान् न ह्यन्यतस्त्वमुक्त्वायमपेक्षते.”
- „ 219, text line 2 f.—Prof. Kielhorn supplies प्रसादावाप्तगुर्जराचामंडले.
- „ 234, ll. 4 and 7.—In accordance with Vol. IX. p. 50, read **Karmāka-rāshṭra** and **Kammāka-rāshṭra** (without *ṇi*).—The same correction has to be made on p. 235, text lines 14 and 16, p. 236, ll. 14 and 17, and p. 238, l. 8 from bottom.
- „ 295, note 1, l. 7,—for *Tiruvaymoli* read *Tiruvāymoli*.
- „ 305, note 1, line 1,—for “Sudarśanāchārya who wrote” read “Sudarśanāchārya, also called Naināra, who was the son of Vāgvijaya, and who wrote”
- „ 307, l. 2.—On “**Madras Museum**” add a footnote :—“[No. 16 of Appendix A. in the *Annual Report* for 1905-06 of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle—V. V.]”
- „ 318, l. 16,—for “three verses” read “three **Sanskṛit** verses.”
- „ 318, l. 7 from bottom,—after “**The second inscription**,” insert “which is in **Tamiḷ**, and.”



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME VIII.

No. 1.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 177.)

OF the numerous dates of Chôla kings sent to me by Prof. Hultsch and Mr. Venkayya, I again publish seventeen. Among these, the most interesting — and, I may add, those which have given me most trouble — are perhaps the five dates Nos. 85-89 of Râjarâja [II.] Parakêsarivarma, which prove that this king, of whom no dates have yet been published here, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A.D. 1146. The date No. 99 reduces the time, previously found for the commencement of the reign of Râjendra-Chôla III., to the period from (approximately) the 21st March to the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 94, of Kulôttunga-Chôla III., is of the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the dates of his successor Râjarâja III. show that this king commenced to reign already between (approximately) the 23rd June and the 13th August A.D. 1216; and similarly the dates Nos. 96 and 97, of Râjarâja III., are of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, while the years of his successor Râjendra-Chôla III., as has just been stated, are counted from some time between (approximately) the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 100 belongs to a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla, who apparently commenced to reign in A.D. 1331-32.

A.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

84.— In the Śaranârâyaṇa-Perumâl temple at Tiruvadi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pû-mâdu puṇara
 9 kô=Pparakêsaripanma-
 10 r-âna Tiribuyanachchakkaravatti[ga*]! śrî-Vikkirama-Śôladêvar-
 11 kku yâṇ[ḍu*] 7vadu Sim[ha]-nâyaruṇṇu apara-pakshattu êkā-
 12 [di(da)]śiyun=Tiruvâdiraiyum peṇṇa [V]j[i]y]âla-kkilamai-nâl.

“In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakêsarivarma *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladêva,— on a Thursday, which corresponded to (the day of) Ârdra and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.”

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

A date of the month of *Simha* (July-August) of the 7th year of *Vikrama-Chôla* would be expected to fall in A.D. 1124, and this date actually corresponds to **Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124**. This was the 12th day of the month of *Simha*, and on it the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 20 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Ārdra*, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 1 h. 58 m., and according to *Garga* for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

B.—RAJARAJA II.

85.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya [Ti]ru-mādam
 4 kô=Pparakêsaripaṇmar=âṇa Tri]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga[!] śr[i]-Râjarâjad[â]vaṇku
 yâṇdu 4âva[du] Vriśchika-nāyaṇṇu apa[ra-pa]kshattu [sa]ptam[i]yu[m]
 [B]uda[ṇ]-[ki]lam[ai]yum [p]eṇṇa [P]ûra[tt]u nâ[!].

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king *Parakêsarivarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Râjarâjadêva*,— on the day of *Pûrva-Phalguni*, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the 7th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Vriśchika*."

My examination of the four dates Nos. 85-88 has yielded the result that the reign of *Râjarâja Parakêsarivarman*, i.e. *Râjarâja II.*, commenced between (approximately) the 27th **March** and the 23rd **November A.D. 1146**.

This date, No. 85, corresponds to **Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1146**, which was the 27th day of the month of *Vriśchika*, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Mârga-śirsha*) ended 14 h. 10 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Pûrva-Phalguni*, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 5 h. 55 m., and according to *Garga* for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

86.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Uḍaiyârkôyil.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam
 8 k[ô=Ppara]kêsa-
 9 [ri]patmar=âna Tribu[va]nachchak[ka]ravattiga[!] śrī-Râja[r]âjadêvaṇku yâṇ[du]
 âṇa[va]d[u] Ku-
 10 m[bha]-nāyaṇṇu apara-paksha[t]tu pratham[ai]yu[m] Vi[y]âla-kkilaṇṇaiyum peṇṇa
 Maga[tt]u nâ[!].

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king *Parakêsarivarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Râjarâjadêva*,— on the day of *Maghâ*, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Kumbha*."

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152**,³ which was the first day⁴ of the month of *Kumbha*, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of *Mâgha*) ended 15 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Maghâ*, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 7 h. 53 m., and according to *Garga* for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

87.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī || Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam
 5 [k]ô=Pparakêsaripaṇmar=âṇa Tir[i]buvanachchak[ka]ravattiga[!] śrī-
 Râjarâja-

¹ No. 622 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 407 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ Between A.D. 1131 and 1178 this is the only day for which the date is correct.

⁴ The *Kumbha-saṅkrānti* took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd January A.D. 1152

⁵ No. 628 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

- 6 dēvaṛku y[ān]ḍu pannirandāvadu Mēsha-n[āya]ṛṛu apara-pakshattu navamiyum
B[uda]n-kiḷamaiyu[m p]eṛra Ti-
7 ruvōṇa[ttu nā].

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158, which was the 2nd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 6 h. 35 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise.

88.—In the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam
2 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-
Rājārājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu paḍiṇāṇjāvadu Tai-māsattu pūrvva-pakshattu
Puṇarpūśamum chatu[r]ddaśiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum=ā[ṇa] nāl.

"In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which was a Thursday and the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tai."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161, which was the 19th day of the month of Tai (or Makara), and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 19 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

89.—In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Ālaṅguḍi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam
6 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āṇa
7 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ
8 śrī-Rājārājadēvaṛku yā-
9 ṇḍu āṇāvadu
14 Mina-nāyaṛṛu pū-
15 rvva-pakshattu saptamiyum Viyāḷa-k-
16 kiḷamaiyum peṛra Orōśaṇi-nā-
17 ḷ.

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

Between A.D. 1136 and 1299 the only days for which this date would be correct, are Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1159, and Thursday, the 27th February A.D. 1186, neither of which could have fallen in the 6th year of the king's reign. Guided by the results of my calculations, I therefore assume that the month of Mina has been wrongly quoted in the date instead of the immediately preceding month of Kumbha. For this month the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152, which was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 17 h. 26 m. after

¹ No. 9 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 79 and note 4.

² No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was *Rôhini*, by the *Brahma-siddhânta* and according to *Garga* during the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

90.—In the Pâtâlisvara temple at Aridvâramaṅgalam.¹

- 1 [cha]kkaṛavattigaḷ śrī ra³ Madurai koṇḍ-aru[!]iya śrī-Kulō[t]tuṅga-
 Śōḷadēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu 10vadu pattāvadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyaṛṛu apara-pasha(ksha)ttu
 pañchamiyumu Śēvvā[y*]-kkaḷamaiyumu peṛra Uttiraṭṭādi-nāḷ.

“In the 10th — tenth — year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva*, who was pleased to take *Madurai*,—on the day of *Uttara-Bhadrapadā*, which corresponded to a *Tuesday* and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Makara*.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong. As in the dates of the inscriptions Nos. 480 and 604 of my *Southern List*, either the *nakshatra* *Uttara-Bhadrapadā* has been quoted erroneously instead of *Uttara-Phalguni*, or the second fortnight instead of the first. My calculation has shown that really the latter is the case.

The intended day undoubtedly is *Tuesday*, the 5th *January A.D. 1188*, which was the 11th day of the month of *Makara*, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Māgha*) ended 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was *Uttara-Bhadrapadā*, by the *Brahma-siddhânta* and according to *Garga* the whole day, and by the equal space system from 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

91.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.⁴

- 1 Svasti [||*]
 2 Tiribuvanaṇavi(vi)radēvaṛku yāṇḍu 35va[du]
 3 M[i]ḍuṇa-nāyaṛṛu eṭṭān=diyadiyumu A[ṇu]lamumu peṛra tiru-Nā[ya]ṛṛu-
 kkaḷamai-nāḷ.

“In the 35th year (of the reign) of *Tribhuvanaviradēva*,—on a sacred *Sunday* which corresponded to (the day of) *Anurādhā* and to the eighth solar day of the month of *Mithuna*.”

The date should fall in *A.D. 1213*. In this year the *Mithuna-saṁkrānti* took place 3 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of *Sunday*, the 26th *May*, which was the first day of the month of *Mithuna*. The 8th day of the same month therefore was *Sunday*, the 2nd *June A.D. 1213*; and on this day the *nakshatra* was *Anurādhā*, by the *Brahma-siddhânta* for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system and according to *Garga* from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

92.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūli.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*]
 2 Tr[i]bhuvanaṇachakkara[va]tt[i]ga[!] Maduraiyumu ī[la]-
 3 mum Karuvūrum Pā[n]ḍiyaṇai muḍi-ttalaḷi[u]-
 4 ṇ=goṇḍ-aru[li] virar=abhiśhēkamumu vi-
 5 jayar=abhiśhēkam[umu] paṇṇi-ar[u]liya śrī-Tiri-
 6 [b]uva[na]v[ira]dēvaṛku yā[n]ḍu mu[p]pat[t]āṛā-

¹ No. 611 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² The beginning of the inscription is built in.

³ Cancel the syllables *śrī ra*.

⁴ No. 557 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁵ No. 631 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

- 7 vadu Mēsha-nāyar[ru] pū[rvva]-pakshattu
 8 tri(ṭri)ṭiyaiyum Tiṅgaḷ-ki[ḷam]aiyum peṭ-
 9 ṛa Rôṣaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the thirty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Îlam, Karuvûr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Rôhiṇi, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214**, which was the 21st day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha, *i.e.* the *akshaya-tṛitīyā*) ended 19 h. 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rôhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise.

93.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kaḷappāl.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḷ Ma]dhuraiyum Îlamuṇ-Garuvûru[m]
 Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-ttaliyuṇ-goṇḍu [vi]rar-abhishêkamum vijai[ya]r-abhi[sh]ê-
 2 kamu[m] paṇṇiy-aruliya śrī-Tri[bhu]va[ṇa]viradēvaṛku yāṇḍu 37ḍu
 Vri(vṛi)śchika-nāyar[ru] pū[rvva]-pakshattu [cha]ta(tu)[r]dda[si]yun=Diṅgaḷ-
 kkiḷamaiyu[m] peṭṛa
 3 Kārttigai-nāḷ.

"In the 37th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Îlam, Karuvûr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214**, which was the 21st day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrsha) commenced about sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 50 m., according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

94.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī][||*] Tirib[u]vaṇachchak[k]rava[r]ttigaḷ Madurai[yum] Îlamum Karuvûrum
 Pāṇḍiyaṇai muḍi-ttaliyum koṇḍu virar-abhishê[ka]mmum³ vijayar=
 abhishêkammum³ paṇṇi[y-a]ruliya śrī-Tiribuvaṇa[vīra]dēvaṛku yāṇḍu 39āvadu
 Kumba-nāyar[ru] a[pa]ra-pakshattu prathamaiyum [Bu]ḍaṇ-kiḷamaiyum⁴ peṭṛa
 Magattu nāḷ.

"In the 39th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Îlam, Karuvûr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217**, which was the 3rd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 659 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 618 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ Read *-abhishêkamum*.

⁴ Read *-kiḷamaiyum*.

D.—RAJARAJA III.

95.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡuli.¹

- 1 Tiribuvanaḥchakkarakavattiga[ī] śrī-Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvaṇḍi e[diṛā]m= āṇḍu Tul[ā-nā]yāṇṇu apara-pakshattu na[vami]yu[m] Tiṇ-
2 ga[ī]-kilamai[yum] perṇa Pū[sattu] n[ā].

“In the year opposite the eighth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[ja]rā[ja]dēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224, which was the 11th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, *not* the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina).—The result shows that, instead of the word na[vami]yu[m] of the original date, we ought to read *ashṭamiyūm*.

96.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [ī*] Tiribuvanaḥchakkarakavatt[i]ga śrī-Irājarājadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 32vadu Kumba-nāyāṇṇu pū[rva]-pakshattu tu[vāda]śiyum Vel[ī]-kk[i]lamai-yum perṇa Pūnar[p]ū[sattu] nā.

“In the 32nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūnarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248, which was the 15th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 21 h. 23 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūnarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

97.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.³

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [ī*] T[i]ribuvanaḥchakkara[va]ttiga śr[i-R]ājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu 32vadu Mēsha-nāy[i]ṇṇu apara-pakshattu trayōdaś[i]yum Budan-k[i]lamaiyum perṇa Irēba(va)d[i]-nā.

“In the 32nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248, which was the 29th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) commenced 6 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

E.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98.—In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Aṇḡbil.⁴

- 1 T[i]r[i]bu[va]naḥchakkara[va]ttiga śr[i]-Irā[śē]ṇḍira-Ś[ō]lādēva[ī]kku yāṇḍu 4vadu Kaṇṇ[i]-nāyāṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Nāy[i]ṇṇu-kkilamaiyum perṇa A[ni]lattu nā[ī].

¹ No. 629 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 491 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁴ No. 596 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249, which was the 16th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āsvina) commenced 1 h. 42 m., while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

99.— In the Sākshināthasvāmin temple at Avalivanallūr.¹

- 1 . . . Tiribu[va]ṇasakkara[va]-
- 2 ttigaḷ śr[i]-Irāśēndira-Ś[ā]-
- 3 ḷadēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu 22[va]ḍu
- 4 Mēla-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu
- 5 de(da)śam[i]yum Budan-kiḷamaiyum [p]c-
- 6 ṟṟa [Śa]dai[yattu] n[ā]l.

"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1267 or 1268. It actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 13 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

This result reduces the time² during which Rājendra-Chōla III. must have commenced to reign to the period between approximately the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246.

F.— TRIBHUVANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100.— In the Aruṇāchalésvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.³

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] T[r]ibhuvanavira-Śōḷadēvaṟṟu yāṇḍu llāvadu
- 2 Chitrabhānu-varuṣhattu Simha-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu la-
- 3 pṭamiyum Ve[l]i-kkiḷamaiyum peṟṟa Urōṣaṇi-nā-
- 4 l.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha of the year Chitrabhānu."

If the Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva of this date were identical with Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. who bears the name Tribhuvanavīradēva, the date would fall in A.D. 1188; but for that year it is in every respect incorrect. Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 the only day for which the date is correct is Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342. This day by the southern luni-solar system fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu (Śaka-samvat 1264 expired). It was the 26th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 10 h. 8 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 605 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 176.

³ No. 522 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

If correctly recorded, the date would prove that there was a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla who commenced to reign between approximately the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332 (in Śaka-samvat 1253-54).

No. 2.—TIRUVADI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN;
A.D. 1313.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription (No. 34 of 1903) is engraved on the south wall of the Virattānēśvara shrine at Tiruvadi near Panruttī in the Cuddalore tāluka of the South Arcot district. It consists of a passage in the Sanskrit language and the Grantha alphabet, and of a sentence in the Tamil language and alphabet.

The Sanskrit portion (ll. 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Raṅganātha inscription of Ravivarman, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,¹ as far as the word *Kulaśēkharadēva*. The Tamil portion (l. 3 f.) records that **Ravivarman alias Kulaśēkharadēva** bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Tiruvirattāṇam temple at Tiruvadigai² in the fourth year of his reign, the **Kaliyuga year 4414** and the **Śa[ka year 12]35**, on the day of **Rōhiṇī**, **Saturday**, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of **Makara**.

Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that this date corresponds to **Saturday, the 20th December A.D. 1313**, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 14 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rōhiṇī** for about 21 hours, after mean sunrise.

In verse 4 of the Aruḷāla-Perumāl inscription of the same king we are told that he stayed at **Kāñchi** in his fourth year.³ The subjoined inscription is dated in the same year, and adds the information that this year corresponded to A.D. 1313.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī-Jayasi[m]ha ity=abhihitas=Sōmānvay-ōttamsako rāj=āsīd=iha Kēraḷēshu vishayē nāthō **Yadu-kshmābhritām** || jātō=smād=**Raviva[r]mma-bhūpatir=Um[ā]dēvyām** kumāraś=śivād=dēhavyāpya-Śakābda-bhāji samayē dēh=iva virō ra[sā]h ८ [1*] Kshayan=nītvā sō=yam kali-bala[m=iv=ār]āti-nivaha[ñ]=ja[ya*]śrīvāt kṛitvā nija-sahacharīm Pāṇḍya-tanayām || trayastrimśad-va[r]shō yaśa i[va] yayau Kēraḷa-padam(dam) raraksha svam rāshṭra[n=na]garam=iva Kōḷambam-adh[i]paḥ ८ [2*] [Ji]tvā Saṁgrāmadhirō nripatir=adhira[ṇa]m(ṇam) vidvisham(sham) **Vira-Pāṇḍyam(ṇḍyam)** kṛitv=āsau Pāṇḍya-Chōḷān=naya iva tanum[ā]n Kēraḷēbhyō=py=adhī[n]ān || shaṭcha-
- 2 tvārimśad-abdas=taṭa-bhuvi mukuṭan=dhārayan=**Vēgavatyāḥ** kṛidām simhāsana-sthaś=chiram=akṛita mahī-kīrtti-vāṇi-ramābhiḥ ८ [3*] Â Mērōr=â Malayād=â pūrvvād=â cha paśchimād=acha[1]āt || **Yadukula-sēkhara** ēsha kshōṇim **Kulaśēkharas=svayam** bubhujē || ८ [4*] ८ Svasti śrī [11*] **Chandrak[ula-maṁgala]pradīpa** || **Yādava-Nārāyaṇa** || Kēraḷadēśa-puṇyapariṇāma || Nāmāntara-Karṇa || **Kūpaka-[s]ārsvabhauma** || Kulaśikhari-pratishṭhāpita-**Garuḍaddhvaja** || **Kōḷamba-puravar-ādhiśvara** [11] **Srī-Patma(dma)nābha-padakamala-paramārādhaka** [11] Praṇatarāja-pratishṭhāchāryya || **Vimatarāja-bandikāra** || **Dharmmataru-mūlaka[nda]** || **Satgu(dgu)ṇ-ālaṁkāra** || [Cha]tushshasṭi-

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 149.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 147.

³ For this ancient name of Tiruvadi see above, Vol. VII. p. 162.

⁴ From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao.

- 3 kalā-va[lla]bha || Dakṣiṇa-Bhōjarāja | Sa[m]grāmadhira || Mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara || Jayasimhadēva-nandana || Ravivarmma-mahārāja || [᳚] Śrī
[||] ᳚ Śrī-Kulaśēkharadēva || ᳚ [I]vaṛṅku yāṇḍu nālāvadu Kaliyuga-varsham
4414 idil niṅgiya Śa 35¹ idaṅ mēl śellāniṅṛa Magara-
nāyarṛu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kki[la]m[aiyum] p[e]ṛra
Rōsaṇ[i]-nāl Tiruvadi[g]ai uḍaiyār Tiru[vira]ṭṭāṇam-uḍaiya nāyaṇār kōyil
Vāṇa-Kaiyilāya-Ttirumalai stūpi-paryantamāga tirumaṇḍaṇamum paṇṇi
[pu]ṛachchārapai tirukkallum ś[āt]ti-
4 y-arul[i]ṇār Raviva[r]mma-ma[h]ārā[ja]r-āṇa perumāl Kulaśēgaradēvar ᳚ Svasti
śrī ᳚

TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Line 3.) (In) the fourth year of this (king),—the Kaliyuga year 4414,—the Śa[ka] year 12]35 separated from this,²—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Makara current after this (Śaka year),—Ravivarma-Mahārāja *alias* the lord Kulaśēkharadēva was pleased to bathe up to the pinnacle the Vāṇa-Kaiyilāya-Tirumalai³ (in) the temple of the lord of Tiruvirattāṇam, the god of Tiruvadigai, and to fix the stones which were bulging out. Hail! Prosperity!

No. 3.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA;

A.D. 1345.

By J. RAMAYYA, B.A., B.L.

This inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which are deposited in the Madras Museum, and I edit it from ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Prof. Hultzsch. The plates are engraved on both sides, except the first plate which is engraved on one side only. The ring and seal are missing. The letters are bold and legible. The characters are of the old Telugu type. The language is Sanskrit, except the portion describing the boundaries of the village of Ātukūru, which is in Telugu.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v. 2). In that caste was born Vēmaya, the founder of a family (*vaṁśa-kartā*, v. 3). To him was born the great hero Kōmaṭi-Prōla (v. 4), whose wife was Annemāmbā (v. 5). To Kōmaṭi-Prōla, Annemāmbā bore five sons:—Mācha, Vēma, Doḍḍaya, Annaya and Mallaya (v. 6). Of these Vēma ruled the earth (v. 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad *manne* chiefs,⁴ a very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēcchhas⁵ (v. 9), and bore the *biruda* Rāyachēkōluganḍa (v. 10). King Vēma restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmaṇas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēcchha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Rudra of the Kākati-vaṁśa (v. 12). King Vēma, surnamed Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghōḍerāya-Gaṅga⁶ (v. 13). Vēma's

¹ Restore *Śakābdam* 1235.

² The meaning of this expression is perhaps: 'separately stated along with this (Kaliyuga year).'

³ *I.e.* 'the holy mountain of the heavenly Kailāsa.' This seems to have been the name of the central shrine in the Tiruvirattāṇam temple.

⁴ The reference seems to be to the hill-chiefs whom Vēma vanquished.

⁵ *I.e.* the Muḥammadans.

⁶ This person seems to have been the family Guru of the Reddis. He is referred to in Śrinātha's *Bhīmakhaṇḍam* and *Kāśikhāṇḍam* as Ghōḍerāya-Bhimaya-Guru and Ghōḍerāya-Bhimēśvara, respectively.

capital was the city of **Addaṅki** in the country of **Pūṅgi**, which extended from the eastern slopes of **Śrīgiri**¹ to the eastern sea² on both sides of the river **Kuṇḍi** (vv. 14 and 15). At an eclipse of the moon on **Chaitri**³ in the **Śāka** year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons (6) and the suns (12),—in figures 1267,—in the presence of **Māṇḍūka-Śambhu**,⁴ king **Vēma** gave as an *agrahāra* to several **Brāhmaṇas** the village of **Ātukūru**, which was situated on the northern bank of the river **Kṛishṇā**, and which was renamed **Vēmapuram** after the donor (vv. 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account of the boundaries of **Ātukūru**,—boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the signature *Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra* (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the **Redḍi** dynasty as yet discovered. There is another inscription of **Vēma** at **Amarāvati**, also dated in the **Śāka** year 1267,⁵ but in the month of **Kārtika**. The **Śāka** year quoted in the subjoined inscription was the expired and not the current year, and the date of the grant corresponds to **Friday, the 18th March A.D. 1345**, on which date there was, according to Professor Kielhorn, “a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 49 m. to 22 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India.” In the **Amarāvati** inscription the corresponding cyclic year is given as **Pārthiva**.

I have not met with the name of **Pūṅgi** elsewhere and cannot say whether it has anything to do with **Ongole**, which is a contraction of **Vaṅgavōlu**—the town of **Vaṅga**. It would perhaps be more fanciful to derive the word from **Pāka** in **Pākanāḍu**. The country of **Pūṅgi** comprised parts of the modern districts of **Kurnool**, **Nellore** and **Kistna**. The village **Ātukūru** I identify with **Gani-Ātukūru**—west of **Bezvēḍa**. **Addaṅki** is the well-known village of that name in the **Ongole tāluka** of the **Nellore** district and is the head-quarters of a **Deputy Tahsildar**. The river **Kuṇḍi** is the **Guṇḍlakamma** of the map and is called **Brahma-Kuṇḍi** and **Kuṇḍi-Prabha** in the **Amarāvati** inscription.

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the **Redḍi** chiefs open with **Kōmaṭi-Prōla**. This inscription gives us the name of **Prōla**'s father **Vēma**, after whom his illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu *Harivaṃsam*, which was dedicated to **Vēma**, the donor of the present grant. In this book **Vēma** is called indiscriminately **Vēma**, **Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, **Prōlaya-Vēma**, or **Annama-Vēma**. The second and third names are combinations of **Vēma**'s own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from his mother. From the *Harivaṃsam* we learn that **Prōla**'s wife **Annamā** was the daughter of **Doḍḍa**, who had three sons, viz. **Pōta**, **Chitṭa** and **Nāga**. **Chitṭa** had a son named **Nūka** who is said to have been a very dear friend of **Vēma**. He is perhaps identical with **Nallanūka**, who married **Vēma**'s daughter **Vēmasāni**.⁶ From the same book we learn that **Vēma**'s younger brother **Malla** took **Mōṭupalli**⁷—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to **Vēma**. The latter statement derives corroboration from the **Amarāvati** inscription already referred to, which says that **Vēma** fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of **Amarēśvara** for the eternal benefit (*punya*) of his younger brother **Mallā-Redḍi**. Before taking leave of the *Harivaṃsam*, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of **Vēma**, viz. **Pōta** (afterwards called **Anapōta** or **Anavōta**) and **Kōmaṭi**. **Anavēma**, **Doḍḍāmbikā** and **Vēmasāni** were apparently not yet born when the *Harivaṃsam* was composed, and **Kōmaṭi** probably died while yet a boy.

¹ Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district.

² The Bay of Bengal.

³ I.e. the full-moon day in the month of Chaitra.

⁴ I.e. at the Śiva temple called *Māṇḍūkēśvara*.

⁵ No. 268 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

⁶ See above, Vol. III. p. 287, and the genealogical tree published in the *Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*.

⁷ In the Bāpaṭla tāluka of the Kistna district.

The statement in the inscription that Vēma restored the *agrahāras* wrested by the Muḥammadans from Pratāparudra is, so far as I am aware, the only epigraphical reference as yet discovered to the Muḥammadan conquest of Warangal. It also shows, as has been already pointed out by Mr. V. Venkayya in his *Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, that the Redḍis were the political successors of the Kākatiyas. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence for determining exactly when the Redḍis came into power. The account of the Kākatiya dynasty compiled for Colonel Colin Mackenzie and deposited in the Madras Library of Oriental Manuscripts says that Pratāparudra's generals were all Padmanāyakas or Velamas, and this is confirmed by the poem entitled *Velugōtivarī Vaiśāvali*, i.e. 'Genealogy of the Velugōti family (of Venkaṭagiri).' The only reference made by the former book to the Redḍis is a short passage in which one Tērāla-Būchā-Redḍi is said to have fought for Pratāparudra in his final battle against the Muḥammadans. It is not known whether this Būchā-Redḍi had anything to do with the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu.

According to the traditional history of Koṇḍaviḍu preserved in the *Koṇḍavīṭi Daṇḍakavilī*, the Redḍis became suddenly rich in the time of one Donti-Allāḍa-Redḍi, who robbed a man named Vēma of the Kōmaṭi caste, who was his guest, of a piece of philosopher's stone (*sparśavēdi*). When the stone, in securing which he had spent the best part of his life, was stolen, the Kōmaṭi, the book says, died of broken heart, and on his death-bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the Redḍis, and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity. The account proceeds to state that, with the money thus obtained, Pōlaya-Vēma raised troops, seized Dharanikōṭa and the neighbouring country from the officers of Pratāparudra, and subsequently established himself at Koṇḍaviḍu. It is difficult to say what truth there is in this story. It may have been suggested by the fact that Kōmaṭi was a recognised name of several members of the family. From Śrinātha's *Haravilāsam* we learn that a Kōmaṭi named Avāchi-Dēvaya, son of Pāvāni, a great merchant of Simhavikramapaṭṭaṇa (Nellore), was the chief source of support (*prāpu*) to Vēma. Avāchi-Dēvaya's son Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, was also a great merchant and was purveyor to Kumāragiri-Redḍi. It would seem that Avāchi-Dēva supplied Vēma with the sinews of war and thereby enabled him to found and extend his kingdom, and that his descendants rendered similar assistance to the descendants of Vēma.

The original sphere of influence of the Redḍis was Pākanāḍu or Pūṅgidēsa. It may be that they originally governed this province subject to the authority of the kings of Warangal, though no proof of it exists. When the power of the Kākatiyas began to decline, the Redḍis became independent and made Addaṅki their capital. It seems to have been the fashion with the Redḍis to have a surname for each. Vēma signed as Pallavatriniētra, Kumāragiri was Vasantarāja, and Kōmaṭi-Vēma was Viranārāyaṇa.

According to the *Daṇḍakavilī*, Vēma was the first independent Redḍi chief, and there is no evidence that any of his predecessors was such. The present inscription shows that Vēma himself extended his dominions at least up to the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, while the Amarāvati inscription shows that his territories extended up to the banks of the Gōḍāvari.¹ There are no means of knowing when the capital was removed from Addaṅki to Koṇḍaviḍu. That this was not done prior to the Śaka year 1283 is clear from the Amarāvati inscription of that year,² which refers to Addaṅki as the capital. This inscription also shows that Vēma, son of Malla, was at that time governor of Dharanikōṭa or Dhānyavāṭi under Anapōtā-Redḍi. I

¹ He is described as having granted to Brāhmaṇas villages on both sides of the Brahmakuṇḍi, the Kṛishṇā and the Gōḍāvari, and also in the country between these rivers (*Brahmakunḍi-Krishṇavēṇḍ-Gōḍāvari-mahānādi-taṭadraya-tanmadhyāśīn-datt-ānēk-āgrahāra*).

² No. 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

presume that Konḍaviḍu did not become the capital till the time of Anavêma, and that, prior to this, Dharanikôṭa was the chief seat of Redḍi power in what is now the Kistna district. The fact of Vêma building steps leading to the temples at Śrīsailam and Ahôbalam is not mentioned in this inscription, though it is mentioned in the Amarâvatî one. This omission can hardly be regarded as due to oversight, seeing that the act was considered so meritorious as to be mentioned in almost all the subsequent inscriptions of this dynasty. A more probable explanation seems to be, that the work was not finished when this inscription was composed.

Vêma was succeeded by his eldest son Anapôṭa, and he by his younger brother Anavêma. Both these kings were, according to the *Danḍakavilî*, wise and strong rulers, and they consolidated the kingdom founded by their father. In the *Velugôṭivârî Vamśâvalî*, Anapôtanîḍu and Mādânîḍu, sons of Siṅga who was a general of Pratâparudra, claim to have defeated Anapôṭa-Redḍi at Dharanikôṭa about the Śaka year 1283, which is also the year of an inscription at Amarâvatî,¹ in which Anapôṭa's minister is referred to.² I know only of two inscriptions of the time of Anavêma, both dated in Śaka 1299 (expired). One of them is at Drâkshârâma in the Gôḍâvarî district,³ and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of Agastyêśvara at the junction of the Mûsi and the Kṛishṇâ in the village of Vâdapalli in the Miriyâlagûdem tâluka of the Nallagôṇḍa district in the Nizam's dominions. The poet Śrinâtha seems to have first flourished at the court of Anavêma, in whose praise there are several verses extant.

On the demise of Anavêma, the crown passed on to Anapôṭa's son Kumâragiri, who, according to the *Danḍakavilî*, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the *Haravildsam* we learn that Kumâragiri was a contemporary of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1379-1399) and of the Bahmanî king Firûz Shâh (A.D. 1397-1422). Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great annual spring-festival (*vasantôtsava*) which Kumâragiri seems to have instituted. It is interesting to note that, at this period, the Telugu country had extensive trade relations—not only with other parts of India, but also with foreign countries. For, Tippa is said to have imported camphor trees from the Panjâb; golden sprouts (*baṅgaru-molaka*) from Jalaṅgi;⁴ elephants from Siṃhala (Ceylon); horses from Hurumañji (Ormuz or Persia); essence (*drava*) of civet (*saṅkumada*) from Gôva (Goa); pearls from Âpaga;⁵ musk from Chôṭaṅgi,⁴ and silk cloths from Chîna. It was in the time of Kumâragiri that the kingdom was divided into two and the Eastern part with Rajahmundry as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister Kâṭaya-Vêma.⁵ This separation seems to have been effected not later than the Śaka year 1308; for we have inscriptions of Kâṭaya-Vêma issued in that year.⁶

Kumâragiri seems to have been the last of Vêma's branch of the family, and on his death the crown passed to Vêma or Pêda-Kômaṭi-Vêma, grandson of Vêma's elder brother Mâcha. I know of two inscriptions of Kômaṭi-Vêma, one dated in the Śaka year 1331⁷ and the other in 1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of Kistna by the Tahsildar of Guṇṭûr. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by Śrinâtha, who is described as the *Vidyâdhikâri* to Kômaṭi-Vêma. The *Danḍakavilî* says that Kômaṭi-Vêma was a wise prince and walked in the ways of Anavêma, and it proceeds to state that Kômaṭi-Vêma was succeeded by his younger brother Bâcha-Vêma, who was the last of the dynasty. In

¹ No. 258 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² An inscription of Anapôṭa dated in the Śaka year 1281 is at Môtupalli.

³ No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

⁴ I am not able to identify these places.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 319.

⁶ No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

⁷ No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

the village of Aminâbâd in the Sattenapalli tâluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription¹ of Râcha-Vêma, son of Vêma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santâna-Sâgara, which had been dug by his mother Sûrâmbâ. We know from the Phiraṅgipuram inscription² that Peda-Kômaṭi-Vêma's wife Sûrâmbâ had a tank excavated and called it Santâna-Sâgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kômaṭi's successor Râcha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the *Velugôṭivâri Vamśâvali*. This book says that Mâcha (who was the only brother Peda-Kômaṭi-Vêma seems to have had), son of Kômaṭi, was killed in battle by Pina-Vêdagiri or Kumâra-Vêdagiri, great-grandson of Mâdânîḍu who had fought with Anapôta-Redḍi at Dharanikôṭa, and that Mâcha's elder brother Vêma killed Pina-Vêdagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vêdagiri's younger brother Liṅga. When Peda-Kômaṭi-Vêma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The *Daṇḍakavilî* says that the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows :—

Pôlaya-Vêma or Vêma ; Śaka 1242 to 1253 (both years inclusive).
 Anapôta ; Śaka 1253-1283.
 Anavêma ; Śaka 1284-1295.
 Kumâragiri ; Śaka 1296-1309.
 Peda-Kômaṭi-Vêma ; Śaka 1310-1337.
 Râcha-Vêma ; Śaka 1338-1341.

This distribution conflicts with the dates furnished by some of the inscriptions quoted above. Taking 100 years as the approximate total of the reigns of the six Redḍi chiefs, I would redistribute it as follows, so as to make the distribution accord with the latest information available on the subject :—

Pôlaya-Vêma or Vêma ; Śaka 1242-1271 (30 years).
 Anapôta ; Śaka 1272-1283 (12 years).
 Anavêma ; Śaka 1284-1299 (16 years).
 Kumâragiri ; Śaka 1300-1320 (21 years).
 Peda-Kômaṭi-Vêma ; Śaka 1321-1337 (17 years).
 Râcha-Vêma ; Śaka 1338-1341 (4 years).

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमत्कोमलनीलनीरजरुचिर्लीलावराहश्चिरं नातिप्रौढमृणालकंद-
- 2 ऋलसहंष्टांकुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्वहति क्रमेण विगळत्पाथोधिनीलांश-
- 3 का रागादार्द्रतनूरिव क्षणमभूदामोदिनी मेदिनी । [१*] आसीत्कौस्तुभ-
 ब्रमं-
- 4 डिततनोर्द्वयस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्विषो भगवती गंगेव पुण्योदया ।
- 5 आकल्पस्थिरजीवना त्रिजगतीसंतारणोद्योगिनी पर्यायेण चतुर्थ-

¹ This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sisa metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock named Pullaribôḍu, north-east of Aminâbâd which adjoins Phiraṅgipuram. At the end of the verse are the words *Śrinâtha-kṛiti*, i.e. 'Śrinâtha's composition.'

² No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

³ From ink-impressions.

- 6 वर्णविततिर्गाभीर्यधैर्यप्रसूः । [२*] तदंशाब्धौ सकलजनतानेत्रसं-
 7 पूर्णचंद्रो जात[ः] कीर्त्तिप्रभवसदनं वेमयो वंशकर्त्ता ॥ यस्योदग्रे स्फुर-^१
 8 ति सततं भास्वतीव प्रतापे नासीत्कण्ठेष्वरिमृगदृशां हारतारा[व]क्रिन्धिः
 [॥ ३*] तेना-
 9 जनि द्विजनिकायहितावतार[ः*] श्रेयान्गुणैस्तनुभृतां मरुतामिवेद्रः । वो-
 10 राग्रणीर्जगति कोमटिप्रोलनामा^२ प्रत्यर्त्थिभूपतिभुजंगविहंगराजः । [४*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 11 शंभोरद्रिस्तुतेव पंकजभुवो देवी यथा भारती विष्णोस्मागरसंभवेव सरितां प-
 12 ल्युर्यथा जाङ्गवी । सूर्यस्येव सुवर्चला शशभृतः पुण्या यथा रोहिणी रुढा
 13 कोमटिप्रोलयस्य^३ सदृशो भार्यान्नेमांवा सती । [५*] उत्साहान्निदिवीकसां
 सुरत-

- 14 रुन् क्षीरोर्मिरेखा यथा पुत्रात्कोमटिप्रोलयाद्गुणवती^४ सासूत पंच क्र-
 15 मात् । अग्रे भावनृपालमुन्नतमथ श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं पश्चाद्दोड्डयभू-
 16 पमन्नयनृपं श्रीमल्लयक्ष्मापतिं । [६*] सत्येन सत्येन^५ पराक्रमेण रूपेण
 17 बुद्ध्या^६ च विराजतस्तान् । चाणाय भूयोपि भुवोवतीर्णान्नूनं जनोमन्यत
 18 पांडुपुत्रान् । [७*] अथ सकलबुधानामाश्रयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवती-
 19 र्णः कंसमर्हीव देवः । कलिसमयविदृष्यदस्यभूपात्रिरस्यन्वहति सकल-
 20 पृथ्वीं वेमयक्षीणिपालः । [८*] दृष्टानंतरराजभूरुहमहास्रोतोवहा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 21 निर्भरौ मैत्रीसंगतराजकैरववनीसंपूर्णचंद्रोदयः । माद्यन्मन्त्रेनृपा-
 22 लतूलपवनो स्नेच्छाब्धिकुंभोद्भवः श्रीमान् कोमटिवेमभूपतिरसौ वीरः
 23 कथं वर्ण्यते । [९*] रणशिरसि विचित्रं रायचेकीलुगंडप्रकटतरक्तपाणक्षु-
 24 ष्णगात्राः क्षणेन । सपदि विद्यति भिंदंत्युद्धतास्तव्यतापप्रतिक्षतिमिनविंबं
 25 प्रत्यनीकक्षितींद्राः । [१०*] नित्यं तारुण्यदर्पस्फुरितकुचभरोदारभृंदा-
 26 रनारीहेलासंचारलीलासुभगसुरपुरप्रांगणारोहणा-
 27 य । आ विंशदंशजानामतिकरुणतया येन पूर्वापराणां [नित्यं]^७ दा-
 28 नातिदानव्रतसुकृतमहादाननिश्रेणिशिल्पं । [११*] श्रीमत्काकेतवंशशेखरमणे-
 29 रा वीररुद्रानृपात्पापैर्स्नेच्छनराधिपैरपहृता विप्राग्रहाराः कलौ । सर्वं ये-
 30 न समुद्धृतास्तमनघं श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं वीरं विष्णुपराक्रमं कथम-

^१ Read स्फुरति.

^२ The metre requires a single instead of a double consonant after टि.

^३ Read सत्येन.

^४ Read बुद्ध्या.

^५ Read रण.

^६ Read स्फुरति.

^७ Read व्यक्त ?

^८ Read श्रीमत्काकति.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 31 [हो] स्तोतुं समर्था जनाः । [१२*] श्रीपञ्चवक्त्रिनेत्रांको धन्यो वेममहो-
पतिः । श्रीघोडे-
- 32 रायगंगाख्यगुरुपादाब्जवदः । [१३*] आस्ते श्रीगिरिपूर्वपादनिकाटादा
पू[र्वपा]-
- 33 योनिधेर्देशः कुंडितरंगिणीसुभयतः[*] श्रीपूंगिनामांकितः । तस्मिन् भासु-
- 34 रसौधगोपुरवती नित्योत्सवालंकृता नंदत्यौरजना विभाति नितरामहंकिना-
- 35 मा^१ पुरी । [१४*] उहंडमंडलिकमंडलकालदंडदोहंडविक्रमविनिर्जि-
- 36 तवैरिलोकः । सोयं विभर्त्ति नगरीं नगराजधीरः[*] श्रीवेमभूपतिरिमां^२
- 37 जगनोब्बगंडः । [१५*] सप्तसंतानवत्यासीन्मही वेमविभोरिति । स्पृष्टयेव
धृताः कीर्त्या
- 38 गर्भे लोकाश्चतुर्दश । [१६*] ❀ शाकान्दे कुधरतुभानु १२६७ गणिते
चैत्र्यां श-
- 39 शांके तमोयस्ते विप्रगणाय वेमनृपतिर्मांडूकशंभोः पुरः । प्राद-
- 40 त्त स्फुटमातुकूरुमनवसैश्वर्यभोगाष्टकं श्रीकृष्णोत्तरकूलसंस्थम-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 41 तुलं ग्रामं महाश्रेयसे । [१७*] स्वनामचिह्नितं कृत्वा दत्तो वेमम[हो-
भु]जा । श्वे-
- 42 षो भात्यग्रहाराणां ग्रामो वेमपुराह्वयः । [१८*] ❀

No. 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA;

A.D. 1422.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanare-e characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr. Rice.¹ My edition is based on excellent inked estampages² received from Prof. Hultzsch.

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kūshmāṇḍinī-jakshī which is set up in the Brahmādeva-maṇḍapa in front of the Gummata temple on the Vindhya-giri at Śrāvana-Belgoḷa. The inscription begins on the south face. Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two *chauris*, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised. Next come two lines of the

¹ Read °नाञ्जी.² The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.³ Read स्फुट°.⁴ *Inscriptions at Śrāvana-Belgoḷa*, No. 82.⁵ No. 7 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891..

inscription, after which we have another row of figures, *viz.* a woman seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes, a man seated with folded hands and wearing necklaces, and again a female figure seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes. Then the inscription continues. I am unable to offer any explanation of these sculptures, and I do not even venture to decide whether they have any special reference to the events and persons spoken of in the inscription or not.

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanarese. The average height of the letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ ", but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes; compare *śrī* in ll. 1 and 3, *jā* in l. 21, *jaī* in l. 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l. 31, the sign for *anusvāra*, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D., medial *ē* is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in *ḍē* in l. 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in *dhē* in l. 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial *ai* and *o*. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. *Ti*, *e.g.*, shows the first form in ll. 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll. 7, 34, 77, 96, 111; *nē* the first in ll. 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll. 58, 59; *rē* the first in ll. 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll. 101, 110; *bai* the first in l. 3, the second in l. 8; *vai* the first in ll. 6, 33, 89, the second in l. 71; *mō* the first in l. 1, the second in ll. 44, 80, 100; *yō* the first in ll. 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll. 31, 109, 110; *etc.*—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are *janḡhālaka*, 'swift-footed,' in l. 17, *prakāpa*, 'incensed with passion,' in l. 33, *dhaṭ*, 'to charge,' apparently meant as the root of the noun *dhūti*, in l. 34, *prōllāsat*, 'shining,' which owes its origin merely to the metre, in l. 39, *saustava*, 'praise,' in l. 63, *vaikharī*, 'speech,' in l. 80.—As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final *t* is changed into *d* before *j* in *jagad=jayantaḥ* (l. 9) and *-bhavad=jagati* (l. 15), but the correct *sandhi* is found in *atanōj=jainā-* (l. 29). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in *varnaṁ* (l. 44), *ākarnnanēshu* (l. 59), *karnnair* (l. 66), *akirnnair* (l. 68) and *-irnnava-* (l. 94). Initial *i* appears as *yī* in *Yirugapa-* (ll. 12, 61, 105) and initial *r* as *yē* in *supātra yēva* (l. 57). The *y* after *j* is dropped in *jāyān* (l. 24). *S* is written instead of *ś* in *śrayas* (l. 16). The spelling *sallāpī* (l. 86) instead of *samlāpī* is according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* a Kanarese peculiarity. Occasionally the groups *chchh*, *ddh*, *bbh* are spelt *chhchh*, *dhdh*, *bbbh*, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

After an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1), the inscription gives in the next 18 verses an account of a certain **Irugapa**. **Bukkarāya**, who must be identical with Bukka I. of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a minister **Baicha** (v. 2) or **Baichapa (I.)** (v. 3), who had three sons (v. 4)—**Maṅgapa**, **Irugapa (I.)** and **Bukkapa** (v. 5). **Maṅgapa**, the eldest of them, who was a follower of the Jaina religion (v. 6), was married to **Jānaki** (v. 7). They had two sons, **Baichapa (II.)** (v. 8) and **Irugapa (II.)** (v. 9), who in vv. 12, 13, 14 is called also **Irugēśvara** and **Irugēndra**. As appears from vv. 8 and 16, the two brothers were Jains like their father. With the exception of **Bukkapa**, all the members of this family are called generals (*dandāśura*, *dandānītri*, *dandānītha*, *dandapati*, *dandapa*, *dandādhipati*, *dandādhiśvara*, *dhvajinipati*), and most of the verses devoted to the praise of **Irugapa II.** (9-19) refer in general terms to his military achievements. Twice (vv. 10, 11) **Irugapa II.** is given also the title of prince (*kṣhatriya*), and twice (vv. 13, 14), with a strange blending of his two titles, he is even called *dandāniripati*.¹

The family of **Irugapa II.** is partly already known to us from other records. An inscription at Vijayanagara, dated in Saka 1397=A.D. 1385,² mentions, according to Prof. Hultzsch, a certain **Chaicha** or **Chaichapa**, the hereditary minister and general of **Harihara II.**, and his

¹ Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 116.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 152.

son, the general or prince Iruga or Irugapa, who adhered to the doctrine of the Jainas: but as the letters *cha* and *ba* closely resemble each other in the Telugu alphabet, I have no doubt that **Chaicha** and **Chaichapa** are merely misread for **Baicha** and **Baichapa**.¹ Two other inscriptions in the Jaina temple at Tirupparuttikunṇu near Conjeevaram, dated in A.D. 1352 and 1357-58 respectively,² record some donations by the general or minister Irugappa, the son of the general **Vaichaya**³ and a follower of the Jaina religion. The two persons referred to in these three inscriptions have already been identified by Prof. Hultzsch with **Baichapa I** and **Irugapa I** of the present record. If in the Vijayanagara inscription **Baichapa** is called the minister of **Haribhara II**, the successor of **Bukka I**, this proves conclusively that he reigned in 1352 before the death of his first master.

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (Śrī, २०, २१) called **Paṇḍitārya**. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of **Śrutamuni** is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this **Śrute** must stand to **Paṇḍitārya**. The second group of verses is added to the first quite at random, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that **Paṇḍitārya** and **Śrutamuni** are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jaina monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The Śravana-Belgola epitaph of **Mallishāpa**,⁴ for instance, furnishes the following parallels: **Śrīpālādēva-Traividya**, **Hemavēna-Vidyāadhanamjaya**, **Ajitasēna-Vādibhasimha-Vādibhakanṭhrava**, **Sāmrudātha-Kavṇākānta-Kāntaśānti**, **Padmanābha-Vādikōlāhala**, **Mallishēpa-Maladhārīn**.

The object of the grant is stated in verses 24-25. They record that at **Belugula**, in the presence of **Śrutamuni**, the general **Irugapa** gave away, for the eternal enjoyment of the holy **Gummatēśvara**, the village or *tēṭha* of **Belugula**, supplied with a grove and a new tank built by **Irugapa** himself. The donation took place 'while the year **Subhakṛit** was flourishing, in the month of **Kārttika**, on the *tithi* of the slayer of **Mura**, when the moon had attained increase,' or, in plain language, on **Viṣṇu's**, i.e. the eleventh or twelfth, *tithi* in the bright half of **Kārttika** in the cyclic year **Subhakṛit**. According to Mr. Rice, the **Subhakṛit** year corresponds to A.D. 1362; but from the dates for **Irugapa I** quoted above it appears that this is too early, and Prof. Hultzsch has already noticed⁵ that the true European equivalent of the year is A.D. 1422. The rest of the date does not admit of verification.

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that **Belugula** is **Śravana-Belgola** itself, and that the holy **Gummatēśvara** is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the **Vindhyagiri** to the south of the village.⁶

TEXT.⁷

South Face.

- 1 श्रीमत्परमगंभीरस्याद्वादामोघलाङ्कनं [*] जी-
- 2 याचैलोक्यनाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनं ॥ [१*] ◎ ॥ ◎
- 3 श्रीवृक्करायस्य बभूव मंत्री श्रीवैवदंडेश्व-
- 4 रनामधेयः । नीतियेदीया निखिनाभिन्दया निः-

¹ The same mistake was made by Mr. Rice in editing the present inscription.

² Above, Vol. VII. p. 115 f.

³ [This Tamil form proves that Prof. Luders' reading *Baichā* is correct; for *v* can only correspond to *ḍ*, and not to *ch*.—F. H.]

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 189 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII. p. 115, note 2.

⁶ See *ibid.* p. 108 and Plate.

⁷ From inked estampages supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.

- 5 शेषयामास विपक्षलोकं ॥ [२*] दानं चेत्कथयामि लु-
 6 ध्वपदवीं गाहेत संतानको वैदग्ध्यं यदि सा बृहस्पति-
 7 कथा कुत्रापि संलीयते । क्षातिं चेदनपायिनीं जड-
 8 तथा सृष्टेयं सर्वसहा स्तोत्रं वैचपदंडनितुरव-
 9 नी शक्यं कशीनां कथं ॥ [३*] तस्मादजायंत जगदुजयंतः^१ पु-
 10 नास्तयो भूषितचारुशीलाः । यैर्भूषितो-^२
 11 जायत मध्यलोकी रत्नैस्त्रिभिर्जिन इवापव-
 12 ग्नीः ॥ [४*] ^३यिरुगपदंडनाथमथ वृक्षमप्यनु-
 13 जी स्वमहिमसंपदा विरचयन् सुतरां प्रथि-
 14 तौ । प्रतिभटकामिनीपृथुपयोधरहारहरो
 15 भहितगुणोभवदुजगति^४ मंगपदंडपतिः ॥ [५*] दा[fi]क्ष-
 16 णप्रथमास्यदं सुचरितस्यैकास्त्रयस्सत्यवा-^५
 17 गाधारस्ततं वदान्यपदवीसंचारजंभाल-
 18 कः [६*] धर्मापन्नतरुः ^६त्माकुलगृहं सौजन्यसंके-
 19 तभूः कीर्ति मंगपदंडपीयमतनी-
 20 ज्जनागमानुव्रतः ॥ [६*] जानकीत्यभवदस्य गहिनी
 21 चारुशीलगुणभूषणोज्ज्वला^७ । जा-
 22 नकीव तनुवृत्तमध्यमा राघवस्य रमणी-
 23 यतेजसः ॥ [७*] आस्तां तयोरस्तमितारिवर्गी पु-
 24 तौ पवित्रीकृतधर्मासार्गी । ^८जायानभूतत्र
 25 जगहिजेतः भव्याग्रणीर्वचपदंडनाथः ॥ [८*] इ-
 26 रुगपदंडाधिपतिस्तस्यावरजस्ममस्त-
 27 गुणशाली । यस्या यशश्चंद्रिकया मीलंति दि-
 28 वाप्यरातिमुखपद्माः ॥ [९*] वृ ॥ ब्रह्मन् भाळलि-
 29 पिं प्रमाज्य न चिद्धत्त्वहानिर्भवेदन्या^९
 30 कल्पय काल राजनगरीं तदैरिष्ट-
 31 ध्वीभृतां । वेतालव्रज ^{१०}वर्धयोदरततिं
 32 पानाय नव्यासृजां ^{११}युधायोधतशात्र-
 33 वैरिरुगपद्मापः प्रकीपीभवत् ॥ [१०*] यात्रा-

^१ Read जगज्जयंतः.^४ Read ^०भवजगति.^७ Read ^०गोज्ज्वला.^{१०} Read वर्धयो.^२ Read यैर्भूषितो.^४ Read ^०काययं.^८ Read जायानं.^{११} Read युधायोदरतं.^३ Read इरुगप.^६ Read तमाकुलं.^९ Read ^०हानिर्भवे.

- 34 यां ध्वजिनीपतेरिरुगपक्ष्मापस्य धाटीध-
 35 टद्धोटीवीरखुरप्रहारततिभिः प्रो-
 36 'धूतधूळिजैः [1*] रुध्वे² भानुकरेगम-

East Face.

- 37 द्विपुकरांभोजं च संकोचनं प्रापत्कीर्तिकुमुदती
 38 विकसनं दीप्तः प्रतापनलः³ ॥ [११*] यात्रायामि-
 39 रुगेश्वरेण सहसा शून्यारिसौधांगणप्रो-
 40 क्षासद्विधुकांतकांतशकलैश्चक्षुर्नभाधिपः [1*]
 41 हत्वा स्वप्रतिमां प्रतिद्विपमिति क्लृप्तैकदंत-⁴
 42 स्तदा चाहि चाहि गजाननेति बहुधा वेता-
 43 ऋवृदैः[*] स्तुतः ॥ [१२*] को धात्रा लिखितं लज्जाटफ-
 44 लके वर्ण⁵ प्रमार्ष्टु क्षमो वार्त्ता धूर्त्तवचो-
 45 मयीमिति वयं वार्त्तात्र मन्यामहे ।
 46 'यध्वाच्यामिरुगेंद्रदंडनृपतो संजा-
 47 तमात्रे प्रियो नि[*]श्रीरप्यधिकश्रियाघ-
 48 टि रिपुस्तश्रीरप्युक्तः ॥ [१३*] यद्वाहाविरु-
 49 गेंद्रदंडनृपतेर्बिभ्रत्यनंताधुरं⁶ शेषा-
 50 धीशफणागणे नियमितां स स्वांगनाया-
 51 स्तदा । गाढालिंगनसांद्रसंभवसुखप्रोद्भू-
 52 तरोमावलिः साहस्रीं रसनामधात्तव गु-
 53 णान् स्तोतुं कृता⁷त्यः फणी ॥ [१४*] आहारसंपदभया-
 54 र्पणमौषधं च शास्त्रं च तस्य समजायत
 55 नित्यदानं । हिंसानृतान्यवनिताव्यसनं स-
 56 चौर्यं मूर्च्छां च देशवशतोस्य बभू-
 57 व दूरे ॥ [१५*] दानं चास्य सुपात्र येव⁸ करुणा
 58 दोनेषु दृष्टिर्जिने⁹ भक्तिर्दम्पत्ये जिनेद्रय-
 59 शसामाकर्त्तनेषु¹⁰ श्रुती । जिह्वा तद्गुणकीर्त्त-
 60 नेषु वपुषः सौख्यं च तद्वदने घ्राणं तच्च-
 61 रणाब्जसौरभभरे सर्व्वं च तत्सेवने ॥ [१६*] यि-¹²

¹ Read 'दुत'.

⁴ Read 'क्षुद्रैक'.

⁷ Read 'लहाहा'.

¹⁰ Read 'भक्तिर्दम्प'.

² Read 'रुध्वे'.

⁵ Read 'वर्ण'.

⁸ Read 'नृपते विधत्य'.

¹¹ Read 'करणेनेषु'.

³ Read 'दीप्तिं प्रतापनलः'.

⁶ Read 'यद्वाच्या'.

⁹ Read 'एव'.

¹² Read 'यि'.

- 62 रुगपदंडनाथयशसा धवले भुवने
 63 मलिनिमसौख्यः परमधीरदृशां चिकुरे [1*]
 64 वहति च तस्य बाहुपरिघे धरणीवल-
 65 यं ¹परमितरितराक्रमकथापि च
 66 तत्कुचयोः ॥ [१७*] ²कर्त्रेर्विस्मृतकुंडलै-
 67 रतिलकामंगैर्लला-
 68 टस्थलैराकीर्णैरल-³
 69 कैः पयोधरतटैर-
 70 स्पृष्टसुक्तागुणैः । बिंबो-
 71 ष्टैरपि वैरिराजसदृशस्तांबू-⁴
 72 लरागोज्झितैर्यस्य स्फारतरं मृ-⁵
 73 तापमसकृद्ग्राकुर्वलै⁶ सर्वतः ॥ [१८*]

West Face.

- 74 यत्कीर्त्तिभिः सुरधुनोपरिलंघिनोभि धौते⁷ वि-
 75 राय निजबिंबगते कळंके । स्वच्छात्मकस्तुहिन-
 76 दीधितिरंगनानामव्याजमाननरुचिं कवलो-
 77 करोति ॥ [१९*] यत्पादाब्जरजःकणो⁸ प्रसुवते
 78 भक्त्यानतानां भुवं यत्कारुण्यकटा-
 79 क्षकांतिलहरी प्रचालयत्याशयं ।
 80 मोहाहंकरणं क्षिणोति विमला यद्वै-
 81 खरोमौखरो वंद्यः कस्य न माननीयम-
 82 होमा⁹ शीपंडितार्थो यतिः ॥ [२०*] मंदा-
 83 द्धुनमंजरीमधुभरीमंजुम्फुरन्मा-¹⁰
 84 धुरोप्रोढाहंक्रतिरुदिपाटवपरोपा-
 85 टीकृकाटीभटः । ¹¹नृत्यदृद्रकपईगत्त-
 86 विलुठत्स्वर्णाककलोलिनीसल्लापो¹² खलु यं-
 87 डिनार्थयमिनो व्याख्यानक्रोळा-

¹ Read °मितरितरा°.

⁴ Read °जसदृश°.

⁵ Read °नीभिर्धौते°.

² Read कर्त्रेर्वि°.

⁶ Read म°.

⁸ Read °कथाः.

⁷ Read °राकौषणैर्°.

⁹ Read °कुर्वते°.

¹² Read °महिमा°.

¹⁰ At first °मधुभरी° was engraved, but the ज has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small क has been written above it.

¹¹ Read नृत्यदृद्र°.

¹² Read °संलापो°.

- 88 हळः ॥ [२१*] कारुण्यप्रथमावतारस-
 89 रणिशांतेर्निशांतं स्थिरं वैदुष्यस्य तपःफ-
 90 लं सुजनतासौभाग्यभाग्योदयः ।
 91 कंदर्पद्विरदेद्रपंचवदनः काव्यामृ-
 92 तानां 'खनीर्ज्जैनाध्वांबरभास्करः श्रुत-
 93 मुनिर्ज्जागतिं नम्रार्त्तिजित् ॥ [२२*] यु-
 94 त्थागमार्त्तवविलोलनमंदराद्रिः^१ शब्दाग-
 95 मांबुरुहकाननबालसूर्यः । श्रु-
 96 ध्वाशयः^२ प्रतिदिनं परमागमेन संवर्तते
 97 'श्रुतमुनीर्यतिसार्वभौमः ॥ [२३*] तत्संनिधौ
 98 वेङ्गुळे जगदग्रतीर्थे श्रीमानसावि-
 99 रगपाह्वयदंडनाथः [१*] श्रीगुंमटेश्वर-
 100 सनातनभोगहेतोगर्भामीत्तमं वेङ्गु-
 101 ळाख्यमदत्त धीरः ॥ [२४*] शुभकृति वत्सरे ज-
 102 यति कार्त्तिकमासि तिथौ सुरमथ-
 103 नस्य पुष्टिसुपजग्मुषि शीतरुचौ । सदुप-
 104 वनं स्तनिर्मितनवीनतटाकयुतं सचिव-
 105 कुलाग्रणीरदित तीर्थवरं सुदितः ॥ [२५*] यि-^३
 106 रगपदंडाधीश्वरविमलयशःकलम-
 107 वर्द्धनचेत्रं । आचंद्रतारकमिदं वे-
 108 ङ्गुळतीर्थं प्रकाशतामतुलं ॥ [२६*] ॐ ॥
 109 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानात् त्रयोनुपालनं^४ । दानात् स्वर्गम-
 110 वाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥ [२७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च
 व-
 111 सुंधरां । 'षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाया^५ जायते क्रिमिः^६ ॥ [२८*] ॐ ॥
 112 मगल^{१०} महाश्री श्री श्री श्री श्री [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the glorious religion of Jina be victorious,—the religion of the lord of the three worlds, the unfailing criterion of which is the most profound doctrine of possibility!

^१ Read खनीर्ज्जै°.

^२ Read °मुनिर्ये°.

^३ Read षष्टिं वर्षं°.

^४ Read संनलं.

^५ Read °मावर्षं°.

^६ Read इ°.

^७ Read विष्टायां.

^८ Read शुद्धाशयः.

^९ Read दानाच्छेयो°.

^{१०} Read क्रिमिः.

(V. 2.) There was a minister of the illustrious **Bukkarāya**, known as the illustrious general **Baicha**, whose policy, which was to be approved by everybody, completely destroyed the multitude of his enemies.

(V. 3.) If I (*want to*) speak of his liberality, the **Samtānaka** (*tree*) enters the way of the greedy; if of his intelligence, that talk of Brihaspati hides somewhere; if of his invariable patience, the earth is affected by insensibility. How on earth is it possible for poets to praise the general Baichapa?¹

(V. 4.) From him were born three sons, conquerors of the world, who had good morals for their ornament, adorned by whom the middle world became similar to the final bliss of the Jainas (*which is adorned*) by the three jewels.²

(V. 5.) Praised in the world were the virtues of the general **Maṅgapa**, who took away the necklaces from the broad breasts of the wives of his adversaries, (*and*) who made his younger brothers, the general **Irugapa** and **Bukkapa**, still more famous by the abundance of his own glory.

(V. 6.) Being the chief seat of kindness, the only shelter of morality, the abode of veracity, always swift-footed in running on the track of the munificent, the supporting tree of religion, the noble residence of forbearance, the meeting-place of goodness, this general Maṅgapa, who was attached to the doctrine of the Jainas, spread his fame.

(V. 7.) His wife was **Jānaki**, shining by the ornament of her excellent moral qualities, as the daughter of Janaka with her slender round waist (*was the wife*) of the descendant of Raghu, possessed of agreeable splendour.³

(V. 8.) They had two sons, through whom the hosts of the enemies perished, (*and*) who cleansed the path of religion. The elder of them was the general **Baichapa**, a conqueror of the world, the foremost among the pious.⁴

(V. 9.) His younger brother was the general **Irugapa**, possessed of all virtues, through the moonshine of whose fame the lotuses of the faces of his enemies close even in daytime.⁵

Metre (*viritta*).—(V. 10.) Brahman, wipe off the writing on the forehead! Otherwise thy reputation as Brahman will suffer damage.⁶ Build another capital, Death, for the kings hostile to him! Thou host of Vēṭālas widen the extent of your bellies to drink the fresh blood! Prince Irugapa was incensed with passion to fight with the haughty enemies.

(V. 11.) When on the march of the general prince Irugapa the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust whirled up by the continual violent blows of the hoofs of his mares charging by assault, the day-lotuses of the hands of his enemies closed,⁷ the night-lotus of his glory opened, and the fire of his majesty became bright.

¹ The author wants to say that it is impossible to describe the virtues of Paicha, because they are not to be equalled. His liberality and his cleverness are so great that, compared to him, the tree of desires appears to be covetous and Briha-pati a mere nothing, and as for his patience, even the earth is not a fit object for comparison, because it is *jada*, which may mean inanimate or dull.

² The three jewels (*triratna*), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a Śramana who wants to attain eternal beatitude, are *jñāna* or knowledge of things as revealed in the *Agamas*, *darśana* or faith in what is taught there, and *chāritra* or *dharma*, moral discipline; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Skt. MSS.*, 1883-84, p. 100.

³ The attributes of Rāma and Sitā are applicable to Maṅgapa and Jānaki also, and *vice versa*.

⁴ *Bharya* must be understood here as in other Jaina inscriptions as referring to the Jaina community.

⁵ Generally the *padma* has its flowers opened by daylight.

⁶ Brahman's predictions of a happy lot to the hostile kings will prove false, because they will be slain by Irugapa.

⁷ His enemies clenched their fists in rage.

(V. 12.) (*Once*), a huge wild elephant was reflected by a beautiful fragment of glimmering moon-stone in the court of an enemy's palace, which had been deserted in a hurry through (*fear of*) the lord Iruga (*who was*) on the march. Thinking that it was a hostile elephant, he struck his image (*and*) broke one of his tusks, (*and*) was (*therefore*) afterwards often invoked by the hosts of Vêtâlas (*with the words*) : 'Have mercy, have mercy, Gajânana !'¹

(V. 13.) 'Who is able to wipe off a letter written by the Creator on the surface of the forehead?' In this saying we do not believe, (*considering it to be*) a saying made up of a liar's words, because as soon as the general Irugendra was born on earth, his friends, even if they had been without wealth, were supplied with abundant wealth, and his wealthy enemies were deprived of their wealth.

(V. 14.) While thy arm, O general Irugendra, was carrying the burden of the earth (*originally*) laid on the group of the hoods of the lord Śēsha, that serpent, contented, the lines of his hair always bristling with joy on account of the frequent opportunities for closely embracing his wife, used his thousandfold tongue in praising thy virtues !

(V. 15.) Plenty of food, protection from dangers, medicine and instruction became his continual gift. Acts of violence, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft, and infatuation kept away on account of his ruling the country.

(V. 16.) His liberality (*was directed*) only towards worthy persons, his pity towards the poor, his looks towards the Jina, his love towards the path of religion, his two ears towards listening to the fame of the lord of the Jinās, his tongue towards praising his virtues, the health of his body towards worshipping him, his nose towards the excessive fragrance of the lotuses of his feet, and all that was his towards serving him.

(V. 17.) While the world was made white by the fame of the general Irugapa, blackness was praised only in (*connection with*) the hair of (*women*) with rolling eyes, and while his bar-like arm was wearing the bracelet of the earth, mutual oppression also was spoken of only in (*connection with*) their breasts.

(V. 18.) By their ears with their ear-rings forgotten, by the surfaces of their foreheads with no marks fixed to them, by their dishevelled curls, by their swelling breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their *bimba*-like lips deprived of the redness (*caused*) by the betel, even the fair-eyed (*wives*) of the kings hostile (*to him*) repeatedly (*and*) thoroughly betray his excessive power.

(V. 19.) Since his fame, surpassing the river of the gods,² has washed off, at last, the spot in her disk, the moon, being (*now*) perfectly clear, really swallows the beauty of the faces of the women.

(V. 20.) Who would not do homage to the ascetic (*yati*), the venerable Paṇḍitārya, whose greatness is to be honoured ; the grains of dust of whose foot-lotus produce a world for those who bow (*to him*) in devotion ;³ the wave of loveliness of whose compassionate side-glances purifies the heart ; the faultless fluency of whose speech destroys delusion and self-conceit.

(V. 21.) The roar of the discourse of the ascetic (*yamini*) Paṇḍitārya, which is a warrior (*in cutting*) the neck of the succession of great self-conceit, fame and skill of the pleasant and distinguished sweetness of the streams of honey of the flowers of the *mandāra* tree, verily resembles the river of the celestial world,⁴ winding through the hollows of the braids of the dancing Rudra.

¹ I.e. Gaṇeśa, who has the head of an elephant, but only one tusk.

² I.e. the Gaṅgā.

³ The dust of the lotus-like foot of Paṇḍitārya is compared to the pollen of the lotus of Brahman which produces the world.

⁴ I.e. the Gaṅgā.

(V. 22.) Śrutamuni, the main-road for the descent of compassion, the lasting dawn of calmness, the fruit of the austerities of learning, the mountain from which benevolence and prosperity and happiness rise, a lion to the mighty elephant of passion, a mine of the nectar of poetry, the sun in the sky of the Jaina sect, is watchful, removing the distress of the humble.

(V. 23.) The pure-minded Śrutamuni, an emperor among the ascetics (*yati*), the Mandara mountain for the stirring of the ocean of the science of reasoning, the rising sun to the lotus-grove of grammar, is daily increasing (*in prosperity*) through the most excellent (Jaina) doctrine.

(V. 24.) In his presence, at Beḷuguḷa, the most sacred place of the world, that glorious brave general, called Irugapa, gave away the most excellent village called Beḷuguḷa for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummaṭēśvara.

(V. 25.) While the year Śubhakṛit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tithi* of (Viṣṇu) the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase, the chief of the family of ministers gladly presented the excellent sacred place, possessing a beautiful grove (*and*) supplied with a new tank built by himself.

(V. 26.) May this matchless holy place Beḷuguḷa, a field for growing the rice of the general Irugapa's white fame, shine as long as the moon and stars!

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual imprecations.]

NO. 5.—TĀLAGUNDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered in 1894 by Mr. B. Lewis Rice, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.¹ From a photograph and a transcript furnished by him, a preliminary notice² was published by the late Prof. Bühler in September 1895, in the *Academy*;³ and about the same time a summary of its contents was given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 280 f., from an ink-impression lent by Mr. Rice. The inscription has now been edited by its discoverer, with a photo-lithograph and translation, in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 200 ff. I re-edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.⁴

According to Mr. Rice, the inscription is engraved on a pillar of very hard grey granite, which stands in front of the ruined Pīṭavēśvara temple at Tālagunda, in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. The pedestal of the pillar "is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at the top, a little more at the base. The shaft is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high,⁵ each face being 7 inches wide, but tapering slightly towards the top." Seven faces of the shaft contain each two vertical lines of writing which commences at the bottom, while on the 8th face there is only one short line (line 15 of the text), written in the same way. "The invocation at the beginning" of the inscription (*i.e.* the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaś-Siddha* || of line 1) "is on the pedestal, and runs up connecting with the first line." In the impressions the length of lines 1-14, disregarding the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaś-Siddha* ||

¹ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 1 f.

² Prof. Bühler's article is reprinted in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27 f.

³ In October 1898 Dr. Fleet's notice of the inscription, with a transcript of the text and the photograph which had been sent to Prof. Bühler by Mr. Rice, was reprinted in his *Dynasties*, p. 280 f., and in the summer of 1899, at the time when I published the note on the Gupta pillar inscription in *Ind. Ant.*

⁴ So the text is given in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 200. On pp. 1 and 17 of the Introduction of the same volume, and, instead of it, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27 f., I have been furnished to me with the ink-impressions.

⁵ According to the length of the shaft, the pedestal is slightly higher.

of line 1, varies between 5' 11" (in line 10) and 6' 5" (in lines 1 and 2); that of line 15 is only 2' 5". The size of such *aksharas* as *ja*, *ma*, *ya*, *va* is between $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{7}{8}$ ", while the average height of *aksharas* like *a*, *ka*, *ra*, *pra*, *vya*, *jja*, *mú*, *mṛi* is between 2 and 2½". The inscription is most carefully written and engraved, and is generally in so perfect a state of preservation that nearly every syllable of it may be read with certainty.—The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet. Among Kadamba inscriptions, they seem to resemble most those of the Dēvagēri plates of the 4th year and the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates of Mṛigēśavarman,¹ but, as is elsewhere the case with stone-inscriptions, they exhibit a more regular and artistic style of writing than is found in the copper-plates. Of initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i* (e.g. in *ity*=, l. 10), *u* (in *udvavarha*, l. 5), and *ē* (e.g. in *ēvam*=, l. 3); and of the consonants, all excepting *jh*, *th*, *ph*, and *l*, but *chh* occurs only as subscript letter (e.g. in *chchhāyā*, l. 11). Attention may perhaps be drawn here to the signs for *kh* (e.g. in *-śekhharah*, l. 8), *ñ* (e.g. in *bhañgur*-, l. 7), *j* (e.g. in *jayati*, l. 1), *ñ* (e.g. in *yajñā*°, l. 2, and *pañchabhīr*=, l. 13), *ḍ* (in *-mṛidita*-, l. 11, *-chūḍāmaṇayaḥ*, l. 13, and *taḍākam*=, l. 14), *ḍh* (in *-saṃrūḍha*-, l. 3), *th* and *dh* (e.g. in *viridha-yajñāvabhṛitha*-, l. 2), *b* (e.g. in *brahma*-, l. 4), and *l* (e.g. in *-kulam*-, l. 2, and *Palluvēndra*-, l. 4); and to the peculiar form² of the subscript *n* in *-aparārṇṇav*-, l. 7. As regards medial vowels, it may suffice to point out the two forms of the *akshara* *nā*, employed e.g. in *gurunī* and *śarmmanā*, both at the commencement of line 4, and the manner in which *ā* is written in the *akshara* *tā*³ (of *-jaṭā*-, l. 1). The alphabet includes the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* (e.g. in *-nipunāḥ=kaviḥ* and *-kuśalāḥ=prajī*-, both at the end of line 9); those of final *m* (e.g. in *siddham*, l. 1, and *-maṇḍalam*, l. 2), final *t* (e.g. in *bhṛyāt*, l. 1, and *tat*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *yō-rīn*-, l. 9); and the sign of punctuation consisting of two vertical lines.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *Siddham* [||] *Namaś-Śivāya* || and the words in line 15, the whole is in verse. The orthography suggests the following remarks. Within a half-verse and in the words *Namaś-Śivāya* of line 1, the final *visarga* of a word before one of the three sibilants is *always* (altogether 19 times) assimilated to the sibilant. Before a surd guttural (*k* or *kh*) it is nine times changed to the *jihvāmūliya* and left unchanged twice, both times at the end of a Pāda (in *-līlāḥ Kākustha*, l. 10, and *-sthaḥ Kubjas*-, l. 14). The *jihvāmūliya* is also employed in *duḥkham*-, l. 4. Before *p*—*ph* does not occur—*visarga* is changed to the *upadhmāniya* five times and left unchanged seven times (once, in *putraḥ prathita*-, l. 9, at the end of a Pāda). Before the conjuncts *sn* and *st* (but not before *sv* and *śr*) *visarga* is dropped, in *brāhmaṇai snātakai stūyamānē*, l. 13. In the words *say=iha* (for the ordinary *sa iha*) of line 13 the final *visarga* of *saḥ* has by Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 (or 18) been changed to (the ordinary or the *laghuprayatnatara*) *y*.⁴—The final *m* of a word remains unchanged, and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in the word *siddham* in line 1 and *always* at the end of a half-verse; exceptionally (and wrongly) also at the end of the odd Pādas of verse 28. Otherwise final *m* before a consonant is changed to *anusvāra* except in *āpadan=tūn=āhārayām-āsa* (for *āpadaṃ tām dhā*°), l. 6, *yan=daśvu*- (for *yaṃ daśva*-), l. 13, *yam=mitram*-, l. 7, *prithivīm=prasahya*, l. 9, *tam=bhūpāḥ*-, l. 11, *-sambhrama*, l. 12, and *taḍākam=maḥat*, l. 14. In

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, Plates, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, Plates; compare also Prof. Buhler's *Ind. Palæographie*, Plate VII. Col. xiii.

² In the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365), the Sātara plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309), and elsewhere, the subscript *n* of *ṛṇṇa* is denoted by the sign of the dental *n*. The subscript *n* of the present inscription has a somewhat similar form.

³ In the collotype facsimile the upward stroke, rising from the end of the top-line of the sign for *t*, by which *d* is denoted, is not clearly visible. The same sign for *tā* is quite clear e.g. in the word *ghaṭā* in line 10 of the Aihole inscription, above, Vol. VI. p. 6.

⁴ Hemachandra gives as an example *kay=iha*, for the ordinary *ka iha*. With this we may compare *kay=iṛa* for *ka iṛa* in line 25 of the Kaṭhēm plates of Vikramāditya V., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22. In line 11 of the Bādāmi (Mahākūṭa) pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 17) I would similarly suggest *say=utṭa*° for *sag=utṭa*°.

the interior of a simple word a nasal before a consonant of its own class is always denoted by its own sign, nowhere by the sign of *anusvāra*. After *r*, a consonant (other than a sibilant or *h*) is generally, about five times out of six, doubled. Before *r*, *t* is doubled in *māttra*, l. 6, *śakti-ttray-*, l. 13, and *paṭṭa-ttray-*, l. 14, while it remains single in twelve similar cases; and *k* is doubled in *vikramañ*, l. 7, *parākkramatas-*, l. 9, and *-ākkrāntā*, l. 11. Before *y*, *dh* is changed to *ddh* in *addhyēya-*, l. 2, *ārāddhya*, ll. 4 and 7, *addhyuvāsa*, l. 5, and *asāddhyāsa-*, l. 13; but not in *anudhyāya*, l. 8. The number of clerical errors is very small; I need only point out here *Sthānur*= (for *Sthānur*=) in line 1, and *utkrishṭa* (for *utkrishṭa*) in line 8.

In respect of **grammar generally and lexicography** the text calls for few remarks. The use of the gerunds *ārāddhya* and *adhīya* in verse 12 does not accord with the rule of the grammarians, but may be defended by the less strict practice of even classical writers. Similarly, the employment of *bhōjya* (instead of *bhōgya*) in *prithivīm . . . svavāñśa-bhōjyām* of verse 25 is contrary to Pāṇini, VII. 3, 69, but the word is often used in the same way elsewhere, especially in epic poetry. Like other inscriptions, this one also contains some words which are not found in the published dictionaries. Of these, *antarālaya* (formed like *antarāgāra*, *antargriha*, *antarbhavana*) in verse 6, *sānūmya* (an abstract noun derived from the adjective *sānāman*, 'having the same name') in verse 8, *brahmasiddhi* in verse 12 and *samutthāpana* in verse 16 can offer no difficulty. The word *aśvasamstha* in verse 11 I take to be synonymous with *aśvārōha*, 'a horseman,' and I would compare with it such words as *gajastha*, *rathastha*, *syandanastha*, as well as *turagādhirūḍha* and *turuṅgasādin* (e.g. in *Ragh.* VII. 34 and *Śiś.* XVIII. 2). On the word *ghaṭikā* in verse 10 I have published a special note in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1900, p. 345 ff., where I have tried to prove that a *ghaṭikā* was an establishment (probably founded in most cases by a king) for holy and learned men, such as is often mentioned in other inscriptions under the name *brahmapurī*. In the note referred to I have shown that *ghaṭikā* is used in this sense e.g. in the Kāśākuḍi plates of the Pallava Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 349, lines 56 and 59) and in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramādityavarman II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 196, line 14).¹ The last remark which I would offer on the wording of the present inscription is, that the author in verse 29 uses *iva . . . tadvat*, instead of *yadvat* (or *yathā*) . . . *tadvat*. This, so far as I know, is foreign to the usage of classical writers, from whose works I am unable to quote quite analogous instances.²

The inscription contains 34 verses. The metres of nine of them (verses 25-32 and 34) are the ordinary ones: Pushpitāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The metre of the long verse 33, with which the poem proper here presented to us fitly closes,³ is a species of Daṇḍaka, called by the general name Prachita. It consists of four Pādas, each of which contains six short syllables and eight amphimacers (—○—).⁴ Most interesting from a metrical point of view are the verses 1-24, composed in a metre⁵ which is found rarely elsewhere

¹ Since writing my paper on *ghaṭikā*, I have come across the word *ghaṭikāsāhasa*, which in line 41 of the Hallegere plates of the W. Gaṅga Sivamāra I. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. p. 108, where it is wrongly transcribed by *ghaṭikā-sahasra*) occurs as an epithet of a Brāhmaṇ. I have little doubt that this word is identical with the words *gahiyasāhasa*, *ghaisāsa*, mentioned above, Vol. VI. p. 241, note 2. In Hēmachandra's *Lōṣṭānamālā*, II. 105, to which Prof. Pischel has drawn my attention, we find *ghaṭiaghaddā* (i.e. *ghaṭikaghaṭā* or *ghaṭikāghaṭā*), paraphrased by *gōshṭhā*.

² In the *Rāmāyana*, *iva . . . tathā* is used like *yathā . . . tathā*, but passages like VII. 7, 18 ff., where this is the case, are somewhat different from the one in our text. Exactly like the *iva . . . tadvat* of the text I find *iva* (or *va*) . . . *evam* used in the Pāli Gāthās; compare e.g. *Jāt.* Vol. IV. p. 172, l. 11: *Garam va singino singam vaddhamānassa vaddhati evam mādassa posassa bālassa avijānato bāyyo taṇhā pipāsā cha vaddhamānassa vaddhati*, 'as the horn grows, so thirst grows.'

³ Verse 34 gives the name of the author, who also wrote the inscription on the stone.

⁴ For a much longer species of Prachita (in which each Pāda contains six short syllables and 16 amphimacers) see *Mālatīmādhava*, Dr. Bhandarkar's ed., p. 181.

⁵ I have published a short paper on this metre in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1899, p. 182 ff. As that paper is in German, I repeat here what has been stated in it.

and has not, so far as I know, been described in any treatise on prosody. This metre may be described as a species of *mātrāsamaka*, the name of which as yet is unknown. Each verse contains four Pādas, the general scheme of which is:—

Pādas 1 and 3: ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ (15 Mātrās);

Pādas 2 and 4: ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ (15 Mātrās).

In Pādas 2 and 4 this scheme is uniformly adhered to. But in Pādas 1 and 3 we find it strictly observed only in 30 cases out of the 48. In 14 others of the odd Pādas a long syllable takes the place of the 6th Mātrā of the general scheme, followed in 4¹ out of these 14 Pādas by two short syllables instead of a long one. And in the four remaining odd Pādas² a trochee (—◡) occurs instead of the 6th Mātrā of the above scheme. This gives us, as subsidiary schemes for Pādas 1 and 3:—

◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ (16 Mātrās);

and ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ (17 Mātrās).³

Examples of Pādas showing these subsidiary schemes are:—

V. 2, Pāda 3: yat-prasādas=trāyatê nityam;

V. 4, Pāda 1: atha babhūva dvija-kulam prāmśu;

V. 5, Pāda 1: vividha-yajñ-āvabhṛitha-puṇy-ambu-;

and V. 11, Pāda 3: Kali-yugê=sminn=ahô bata kshatrât;

V. 21, Pāda 3: Prêhar-ântâm=ananyasamcharaṇa-.

I may state here that the same metre occurs in lines 1 and 2 — hitherto regarded as prose — of the Tusām rock inscription (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 270), which, on palaeographical grounds, has been allotted by Dr. Fleet to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth, century A.D. The verse is:—

Jitam=abhīkshṇam=êva Jāmbavatī- vadanāravind-ôrjjit-âlinâ |
dānavāṅganā-mukhāmbhōja- lakshmī-tushârêṇa Vishṇunâ | (H)

The metre is also found in lines 5-8 of the Ajaṇṭā Vākātaka inscription, published in *Archæol. Survey of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 125; and from the only complete verse preserved there it appears that for the second long syllable (Mātrās 3 and 4) of the even Pādas two short syllables may be substituted. The verse is:—

[Ari]narêndra-mauli-vinyasta- maṇi-kirāṇa-liḍha-⁴kramāmbujaḥ | |
Pravarasēnas=tasya putrô=bhūd= vikasannavêndīvar-êkṣbaṇa | h | |

Lastly, I find the same metre on page 4 of the *Bower Manuscript*, in a passage which by Dr. Hoernle at first was regarded as prose, but has afterwards been printed by him as a single verse (verse 36) the metre of which is stated to be irregular. Really the passage contains the following two verses which are regular in every respect:—

Iti sur-êyam pañcha-pañch-âhād= rasa-varṇṇa-gandhaiḥ samanvitâ | |
bhavati tailam nāmataś=ch-êdam= undīram=⁵atyarthakārmukam | |
Tailam=êtaḍ=yaḥ surām=api vâ puruṣaḥ prayujjita yatnataḥ | |
pariharamti tam gad-ânikāny= âjau kṛit-âstrân=iv-êtarê | |

From all this it may be inferred that from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D. the metre above described was well known in different parts of India. That it should now

¹ Viz. in V. 4, Pāda 1; V. 5, Pāda 1; V. 10, Pāda 3; and V. 12, Pāda 3.

² Viz. in V. 11, Pāda 3; V. 17, Pāda 3; V. 21, Pāda 3; and V. 24, Pāda 3.

³ According to Mr. Rice a long syllable occurs in place of the second — Mr. Rice means the third — Mātrā in the third Pādas of verses 19 and 21; but this remark is due to wrong readings.

⁴ This, not *-āliḍha-*, was the reading of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, which is shown to be correct by the metre.

⁵ The metre shows that this may not be altered to *udīram*.

have been rescued from oblivion is due to, and is a point of special interest in, the present inscription.

In the 7th of the introductory verses of the *Harshacharita* Bāṇa says:¹—

“In the North plays on words are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense; in the South it is poetical fancy; in Gauda pomp of syllables.”

Judging hereby the present little poem, which the author himself in verse 34 calls a *Kāvya*, I would say that, taken as a whole, it would certainly be assigned to the West of India. There is in it no pomp of syllables, and little of poetical fancy (*utprēkshā*) or any of those other ornaments which lend their charm to the classical *Kāvyas*. But the author presents to us a vivid picture of the persons and events dealt with, and does so in plain, but vigorous language. This, at any rate, is the case with the verses 4-24. The verses 25-32 are in a different style, approaching somewhat to that of a real *Kāvya*; but they mainly contain such conventional phrases as are met with in any ordinary *prastāvi*.²

The inscription was composed and written on the stone by **Kubja**, under the orders of the king **Śāntivarman**. And its immediate object is, to record that Śāntivarman's father **Kākusthavarman** constructed a great tank near a Śiva temple at which **Sātākarni** and other kings had formerly worshipped (at **Sthānakundūra**, the modern Tālagunda where the inscription is still preserved). The occasion is taken by the poet to celebrate the origin and advancement of the **Kadamba family** to which Kākusthavarman belonged, and to give the names of his ancestors.

The³ **Kadambas** were a Brāhmaṇ family, devoted to the study of the Vēdas and the performance of sacrificial rites; their name, the poet says, they had received from the fact that they carefully tended a *kadamba* tree which grew near their home. Now once upon a time a member of this family, named **Mayūrasārman**, went with his *guru* to (**Kāñchipura**,) the city of the **Pallavas**, to study fully the sacred writings. The poet tells how he became exasperated there with the Kshatriya Pallavas and, abandoning his priestly vocation, took up the sword, ‘eager to conquer the earth.’ Mayūrasārman defeated the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest stretching to the gates of **Śrīparvata**.⁴ He levied tribute from the **Great Bāṇa**⁵ and other kings, and caused much trouble by his raids. The Pallava kings of Kāñchī, finding it impossible to subdue him even when they had taken the field with a large army, and recognizing his valour and ability, then made a compact with him by which he entered their service and eventually received a territory of his own, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east (?) by the (?) **Prēhara**(?), of which he was anointed chief or king. His son was **Kaṅgavarman**,⁶ and

¹ I quote from the English translation.

² It will be seen from the above that in my opinion this poem, however interesting, is not ‘written in the highest Kavya style.’ So far as I can see, its author was better acquainted with the Mahabharata than with the Kavyas which may have existed in his time.

³ For the details, see the translation, below.

⁴ Śrīparvata, which we also find in line 1 of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 195), I here as there take to be the sacred Srisaṭa in the Karnul district. It is the modern Srisaṭam, situated on the west of the Eastern Ghāts, between them and the river Kistna; see Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 34, D a.

⁵ According to Prof. Hultzsch (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89) the capital of the Bāṇa dynasty appears to have been Tiruvallam, ‘as one of its names was Vānapuram, and as it belonged to the district of Perumbāṇappādi,’ i.e. the country of the Great Bāṇa. Tiruvallam is only about 40 miles west by north of Conjeevaram (Kāñchipura). It may be noted that the *Bṛihad-Bāṇa* of our text exactly corresponds to the Tamil *Perumbāṇa*; *bṛihat* apparently forms an essential part of the name, and is not a mere *epitheton ornans*.

⁶ It is significant that, while the name of the founder of the family, Mayūrasārman, ends with *sārman*, the names of nearly all his descendants (Kaṅgavarman, Kākusthavarman, Śāntivarman, Mrigēsavarman, Māndhātṛivarman, etc.) end with *varman*. The former is the characteristic ending of a Brāhmaṇ's name, the latter that of a Kshatriya's. In the inscriptions of the later Kadambas Mayūrasārman's name, too, appears as Mayūdravarman; see my *Southern List*, No. 210.

his son was **Bhagiratha**. Bhagiratha's sons, again, were **Raghu** and **Kākustha (Kākusthavarman)**. Nothing of note is recorded of these later chiefs, excepting that **Kākusthavarman** is intimated to have married his daughters to the **Gupta** and other kings.

When in the course of the above story Kubja, in verse 20, tells us that **Mayūrasarman**, after entering the service of the Pallavas, pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles, I understand him to mean that at first **Mayūrasarman** became a *daṇḍanīyaka* or general of theirs; and I believe this view to be supported by the fact that in verse 3 the poet describes the Kadamba family generally as 'the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies (*sēnāni*),' as well as by the circumstance that according to verse 22 **Mayūrasarman** was anointed by **Shaḍāsaana** (the six-faced god of war) after meditating on **Sēnāpati**, i.e. the general of the gods (*Kārttikēya*). With regard to the territory afterwards given to him, there is the difficulty that the word **Prēhara** or **Prēharā**, which indicates its boundary on apparently the east, is entirely unknown to us. The present inscription is at **Tālagunda**, and one of the chief places of the Kadambas mentioned in their copper-plates is **Vaijayantī**, i.e. **Banavāsī**, which is not far from the former. Assuming that the eastern boundary of their territory was about as distant from **Tālagunda** and **Banavāsī** as the sea is from them on the west, that boundary would probably have been formed by the river **Tuṅgabhadra**; but I cannot in any way connect the word **Prēhara** or **Prēharā** with this river,¹ and am in fact unable to suggest any explanation of it.

The word **Gupta** in verse 31, which implies that **Kākusthavarman** gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, has been understood² to refer in all probability to the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Samudragupta** who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. But beyond the fact that **Samudragupta** conquered many kings of Southern India, nothing has been adduced to prove this. Granted that Kubja's account cannot be due solely to poetical exaggeration, the Gupta king or kings mentioned by him might, irrespectively of other considerations, be any of the Gupta rulers down to the seventh century A.D., and the reference to them cannot in my opinion be used to establish the time of **Kākusthavarman** with any degree of accuracy. When the poet **Bāṇa**³ tells us that the lotus-feet of his great-grandfather **Kuvēra** were adored by many Guptas, we may infer that these Guptas were kings who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century, because we know **Bāṇa** himself to have lived at the beginning of the seventh. But if nothing were known regarding **Bāṇa**'s own time, the statement would not help us in the least to fix in any definite way the time of his great-grandfather.

Another royal family of importance is referred to in verse 33 of the inscription, where we are told that the **Śiva** shrine near which **Kākusthavarman** constructed his tank had been worshipped by **Sātakarṇi** (or the **Sātakarpis**) and other pious kings. I need hardly say that **Sātakarṇi** is a well-known name or surname of several kings of the **Andhrabhṛitya** or **Sātaśāhana** dynasty who ruled over part of Southern India during the first centuries of the Christian era. An inscription of a **Sātakarṇi** has years ago been found, not far from **Tālagunda**, at **Banavāsī** which has already been mentioned.⁴ And Mr. Rice has been fortunate enough to discover, and has published,⁵ another inscription of apparently the same **Sātakarṇi** at **Malavalli**, in the **Tālagunda** subdivision of the **Shikārpur tāluka**. The existence of these inscriptions shows that, what Kubja tells us, is not at all improbable, and that the poet really knew something of the history of his country.

Kākusthavarman is the earliest king known to us from the published copper-plates of the Kadambas. The present inscription carries the family back by three more generations; from it

¹ There is of course no *a priori* reason why the word should denote a river more than anything else.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27.

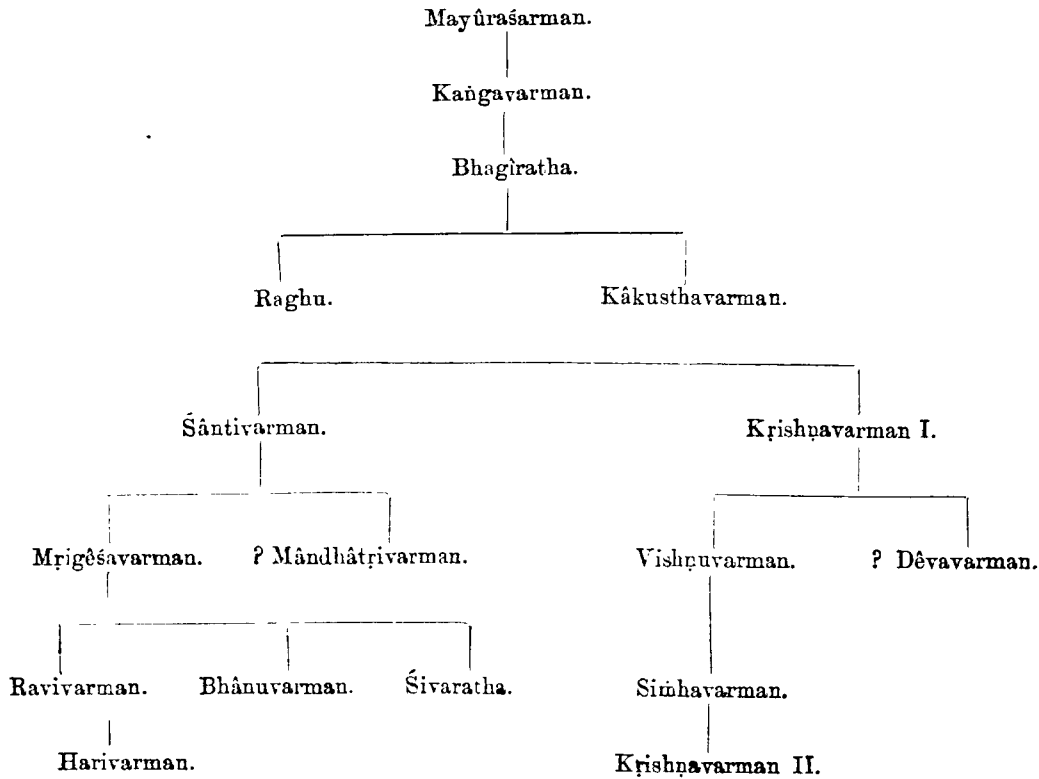
³ See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*: *anēka-Guṇa-ārchita-pādapaṅkajaḥ Kuvēra-nāma*. The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Vaiśyas and Śūdras.'

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 333, and Plate.

⁵ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 251, No. 263, and Plate.

and the plates¹ I have compiled the following genealogical Table, which will be found to differ considerably from the one published by Mr. Rice in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 4.

Genealogical Table.



I ought to state that the correctness of this Table greatly depends on the reliability²—assumed here—of the Birûr plates, published by Mr. Rice in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 91, No. 162. These plates record a grant by the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* Vishṇuvarman, the eldest son of the *aśvamēdha-yājīn*, the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman. By stating that Vishṇuvarman was making the grant with the permission of his *jyēshṭha-pitri* (i.e. his father's eldest brother³) Śāntivaravarman (Śāntivarman), they enable us to combine, as shown in the Table, the information given by the Bannahallī plates of Kṛishṇavarman II. (above, Vol. VI. p. 17) with that furnished by various plates from Halsi and Dēvagēri (Nos. 604, 606, 608, 610-612 of my *Southern List*). What I am not sure about in the Table is, whether I have correctly placed Māndhātṛivarman and Dēvavarman. Mṛigēśavarman was an eldest son, and Māndhātṛivarman

¹ For the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions known to us see below, p. 34, note 2.

² I have some doubts about the genuineness of the Birûr plates, but see no reason to question what is stated in them regarding the degree of relationship between Vishnuvarman and Śāntivarman.

³ The word *jyēshṭha-pitri* is synonymous with *jyēshṭha-tāta* which in the *Vaijayanī* is explained by *pitrī-jyēshṭha*, 'a father's eldest brother'; and it is actually used in this sense in the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II. Jagadēkamalla. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 17a, l. 4. I may note besides that in *Rām.* VII. 25, 23, Mālyavat, the eldest brother of Sumālī, is called the *pitā jyēshṭhah* of Sumālī's daughter Kaikasi, i.e. 'the eldest brother of the father' of Kaikasi. (*Ibid.* verse 24 Mālyavat's granddaughter Kumbbināśī is called 'the sister' of Sumālī's grandson Rāvana, and in verse 47 Rāvana is called 'the brother' of the same Kumbbināśī. This shows how vaguely words denoting relationship were used already in early times in India.)

may have been his younger brother;¹ but there is nothing to prove this with certainty. Dēvarman, described as the son of a Kṛishṇavarman, in my opinion more probably was a son of Kṛishṇavarman I. (and younger brother of Viṣṇuvarman who was an eldest son) than of Kṛishṇavarman II.;² but of this, again, we have no definite proof. It is also not certain that Śivaratha was a younger brother of Bhānuvarman. Of the three brothers, Bhānuvarman is described as the younger brother of Ravivarman, Śivaratha as the paternal uncle of Harivarman.— It will be seen that according to the Table the number of generations is eight, not eleven, as found by Mr. Rice.

There remains the question as to the age of this inscription. The inscription itself is not dated in any way. Of the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions, four are not dated at all; ten are dated in regnal years,³ varying between 2 and 11; and the plates of the Yuvarāja Kākusthavarmā are dated in the 80th year, which, as intimated already by Dr. Fleet, in all probability was reckoned from the commencement of Mayūrasarman's reign. Neither in the present inscription nor in the plates is there any reference to a king whose time can be determined with any certainty; and the inscriptions of other dynasties do not mention any specific Kadamba king. That our inscription belongs to comparatively early times, there can be no doubt. I have shown that the rare metre, chiefly employed in it, is elsewhere found in records from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D.; and much the same period is indicated by Kākusthavarmā's connection with some Gupta king or kings. Of the copper-plates which are later than this inscription, two—instead of quoting the ordinary lunar months which are quoted in seven others—quote fortnights of the rains and winter (*varṣā* and *hémanta*). This also would suggest a considerable antiquity, although we must not forget that we have a similar season-date in the Dūdia plates of Pravarasena II. (above, Vol. III, p. 260), which have been assigned to about the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁴ To what particular portion of the time from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. our inscription should be referred, seems to me extremely difficult to say. I have carefully studied all Kadamba inscriptions from a palæographical point of view, and have compared them with other inscriptions from the South, without being able to arrive at any certain and definite conclusion. My general impression is that the present inscription may be assigned to about the first half of the 6th century A.D.⁵

TEXT.⁶

- 1 Siddham? [||] Namaś=Śivāya || Jayatī⁹ viśvadē[va]-⁹sa[m]ghāta-nichit-aikamūrttis= sanātanaḥ Sthānu(ṇu)r=indu-raśmi-vichchhurita.¹⁰dyutimaj-jatābhāra-maṇḍanaḥ || [1*]
Tam=anu bhūsurā dvija-pravarās=sāma-rg-yajur-vvēda-vādinaḥ yat-prasādas=trāyatā
nityam bhuvana-trayaṁ pāpmanō bhayāt || [2*] Annapadam Surēndra-tulya-
[va]puḥ=Kākusthavarmā viśāla-dhīḥ bhūpatiḥ=Kadamba-sēnāni-bṛihad-¹¹anvaya-
vy[ō]ma-chandramāḥ
- 2 || [3*] Atha babhūva dvija-kulam prāmsu vicharad-guṇēndvamśu-maṇḍalam
tryārshavartma-Hāritiputram=ṛishimukhya-Mānavya-gōtra-jam || [4*] Vividha-yajū-
ābabbṛitha-puṇy-āmbu-niyat-ābhishēk-ārdra-mūrdhaham pravachan-āvagāha-nishṇātām

¹ See above, Vol. VI, p. 13.

² See *ibid.* p. 17.

³ Two dates, with reference to the motion of Jupiter, qualify the regnal years by the statements that they were Vaiśākha and Pausaḥ years respectively; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 83 f.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV, p. 195, note 4.

⁵ See also Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 291.

⁶ From impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.

⁷ This word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

⁸ For the metre of verses 1-24 see the introduction.

⁹ The *akṣara* in brackets might perhaps be read as *ḍa* (or rather *ḍa*), but the preceding *akṣara* is clearly *ḍḍ*, not *ṛḍ*.

¹⁰ The reading *vichchhurita* is certain.

¹¹ The *akṣara* *bṛi* of *bṛihad* has no superscript *r*.

- vidhivat=samiddh-âgni sôma-pam || [5*] Pranavapûrvva-shadvidhâddhyêya.¹
 nânardyamân-ântarâlayam ||² akriśa-châturmmâsya-hôm-êṣṭi paśu-pârvvaṇa-srâddha-
 paushtikam || [6*]
- 3 Atithi-nityasamśrit-âvasatham savanatrav-³âvandhya-naityakam griha-samîpa-dêśa-
 samrûdha-vikasat-kadamb-aika-pâdapam || [7*] Tad-upachâravat=tad=âsya tarôś=
 sânnâmya-sâdharmyam=asya tat pravavritê satirtthya-viprânâm prâchuryyatas=tad-
 viśêṣhapam || [8*] Êvam=âgatê Kadamba-kulê śrîmân=babhûva dvij-ôttamaḥ
 nâmatô Mayûrasarmm-êti śruta-śîla-śauch-âdy-alamkṛitaḥ || [9*]
- 4 Yāḥ prayāya Pallavēndra-purim gurunā samam Virâsarmmanā adhijigâmsuḥ=
 pravachanam nikhilam⁴ ghaṭikâm vivêś=âsu tarkkukah⁵ || [10*] Tatra
 Pallav-âśvasamsthêna kalabhêna tivrêṇa rôṣitaḥ Kali-yugê=sminn=ahô bata
 kshatrât-paripêlavâ vipratâ yataḥ || [11*] Guru-kulâni samyag=ârâddhya
 sâkhâm=adhity=âpi yatnataḥ brahma-siddhir=yyadi nrip-âdhinâ kim=ataḥ=param
 duhkham=ity=ataḥ || [12*]
- 5 Kuśa-samid-drishat-srug-âjya-charu-grahan-âdi-dakshêna pâpinâ udvavarha⁶ diptimach=
 chhastram vijigishamânô vasundharâm || [13*] Yô=ntapâlân=Pallavēndrânâm
 sahasâ vinirjjitya samyugê addhyuvâsa durggamâm=atavim Śriparvvata-dvâra-
 samśritâm || [14*] Âdadê karân=Bṛihad-Bâna-pramukhâd=babhûn=râja-maṇḍalât
 êvam=êbhîḥ=Pallavēndrânâm bhṛikuṭi-samutpatti-kâraṇaiḥ || [15*]
- 6 Svapratijñâ-pâraṇ-ôthâna-laghubhîḥ=kṛit-ârtthais=cha chêshtitaiḥ bhûṣhapair=iv=âbabhau
 balavad-yâtrâ-samutthâpanêna cha || [16*] Abhiyuyukshay=âgatêṣu bhṛisam
 Kâñchi-narēndrêṣhv=arâtishu vishama-[d]êśa-prayâṇa-samvêśa-⁷rajanishv=avaskanda-
 bhûmishu || [17*] Prâpya sênâ-sâgarâm têṣhâm prâhan=bali śyênavat=tadâ
 âpadan=tân=⁸dhârayâm=âsa bhujakhaḍgamâttra-[vya]pâśrayaḥ || [18*]
- 7 Pallavēndrâ yasya śaktim=imâm labdhvâ pratâp-ânvayâv=api n=âsya hânîś=
 śrêyas=ity=uktvâ yam=mitram=êv=âśu vavritê || [19*] Samśritas=tadâ mahipâlân=
 ârâddhya yuddhêṣhu vikramaiḥ prâpa patṭabandha-sampûjâm kara-pallavaiḥ=
 Pallavair-ddhritâm || [20*] Bhaṅgur-ôrmmi-valgitair=nṛityad-aparârṇṇav-⁹âmbhah-
 kṛit-âvadhim¹⁰Prêhar-ântâm=ananyasamcharaṇa-samaya-sthitâm bhûmim=êva cha
 || [21*]
- 8 Vibudha-samgha-manli-sammriṣṭa-charaṇâravindash=Shadânanah yam=abhihiktavân=
 anudhyāya Sênâpatim mâtṛibhis=saha || [22*] Tasya putrah=Kaṅgavarmm-ôgra-
 samar-ôddh[u]ra-prâ[m]śu-chêshtitaḥ prapata-sarvva-maṇḍal-ôtk[r]ishṭa-¹¹sita-châmar-
 ôddh[û]ta-sêkharah || [23*] Tat-s[u]tah=Kadamba-bhûmivadhû-ruchit-aikanâthô
 Bhagirathah Sagara-mukhyas=s[v]ayam Kadamba-kulê¹² prach[ch]an[n]a-jan-
 [m]â jan-âdhipah || [24*]
- 9 Atha¹³ nripa-mahitasya tasya putrah prathita-yaśâ Raghu-pârtthivah prithu-śrîḥ
 Prithur=iva prithivîm=prasahya yô=rîn¹⁴ akṛita parâkkramatas=svava[m]śa-bhôjyâm
 || [25*] Pratibhaya-samarêṣhv=arâti-śastr-ôllikhita-mukhō=bhimukha-dvishâ[m]

¹ Originally °ddhyêyam seems to have been engraved; the akshara ddhyê is certain.

² This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

³ Perhaps the original has savanatrav.

⁴ Read nikhilam; the sign of anusvâra of lam is quite clear.

⁵ So far as I can judge, this, and not tarkkakah, is the reading of the original.

⁶ Originally udvavarhê seems to have been engraved.

⁷ Originally -samvêśa- was engraved, but the lower v of the akshara vêś is clearly struck out.

⁸ Originally âpadantâmnthâ seems to have been engraved.

⁹ This word is quite clear in the original.

¹⁰ The second akshara of this word is distinctly ka, and cannot possibly be read ma.

¹¹ Read -ôtkrishṭa-.

¹² This reading is certain.

¹³ Metre of verses 25 and 26: Pushpitâgrâ.

¹⁴ Read =rîn=akṛita.

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Telegu script - scripta on ...

Telegu script - scripta on ...

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- praharttâ śrutipatha-nipupah=kaviḥ pradâtâ vividha-kalâ-kuśalaḥ=prajā-priyaś=cha || [26*]
- 10 ¹Bhrât=āśya chāru-vapur=abda-gabhīra-nādō mōksha-trivargga-paṭur=anvaya-vatsalaś=cha **Bhāgīrathir**=nnarapatir=mrīgarāja-līlaḥ **Kākustha** ity=avani-maṇḍala-ghuṣṭa-kirttiḥ || [27*] ²Jyāyōbhis=saha vīgrahō=rtthiṣhu dayā samyak=prajā-pālanam³ dīn-ābhyuddharaṇam pradhāna-vasubhir=mukhya-dvij-ābhyarhaṇam
- 11 yasy=aitat=kula-bhūṣaṇasya nripatēḥ prajā-ōttaram bhūṣaṇam⁴ tam=bhūpāḥ=khalu mēnirē sura-sakhaṁ Kākustham=atr-āgatam || [28*] ⁵Gharmm-ākkrāntā iva mrīga-gaṇā vṛiksha-r[ā*]jīm praviśya chechhāyā-sēvā-mṛḍita-⁶manasō nirvṛitīm prāpnuvanti tadva[j=jyāyō-vihata-gatayō bāndhavās=s-ānubandhāḥ prāpuś=śarmm=avyathita-manasō yasya bhūm[īm] praviśya || [29*]
- 12 ⁷Nānāvīdha-draviṇa-sāra-samuchchayēṣhu matta-dvipēndra-mada-vāsita-gōpurēṣhu saṁgīta-valgu-ninadēṣhu grihēṣhu yasya Lakshmy-aṅganā dhṛitimatī suchiraṁ cha rēmē || [30*] **Gupt**-ādi-pārtthiva-kul-āmburuha-sthalāni snēb-ādara-praṇaya-sambhrama-kēsa-āṇi śrīmanty=anēka-nṛpa-shaṭpada-sēvitāni yō=bōdhayad=duhitṛi dīdibitibhir=nṛp-ārkkah || [31*]
- 13 ⁸Yan=daiya-sampannam=adina-chēṣṭam śakti-ttray-ōpētam=ath-āsana-sṭham śēshair=gunaiḥ pañchabhir=apy-asāddhyās=sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇayaḥ prapēmuh || [32*] ⁹Say=iha bhagavatō Bhavaśy=ādi-dēvasya siddhy-ālayē siddha-gā(ga)ndharvva-rakshō-gaṇaiś=sēvitē vividha-niyama-hōma-dikshā-parair=brāh[m]aṇai snātakai stūyamānē sadā mantra-vādaiś=śubhaiḥ
- 14 sukṛitibhir=avanīśvarair=ātma-niśrēyasam prēpsubhis=**Sātakarny**-ādibhiś=śraddhay=ābhyarchchitē¹⁰ idam=urn-salil-ōpayōg-āśrayam bhūpatih=kārayām-āsa **Kākusthavarmma** tadākam=¹¹ma[hat ||] [33*] ¹²Tasy=aurasasya tanaya[s]ya viśāla-kirttēḥ [pa]ṭṭa-ttray-ārppaṇa-virā[jita]-chāru-mūrttēḥ śrī-**Sāntivarmma**-nripatēr=vvara-śāsana-sṭhaḥ **Kubjas**=sva-kāvyam=idam=aśma-talē līlēkha || [34*]
- 15 Namō bhagavatē **Sthānakundūra**-vāsinē Mahādēvāya [*] Nandatn sarvva-samant-āgatō=yam=adhivāsaḥ [*] Svasti prajābhya iti [||]

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) Victorious¹³ is the eternal **Sthānu**,¹⁴ whose one body is framed by the coalescence of all the gods; who is adorned with a mass of matted hair, lustrous because inlaid with the rays of the moon.

(V. 2.) After him, (victorious are) the gods on earth,¹⁵ the chief of the twice-born, who recite the Sāma-, Rīg- and Yajur-vēdas; whose favour constantly guards the three worlds from the fear of evil.

(V. 3.) And next, (victorious is) **Kākusthavarman**, whose form is like that of the lord of the gods (and) whose intelligence is vast; the king who is the moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the **Kadamba** leaders of armies.

¹ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

² Read -pālanam.

³ Metre : Mandākrantā.

⁴ Metre of verses 30 and 31 : Vasantatilakā.

Metre : A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specifically Chaṇḍavēga or Arṇava ; see *Ind. Stud.* Vol. VIII. p. 409.

¹⁰ Read =ābhyarchchita.

¹¹ The reading tadākam=ma is certain.

¹² Metre : Vasantatilakā.

¹³ With verses 1-3 compare the first three verses of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II., above, Vol. VI. p. 4 and p. 7, note 15.

¹⁴ I.e. the god Śiva.

¹⁵ I.e. the Brāhmins.

(V. 4.) There was a high family of twice-born, the circle of whose virtues, resembling the moon's rays,¹ was (*ever*) expanding; in which the sons of Hārītī trod the path of the three Vēdas, (*and*) which had sprung from the *gōtra* of Mānava,² the foremost of Rishis.

(V. 5.) Where the hair was wet from being constantly sprinkled with the holy water of the purificatory rites of manifold sacrifices; which well knew how to dive into the sacred lore, kindled the fire and drank the Sōma according to precept.

(V. 6.) Where the interiors of the houses loudly resounded with the sixfold subjects of study³ preceded by the word *ōm*; which promoted the increase of ample *chāturmāsya* sacrifices, burnt-offerings, oblations, animal sacrifices, new- and full-moon and *śrāddha* rites.

(V. 7.) Where the dwellings were ever resorted to by guests (*and*) the regular rites not wanting in the three libations; (*and*) where on a spot near the house there grew one tree with blooming Kadamba flowers.

(V. 8.) Then, as the (*family*) tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of (*these*) Brāhmaṇ fellow-students, currently (*accepted*) as distinguishing them.⁴

(V. 9.) In the Kadamba family thus arisen there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūrasārman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest.

(V. 10.) With his preceptor Vīrasārman he went to the city of the Pallava lords,⁵ and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the *ghaṭikā*⁶ as a mendicant.⁷

(V. 11 and 12.) There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (*he reflected*): 'Alas, that in this Kali-age the Brāhmaṇs should be so much feebler than the Kshatriyas! For, if to one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēda, the perfection in holiness⁸ depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this?' And so—

(V. 13.) With the hand dexterous in grasping the *kūśa*-grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation-vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth.

(V. 14.) Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier-guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.

¹ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 29, line 5 of the text: *gun-āmsubhir=vyāpya jagat=samastam*.

² In the fourteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions enumerated under Nos. 602-614 of my *Southern List*, to which may now be added the Bennūr plates in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Part I. p. 594, the two epithets *Mānava-sagōtra* and *Hārītī-putra* are six times applied to the Kadambas generally, and four times to individual Kadamba kings; in one case (No. 613) *Mānava-sagōtra* alone is applied to a king. The word *tryārsha-vartman* of the text, which with *Hārītī-putra* forms a Bahuvrīhi compound, I take to be practically equivalent to *śrāddhyāya-charchāpāra* (*-charchika*, etc.) in the terms *pratikṛita-śrāddhyāya-charchāpāra*, etc., of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 15, note 3. None of the terms mentioned here occur in my No. 602, the only plates which are earlier than the present inscription.

³ *I.e.* the six Vēdaṅgas

⁴ The simple meaning of the verse is that the members of the family, as they tended the Kadamba tree, came to be currently called by the specific name 'Kadamba.' I take the word *sānām-śrāddharmyam* of the text to be a name¹ (*sānām-śrāddharmyam*), not a Dvandva compound; it literally means 'a sameness of property which appears as sameness of name' (*sānām-śrāddharmyam*).

⁵ *I.e.* Kāñchipura.

⁶ *I.e.* a particular establishment for holy and learned men, probably founded by a king; see my introductory remarks, above, p. 26

⁷ The word *tarkuka* is given in Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi*, v. 388, as a synonym of *yāchaka*, etc., and is explained by *yāchaka* in a gloss on *Rājatarāṅgī*, III. 254.

⁸ The attainment of holiness was obstructed by the rage caused by the Pallava king's horseman.

(Vv. 15 and 16.) He levied many taxes from the circle of kings headed by the **Great Bāṇa**. So he shone, as with ornaments, by these exploits of his which made the **Pallava** lords knit their brows—exploits which were charming since his vow began to be fulfilled thereby and which secured his purpose—as well as by the starting of a powerful raid.

(Vv. 17 and 18.) When the enemies, the kings of **Kāñchi**, came in strength to fight him, he—in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault—lighted upon the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength. (So) he bore that trouble,¹ relying solely on the sword of his arm.

(V. 19.) The **Pallava** lords, having found out this strength of his as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be no advantage, and so they quickly chose him even for a friend.

(V. 20.) Then entering the kings' service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the **Pallavas** with the sprouts (*pallava*) of their hands.

(V. 21.) And (he) also (received) a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) **Prēhara**,² secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it.³

(Vv. 22 and 23.) Of him—whom **Shaḍānana**,⁴ whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, anointed, after meditating on **Sēnāpati** with the Mothers⁵—the son was **Kaṅgavarman**, who performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars, (and) whose diadem was shaken by the white chowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (*before him*).

(V. 24.) His son was **Bhagiratha**, the one lord dear to the bride—the **Kadamba** country, **Sagara's** chief descendant⁶ in person, secretly born in the **Kadamba** family as king.

(V. 25.) Now the son of him who was honoured by kings was the earth's highly prosperous ruler **Raghu**, of wide-spread fame; who, having subdued the enemies, by his valour, like **Prithu**, caused the earth to be enjoyed by his race.⁷

(V. 26.) Who in fearful battles, his face slashed by the swords of the enemy, struck down the adversaries facing him; who was well versed in the ways of sacred lore, a poet, a donor, skilled in manifold arts, and beloved of the people.

(V. 27.) His brother was **Bhagiratha's** son **Kākustha**, of beautiful form, with a voice deep as the cloud's, clever in the pursuit of salvation and the three objects of life,⁸ and kind to his lineage; a lord of men with the lion's gait, whose fame was proclaimed on the orb of the earth.

(V. 28.) Him, to whom war with the stronger, compassion for the needy, proper protection of the people, relief of the distressed, honour paid to the chief twice-born by (*the bestowal of*)

¹ *Viz.* the attack made on him by the **Pallavas**.

² See the introductory remarks, above, p. 29.

³ With the wording of the original text I would compare *e.g.* from the *Virāṭaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*: *ajñātavāsa-samayam śeṣam varṣam trayōdaśam*; but there the meaning is 'the remaining 13th year, to which was attached the condition that they should dwell incognito.' The sense of the passage in our inscription I take to be similar to that of *e.g. aṇanyasāsandam=urīm* in *Ragh.* I. 30, 'the earth, not ruled by any other king.'

⁴ **Shaḍānana** and **Sēnāpati** are really only two different names of one and the same divine being (**Skanda**, **Kārtikeya**).

⁵ Compare the epithet—of either the **Kadambas** generally or individual **Kadamba** kings—*Sāmi-Mahāśēna-matṛigaṇānudhyāt-ābhishikṣia* in the copper-plates, *e.g.* above, Vol. VI. p. 14, line 2 of the text, and p. 18, line 3 of the text. See also above, p. 34, note 2.

⁶ See Sir M. Monier-Williams's *Dictionary* under *Bhagiratha* and *Sagara*.

⁷ With the wording of this verse we may compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 53, lines 6 and 7 of the text. The story of the earth's conquest by the mythical **Prithu** is well known from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.

⁸ *Viz.* *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.

pre-eminent wealth, were the rational ornament of a ruler (*who wished to be*) an ornament of his family, kings thought to be indeed Kākustha,¹ the friend of the gods, descended here.

(V. 29.) As herds of deer, oppressed by the heat, when they enter a cluster of trees, have their minds delighted by the enjoyment of the shade and find comfort, so kinsmen with their belongings, who were waylaid by the stronger, had their minds relieved and found shelter, when they entered his territory.

(V. 30.) And in his house which contained manifold collections of choice wealth, the gateways of which were perfumed with the rutting juice of lordly elephants in rut, (*and*) which gaily resounded with music, the lady Fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long.

(V. 31.) This sun of a king by means of his rays — his daughters — caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups — the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (*for him*), and which were cherished by many bees — the kings (*who served them*).²

(V. 32.) Now to him, favoured by destiny, of no mean energy, endowed with the three powers,³ the crest-jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down (*even*) while he was sitting quiet — they who could not be subdued by the other five measures of royal policy together.⁴

(V. 33.) Here, at the home of perfection of the holy primeval god Bhava,⁵ which is frequented by groups of Siddhas, Gandharvas and Rakshas, which is ever praised with auspicious recitations of sacred texts by Brāhman students solely devoted to manifold vows, sacrifices and initiatory rites, (*and*) which was worshipped with faith by Sātākarni and other pious kings seeking salvation for themselves, that king Kākusthavarman has caused to be made this great tank, a reservoir for the supply of abundant water.

(V. 34.) Abiding by the excellent commands of that (*king's*) own son, the wide-famed glorious king Śāntivarman whose beautiful body is made radiant by the putting on of three fillets, Kubja has written this poem of his own on the surface of the stone.

Obeisance to the holy Mahādēva⁶ who dwells at Sthānakundūra! May joy attend this place, inhabited by men come from all the neighbourhood! Blessed be the people!

NO. 6.—JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN;

THE YEAR 72.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was first edited, with a translation and small lithograph, in April 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in *Journal As. Soc Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 338 ff. and Plate xv,⁶ from a facsimile which at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay had been prepared by

¹ The proper spelling of this word in literature is *Kākutstha*. The mythical being referred to probably is Rāma.

² The general idea expressed in the above is very common; compare *e.g.*, in a Kadamba inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, line 13 of the text, *soṇṇa-kumudavana-prabōdhana-saśāṅkaḥ*, and in another inscription, above, Vol. VII. p. 297, line 4 of the text, *kula-kumudarani-lakṣmī-vibōdhanaś-chandramā iva*. Whether our author has been very successful in elaborating that idea in detail, the reader may judge for himself; he may compare *Ragh.* XVII. 48, where the spies of a king are compared to the rays (*dīdhiti*) of the sun; and, for the lotus-groups, filaments, bees, and the sun's rays, *Kir.* IV. 14. The word *duhitri* of the verse must of course denote the king's daughters; and what the poet wishes to say can only be that they were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings.

³ *Viz.* the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy; see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, note 7.

⁴ For the six *gundh.* *i.e.* measures of royal policy, see *e.g.* *Rām.* II. 100. 69, *Ragh.* VIII. 21, *Śis.* II. 26, and *Manu* VII. 160 ff. One of them, *śvāna*, 'sitting quiet, halting,' we have in the word *śvāna-stham* of our verse; the five others are alliance, war, marching, dividing the army, and seeking protection.

⁵ *I.e.* Śiva.

⁶ Compare also *ibid.* Plate xix.

Captain Lang of the Kâthiâvâd Political Agency.¹ A critical essay on that edition was published in 1841 by Prof. Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. IV. p. 146 ff.; and Prinsep's translation was subsequently reprinted, with part of a revised translation by Prof. H. H. Wilson,² in Mr. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 57 ff. A month after the appearance of Prinsep's edition fresh facsimiles of the original were taken by Lieut. Postans, but they reached Calcutta only when Prinsep, at whose instance they were made, had already left India;³ and in July 1842 another facsimile, the joint labour of Captain (afterwards General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard and a young Brâhman, was presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and a small lithograph of it published in the Society's Journal, Vol. I. p. 148. A great advance in the reading and interpretation of the inscription was made in 1862, when, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 118 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji again published the text and a translation of it, with a large lithograph reduced from facsimiles made by Bhagvanlal Indrajî. Moreover, a revised version of Dr. Bhau Daji's work, by Prof. Eggeling, appeared in 1876, in *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., with a collotype from estampages by Dr. Burgess. Two years later Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajî's own text and translation were published, under the editorship of Prof. Bühler, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. And finally,⁴ in 1890, Prof. Bühler again gave the text and a translation of part of it, in his essay *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 45 ff. and 86 ff.—Some four or five years ago Dr. Fleet most generously presented to me his excellent paper impression of the inscription and requested me to re-edit this record. In now, at last, complying with his request, I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to the labours of my predecessors. Though from the first I saw that I could add but little to the main results of their work, I have persevered in my task because I felt that, even in its more minute details, the text of this, our earliest Sanskrit inscription of importance, ought to be given in as reliable a form as possible. A careful study of the impression enables me to add that the accompanying photo-lithograph, made under Dr. Fleet's own supervision, apparently is the first facsimile of this inscription that has been prepared by purely mechanical processes.

The inscription is on the western side, near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the Aśoka edicts⁵ as well as a long inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta,⁶ about a mile to the eastward of the town of Junâgadh in Kâthiâvâd, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnâr.⁷ It contains twenty lines of varying length⁸ of well-engraved writing which covers a space of about 11' 1" broad by 5' 5" high. Of these, only the four last lines (17-20) are fully preserved, while in each of the lines 1-16, as will be seen from the facsimile, a more or less extensive part of the writing is entirely gone, through wilful damage or the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Taking the total length of the twenty lines to be about 1900", the missing portion of the writing would be about 275", or approximately one-seventh of the whole inscription. Where the surface of the rock has

¹ See *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 27, and Vol. III. Part XIII. p. 27.

² Prof. Wilson's revised translation was based on a Nâgarî transcript of the text, which Mr. Thomas 'had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob,' which will be mentioned below.

³ See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 865 ff. and p. 887.

⁴ Perhaps I should mention that the inscription has also been 'edited,' with a facsimile, in *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, published by the Bhavnagar Archæol. Department, p. 18 ff.

⁵ Some letters of the 6th edict will be seen in the upper left corner of the accompanying facsimile; compare the facsimile of that edict opposite p. 454 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II., near the upper right corner of which the first word (*siddham*) of the present inscription may be seen.

⁶ Edited in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 58.

⁷ See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VII. pp. 337 and 871-73, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 57; and, for a photograph of the rock, *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. Plate ix.

⁸ The length of line 1 is about 5' 3", of line 9 (the longest line) about 11' 1", of line 11 about 9' 8", of line 17 about 5' 2", and of line 20 only 2' 5".

remained intact, the writing is generally well preserved and may be read with confidence nearly throughout. The average size of such letters as *n*, *p*, *b*, *m* is about $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

The characters according to Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 57) present an earlier form of the decidedly southern alphabet in the inscription of Skandagupta on the same rock. And this agrees with the opinion of Prof. Bühler who, in his *Ind. Palæographie*, p. 42, has described the alphabet here used as one of the precursors of the southern alphabets. Some of the more characteristic features in which this alphabet agrees with the later southern alphabets, according to Prof. Bühler, are the curves at the lower end of the vertical strokes of initial *a* and *ā* and of the consonants *k*, *ñ* and *r*, the round form of *q*,¹ the manner in which the upper part of the vertical line of *l* is turned towards the left, and the form of medial *ri* which sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the subscript *r*. Of initial vowels the inscription contains only *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *ē* (e.g. in *Āśokasya*, l. 8, *ā garbhāt*-, l. 9, *idaṁ*, l. 1, and *ēkārnava*-, l. 5); of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants all excepting *ñ* and *jh*, but *chh*, *ñ*, *th* and *ph* occur only as subscript letters (e.g. in *-ōchchhraya*-, l. 1, *rājñō*, l. 3, *saushthava*-, l. 13, and *sphuta*-, l. 14). We have besides the so-called southern *l*, in *-pālīkatvāt*-, l. 1, *-ppranāli*-, l. 2, *pranālibhir*-, l. 9 (but not in *pranādyā* in the same line), and *vyāla*-, l. 10. The signs for *d*, *q* and *qh* are throughout clearly distinguished as may be seen from e.g. *idaṁ*, *taḍākaṁ* and *driḍha*-, in line 1. Of final consonants only *t* occurs, in *-āsīt*, l. 7. Subscript consonants, including *y*, are written by the ordinary full forms of the letters, excepting perhaps the *l* of *Pahlavēna*, l. 19, which has a somewhat cursive form. The superscript *r* stands well above the top-line of the consonants, and in syllables like *rbhā*, *rtti*, *rshē*, etc., is the bearer of those vowel-signs which are ordinarily attached to the top of a letter. Medial *ā*, *ē*, *ai* and *ō* are mostly denoted by quite horizontal lines which are generally attached to the top of the consonant sign; (see e.g. *taḍūkaṁ*, l. 1, *parjjanyēna*, l. 5, *vyāmjanair*-, l. 15, and *ghōra*-, l. 7; but compare also e.g. *tā* in *taṭātātālak*-, l. 6, *dhā* in *dhāraṇa*-, l. 13, *dē* in *śaraṇadēna*, l. 10, *mō* in *-āyāmōchchhraya*-, l. 1, and other instances in which the vowel-signs are not attached to the top). As regards *ā*, the chief exceptions to this are formed by *jā*—compare e.g. *[va]jātēn*-, l. 2²—, and by *mā* where (except in *°m=Ānartta*-, l. 18) *ā* is denoted by a hook-shaped line at the right top of *m* (as in *mālya*-, l. 15). For *i*, *ī* and *ri* compare e.g. *nihsandhi*- and *-pālīkatvāt*-, l. 1, *śrīṣṭa-vrīṣṭinā*, l. 5, and *-āvīṣṭkrita*-, l. 11. Except in *ru*, medial *u* is denoted by a subscript curved line which is turned to the right when the consonant sign (as in *g*, *t*, *ś*) is open at the bottom or (as in *k* and *d*) ends in a single down-stroke, while otherwise it is turned to the left; compare e.g. *gu* in *gulma*-, l. 7, *tu* in *sētu*³-, l. 2, *ku* in *Kukur*-, l. 11, with *su* in *Sudarśanaṁ*, l. 1, *pu* in *putrasya*, l. 4, *mu*³ in *=abhimukh*⁴-, l. 10, etc. For the corresponding forms of *ū* compare *bhū* in *bhūtāyām*-, l. 5, *dū* in *°dūrayā*, l. 12, with *sthū* in *sthūla*⁴ and *ḍū* in *vaiḍūrya*-, l. 14, etc. For *ru* and *rū* see e.g. *taru*- and *-ānurūpa*-, l. 6. As in the case of *u* and *ū*, there are three forms of medial *au*, one of which appears in the *pau*⁴ of *pauṭra*, l. 4, and *paura*-, ll. 16 and 18, another in the *yau* of *Yaudhēyānām*, l. 12, and *sau* of *saushthava*-, l. 13, and the third in the *nau* of *dhanaughēna*, l. 16, and the *mau* of *Mauriyasya*, twice in line 8. The signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* do not occur; but the characters, in line 4, include numerical symbols for 70 and 2. A sign of punctuation, consisting in a single slanting line, is employed only at the end of the inscription.

¹ In Table III. Col. vi. of Prof. Bühler's work, where the alphabet of our inscription is given, the sign of *da* (No. 18) is imperfectly drawn; it resembles the *da* rather than the *da* of the inscription. The signs No. 16 (which also is mutilated) and No. 25 in the same column, which unaccountably are transcribed by *ta* and *nū*, are really *ṭa* and *nau*, and Prof. Bühler's remarks on them, on p. 42 of his text, are therefore incorrect.

² Compare, similarly, *rājñō* in lines 3 and 4.

³ In the *mu* of *samudyuktair*-, l. 17, the subscript sign is exceptionally turned towards the right.

⁴ The *au* of *pau* is not, as has been stated, like the *au* of the *pau* given in Prof. Bühler's Table II. Col. xviii. No. 28, but differs from it in this, that the shorter horizontal line is placed below, not above, the longer one.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, we may notice the use, already mentioned above, of the lingual *ḷ* in the words *pāḷi*, l. 1, *pranāḷi*,¹ ll. 2 and 9 (but not in *pranāḍyā*, l. 9), and *vyāḷa*, l. 10; the exceptional doubling of *p* before *r* in *pāda-ppratīsparddhi-* and *supprativihita-ppranāḷi-*, both in line 2, and of *t* and *n* before *y* in *prabhṛitty=avīhata-*, l. 9, and *kannyā-*, l. 15, (but not e.g. in *°rūpa-prattī*, l. 6, *mahaty=upa*, l. 3, and *parjjanyēna*, l. 5); the insertion (occasionally found in later inscriptions from the south) of an *anusvāra* before *nv* and *my* in *marudhamnva*, l. 8, and *abhiḡammya*, l. 9; and the use (common enough everywhere) of *tv* instead of *ttv*, in *satv-ādibhiḥ*, l. 14, and *atimahatvād=*, l. 17. There is, besides, a certain want of uniformity in the writing, shown by the facts that, after *r*, consonants (excepting sibilants) are doubled 38 times but left single 29 times; that, in the interior of simple words before *ch*, *t*, *d*, etc., the special nasal of a class is used 12 times and *anusvāra* 8 times; and that at the end of a word, before following *s*, *visarga* is left unchanged 6 times and changed to *s* three times. With reference to the external *saṁdhi* it may also be noted that no less than 10 times the rules concerning the combination of final with following initial vowels have been disregarded, even where two words are closely connected in sense (as e.g. in *parjjanyēna ekārṇava-bhūtāyām=*, l. 5, *-āv[i]dūrayā anutsādanāt=*, l. 12); that before an initial vowel *anusvāra* is three times written instead of *m* (as e.g. in *nadinām atimātr-*, l. 6);² and that in *riḡṇaḥ Chandra*, l. 8, *visarga* has been left unchanged before *ch*. And as regards the internal *saṁdhi*, the dental *n* has been wrongly used instead of the lingual *ṇ* in *-ānurāgēna*, l. 13, and *Surāshtrānām*, l. 18.³ These two last may of course be mere clerical errors; and so no doubt are *-vōgēna* for *-vēgēna*, in line 7, *rakṣaṇ-ārtha* for *rakṣaṇ-ārtham*, in line 9, *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya* for *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya* in line 12, and very probably *tasmī*⁴ for *tasmīn=*, in line 9, and *kōsā* for *kōśin=*, in line 16. The *ī* of *viśad-uttarāny=* in line 7 may be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit *viśa*; what the author intended was *viśad-uttarāny=*, where *viśat* would have been used for *viśatī* in accordance with the practice of literary works like the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁵ In *-āv[i]dūrayā*, l. 12, for apparently *-āvidūratayā*, the syllable *ta* must have been left out by a mistake of the writer; and similarly the syllable *kṛi* may have been omitted in *Mauryasya té*, l. 8, for which I propose to read *Mauryasya kṛité*.— Looking at the language in general, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, *vartatē* in line 3 and *āsīt* in line 7, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs, viz., in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another *āsīt* in line 8, and perhaps one verb in line 9. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand—and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose

¹ This word is ordinarily spelt *pranāḍī* or *pranāḷī*.— Attention may perhaps be drawn also to the spelling of *tadāka*, l. 1, and *vaidūrya*, l. 14. This last word, according to the Nāgarī MSS. of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti* on P. IV. 3, 84, would have to be spelt *vaidūrya*; but the Kaśmir MSS. known to me derive it from *vidūra*. *Vaidūrya* also is the reading of the MSS. of Hēmachandra's grammar which I have compared. In Pāli the word is *veḷuriya*.

² This use of the *anusvāra* as well as the non-observance of the rules of *saṁdhi* may be due to the influence of the Prākṛit.

³ The statement that *ch* has been frequently omitted before *chh* in this inscription is incorrect; it has not been omitted once.

⁴ See the note on the text. If the reading were really *tasmīn*, the *anusvāra* here too might be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit (Pāli).

⁵ Compare, e.g., *viśad-bhūja*, *Rām.* (Bombay ed.) III. 32, 8 (*viśati-bhūja*, but against the metre, III. 35, 9); *viśad-yōjana*, V. 1, 15; VI. 39, 20; *viśatī*, VI. 67, 7 and 98; *chaturviśatī*, IV. 42, 20.— Either *viśatī* or *viśat* was apparently intended above, Vol. III. p. 321, l. 15.

works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. On a rough calculation the text contains about 1,330 syllables; about 440 of them belong to 144 simple words, while the remaining 890 are taken up by 88 compound nouns, consisting variously of from two to as many as fifteen members. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence. In respect of inflection and syntax, the language is generally correct. Of grammatically wrong forms there is only the instrumental *patinā* (for *patyā*), in line 11; but this form is equally found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and similar works, with which the writer seems to have been familiar.¹ An unusual construction we have in *anyatra saṁgrāmēṣhu*, ‘except in battles,’ in line 10, for the customary *anyatra saṁgrāmēbhyah*;² a redundant word in *ā garbhāt=prabhṛiti*, ‘from the womb,’ in line 9, for either *ā garbhāt* or *garbhāt=prabhṛiti*; and an apparently wrong addition of *pūrva* in *anupasriṣṭapūrva*, in line 10, used in the sense of simply *anupasriṣṭa*.³ Of words not found in dictionaries the text presents only *upatulpa*, in line 6, denoting in my opinion ‘an upper story,’ and *Śrabhra*, in line 11, as the name of a particular country or people; but attention may also be drawn to the words *mīḍha*, l. 3, *rāshṭriya*, l. 8, and *pranaya-kriyā*, l. 16, the meanings of which will be considered below.

The author’s disposition of his subject-matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, of the lake Sudarśana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words ‘this lake Sudarśana’ with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition (lines 1-3). It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman (ll. 3-7). All the water having escaped, the lake, from being *sudarśana*, became *durdarśana* (ll. 7-8). The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandra-gupta, and was perfected under the Maurya Aśoka (ll. 8-9). It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (*sudarśanātara*) by Rudradāman (ll. 9-16), under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suviśākha (ll. 17-20).—From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description, and a record of the exploits, of the Mahākshatrapa by whom it was accomplished (ll. 9-15). The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short, though historically important,⁴ sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in

¹ That the author has used what I may call the epic *viśat*—the text actually has *viśat*—for *viśati*, has been already stated. The phrase *paura-jānapadam janam* in line 16 is a Pāda of an ordinary Ślōka, and actually occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and we find in the text a number of words which seem peculiar to, or at any rate occur often in, epic poetry.

² *Anyatra saṁgrāmēṣhu* has been said to be the quite correct expression for ‘except in battles;’ but whether correct or no from a theoretical point of view, it is not the customary Sanskrit expression, as may be seen from the numerous quotations under *anyatra* in the St. Petersburg dictionary. In fact, the authors of that work quote only a single passage from the *Mahābhārata* in which *anyatra* “quite exceptionally” is not construed with the ablative. The case, for all I know, may be different in Pāli; but when in Aśoka’s edict VI. (Girnār, l. 14, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 456) we read *dukaram tv idam ānata agena parākramena*, ‘but this is difficult to do except by the utmost exertion,’ this in Sanskrit would have to be expressed by *dushkaram tv idam=anyatr=āgryāt=parākramāt*. And I could certainly quote many passages from the *Jātakas* in which *ānata* is construed with the ablative, while theoretically another case might have been considered more appropriate. With the passage in our inscription we may to a certain extent compare *Rām.* V. 63, 19 and 64, 32: *drishṭā na ch=ānyēna Hanumatā* for *drishṭā na ch=ānyēna Hanumatā*.

³ I must leave it to Pāli scholars to decide whether the author could have been possibly misled by the Pāli to employ *anupasriṣṭapūrva* for *anupasriṣṭa* (or *na kadāchid=upasriṣṭa*). In *Jāt.* Vol. VI. p. 76, l. 15 (*tatra maṁ amachchā pucchhissanti: ‘api na kho te mahārāja Himavante vasantena na kiñchēhi achchhariyam dīṭṭhapubbam’*) *dīṭṭhapubbam* undoubtedly is equivalent to simply *dīṭṭham*.

⁴ I refer to the fact that the Mauryas Chandragupta and (his grandson) Aśoka (under this name) are mentioned in this sentence.

a piece of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Bühler¹ has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterization of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word *Sudarśana*, the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an *upamā*, the so-called *arthālaṃkāras* may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of *śabdālaṃkāra* which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words (as e.g. in *praharaṇa-vitarāṇa*, l. 10, *samagrāṇām . . . -vishayāṇām vishayāṇām*, l. 11, *avidhēyāṇām Yaudhēyāṇām*, l. 12, *-nāmnā . . . -dāmnā . . . Rudradāmnā*, l. 15, *śaktēna dāntēn=āchapalēn=āvismitēn=āryyēn=āhāryyēṇa*, l. 19, etc.),² and he occasionally makes use of the ornament of alliteration (as e.g. in *akrītrimēna śētubandhēn=ōpapannam suppratīvihita-ppranālī-parīvāha-mīdhavidhānam*, l. 2, etc.).

The general purport of the inscription has been given above. It remains to point out briefly some details, the full discussion of which, after all that has already been written about them,³ would necessitate a careful examination of other records some of which are in course of being re-edited critically by another scholar, and lies beyond the scope of this paper. The principal figure in our inscription is (the Western Kshatrapa,) the king (and) Mahākshatrapa **Rudradāman**; the name of his father (the Kshatrapa **Jayadāman**) was given in line 4, but has disappeared; his father's father was the king (and) Mahākshatrapa, Lord **Chashtana** (l. 4). From an epithet in line 15 we learn that Rudradāman himself acquired or assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. Other epithets in lines 11 and 12 tell us that by his own valour he gained, and became the lord of, eastern and western **Ākarāvanti**,⁴ the **Anūpa** country, **Ānarta**, **Surāshtra**, **Śvabhra**, **Maru**, **Kachchha**, **Sindhu-Sauvira**, **Kukura**, **Aparānta**, **Nishāda** and other territories; that he destroyed the **Yaudhēyas**; and that he twice defeated **Sātakarṇi**,⁵ the lord of **Dakṣiṇāpatha**, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him.—The storm by which the lake *Sudarśana* was devastated is stated (in lines 4 and 5) to have taken place on the first of the dark half of **Mārgaśirsha** in the 72nd year—according to the actual wording of the text—of **Rudradāman** himself; but the meaning clearly is⁶ that it took place during the reign of Rudradāman, on the given day in the 72nd year of the era used by Rudradāman (and the Western Kshatrapas generally). With other scholars I feel convinced that this is the Śaka era,⁷ and taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year, I find that the date would correspond to either the 18th October, or more probably the 16th November, A.D. 150. Accordingly, our inscription may be assumed to have been composed about A.D. 151 or 152.

The minister **Suviśākha**, by whom the work of restoring the dam of the lake was carried out, is called (in line 19) a **Pahlava** and the son of **Kulaipa**, and is stated (in line 18) to have been appointed by the king (Rudradāman) to govern (the province of) **Ānarta** and **Surāshtra**.—The officials who in earlier times had constructed and perfected the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka respectively were (line 8) the provincial governor, the **Vaiśya**⁸ **Pushyagupta**, and the 'Yavana king' **Tushāspa**, governing (the province or district under Aśoka).

¹ See his *Die Indischen Inschriften*, p. 51 f.

² For quite similar instances compare e.g. the first pages of the *Dakṣiṇācharita*.

³ See e.g. Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 272 ff.; M. Senart, *ibid.* Vol. XXI, p. 294 ff.; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, p. 28 f.; Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 646 f.; the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I, p. 34 ff., etc.

⁴ For some of these names see the Nāsik inscription in *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV, p. 108, line 2.

⁵ I.e. one of the Andhrabhṛitya kings; but there is a difference of opinion as to which of them is here intended.

⁶ Compare the similar dates of my *Northern List*, No. 439, etc., and of my *Southern List*, No. 602.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 153.

⁸ The Vaiśyas according to Varāhamihira are a people of the western division; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 192.

Proper names, other than those given in the preceding, that occur in the inscription, are (besides the name **Sudarśana** of the lake itself) **Girinagara** in line 1, **Ūrjayat**, the name of a mountain, in line 5, and **Suvarṇasikatā** and **Palāśini**, the names of two rivers, in lines 5 and 6. Of these, **Girinagara**, 'the hill-city,' as was recognized already by Prof. Lassen, is the earlier name of the town of Junāgaḍh or its ancient representative,¹ while **Ūrjayat** denotes the mountain now called Girnār.² Of the two rivers the first, according to Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, is a small perennial stream now called Sonarékḥā; the name of the other does not seem to survive.

TEXT.³

- 1 Siddham [i*] Idam tadākam⁴ Sudarśanam Gir[i]nagarād-ap[i] [d][ū?]ram=
a[n?]t[a]⁵ [tt]ik⁶-ōpala-vistār-āyām-
ōchehbraya-⁷nihsandhi-baddha-driḍha-⁸sarvva-pālikatvāt=parvvata-pā-
2 da-ppratisparddhi-suslish[t]a-⁹[ba][ndha?]m¹⁰ [va]jātēn=ākṛitrimēpa
sētubandhēn=ōpapaṇnam supprativihita-ppranāli-pari[v]āha-¹¹
3 mīdhavidhānam¹² cha tri-skan[dha?]¹³ n-ādibhir=anugrahair=mahaty=
upachayē varṭtatē [i*] Tad=idam rājñō mahākshatrapasya sugrihī-
4 ta-nāmnah Svāmi-Chasṭanasya pautra¹⁴ h putrasya rājñō mahākshatrapasya
gurubhir=abhyasta-nāmnō Rudradāmnō varshē dvisaptatitam[ē] 70 2
5 Mārggaśirsha-¹⁵bahula-prat[i]¹⁶ h¹⁷ srisṭṣa-vṛisṭṭinā parjjanyēna¹⁸ ēkārṇava-
bhūtāyām=iva prithivyām kṛitāyām girēr=Ūrjayataḥ Suvarṇasikatā-

¹ The town Girinagara is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 706, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 78, line 19.

² See *Gupta Inscr.* p. 57.

³ From Dr. Fleet's impression. An asterisk after a letter or syllable shows that such letter or syllable is entirely broken away. In the following notes the letter B. denotes Prof. Bühler's text, the letter I. that of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

⁴ B. has *taṭṭikam*, but the second syllable is undoubtedly *dā*; compare *tā* in *-taṭ-āṭṭalak*, l. 6. The word is spelt *tadāka* also in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 61, ll. 21 and 23.—It may be noted that Prinsep's wrong reading *taṭṭakam* is responsible for the word *taṭṭaka*, 'shore,' of our dictionaries.

⁵ I. and B. have *Girinagari-dri-pāla-rama*, but in his notes on I. Prof. Bühler stated that the reading *rāmā* is very improbable. In the impression, the *akṣara* which by Bhagvanlal Indrajī was read *dra* seems undoubtedly to be only *da*; and the following *akṣara* cannot be read *pā*, but is most probably *pi*.

⁶ The original apparently had *ṛittik*.

⁷ I. has *-ōchehbraya*.

⁸ B. omits *driḍha*.

⁹ From here, commencing with the *t* of *śṭṭa*, the lower part of the *akṣaras* is broken away. The word read *ba-ṭṭam* might equally well be *baddham*.

¹⁰ Here there are remainders of three *akṣaras*, the second of which seems to have contained the conjunct *rk*.

¹¹ I. and B. have *-parivāham*.

¹² The sign of *anusvāra* over *na* looks somewhat like the superscript *r*.

¹³ I. and B. have *-skandham*.

¹⁴ The lacuna may be filled up thus: *pautra[sya rājñah kshatrapasya sugrihita-nāmnah Sodmi-Jayadāmna]h*; but I should have expected five or six syllables more.

¹⁵ I. and B. have *Mārga*.

¹⁶ B. has *-pa*, but the *akṣara pra* and the *t* of *ti* are clear in the impression. The original most probably had *-pratipadi*.

¹⁷ I. and B. have *susṛisṭa*, but the sign of *visarga* before *sṛisṭa* is quite clear. What remains of the *akṣara* preceding the *visarga* looks as if that *akṣara* had contained the letter *k* or *r*, or a subscript *u*.

¹⁸ Read *ayēn=nikā*.

- 6 Palāśini-prabhṛitnām nadinām¹ atimātr-ôdvṛittair=vvêgaiḥ² sêtum=[a?] . . .
 [ya]māp-³ânurûpa-pratikâram=api
 girisikhara-taru-tat-âtṭâlak-ôpatalpa-dvâra-sâraṇôchchhaya-⁴vidhvamsinâ yuganidhana-
 sadri-
- 7 śa-paramaghôra-vôgêna⁵ vâyunâ pramathita-salila-vikshipta-jarjjarikṛit-âva[dī?] . . .
 [k]sh[i]pt-âśma-vṛiksha-gulma-latâpratânam⁶ â nadi-[ta]-
 lâ[d]=ity=udghâtitam=âsit [*] Chatvâri hasta-śatâni viśad-⁷uttarâṇy=âyatêna⁸
 êtâvamty=⁹êva vistîrṇêna
- 8 pañcha-saptatim¹⁰ hastân=avagâdhêna bhêdêna niṣṣṛita-sarvva-tôyam marudhamnvaka-¹¹
 lpam=atibhṛisam durd[d]a¹² [s]y=[â]rthê Maurya-
 sya¹³ rājñas¹⁴ Châmdrag[u][pta*][s][ya*] [r]âshṭriyêna [V]aiśyêna¹⁵ Pushya-
 guptêna kâritam¹⁶ Âśôkasya Mauryasya tē¹⁷ Yavanarâjêna Tush[â]sphên=¹⁸
 âdhishtâyâ
- 9 pranâlibhir=ala[m]kṛita[m] tat-kâritayâ cha rāj-ânurûpa-kṛita-¹⁹vidhânayâ tasmi²⁰
 bhêdê dṛishṭayâ pranâdyâ²¹ vis[tri*]ta-sêt[u] nâ²²
 â garbhât=prabhṛitty=avihata-samud[i][ta?]-²³r[â]jalakshmî-dh[âra]nâ-guṇatas=sarvva-
 varṇair=abhigammya²⁴ rakshaṇ-ârtha²⁵ patitvê vṛitêna²⁶ â prâṇ-ôchchhvasât=
 purushavadhanivṛitti-kṛita-
- 10 satyapratijñêna²⁷ anya[t]ra saṅgrâmêshv=abhimukhâgata-sadriśa-śâtru-praharaṇa-
 vitarauṇatv-âviguṇa-ri[pu?] ta-²⁸kârūpyêna
 svayamabhigata.²⁹janapada-praṇipati[t?]-â[y][u?]-sha-³⁰sâraṇadêna dasyu-vyâḷa-
 mṛiga-rôg-âdibhir=anupasṛishṭapûrvva-³¹nagara-nigama-

¹ Read *nadinām*.

² I. and B. have *ryamān*.

³ Read *vêgêna*, which is the reading of I. and B.

⁴ Read *viśad* (for *viśaty*).

⁵ I. has *°vanty=êva*.

⁶ Read *marudhamnvâ*, which is the reading of I. and B.

⁷ I.e., probably, *durddarsanam=âsit* |, with two or three words introducing the following sentence.

⁸ I. and B. have *Mauryasya*.

⁹ Read *rājñas*.

¹⁰ The initial consonant, the lower part of which is damaged, has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji.

¹¹ Read *kâritam*.

¹² For *tē* Dr. Bhau Daji proposed *tēna*, and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji *tat*. I would suggest *krītê*.

¹³ I. and B. have *Tushāspên*, but the sign for *ph* is distinct in two impressions of this passage. Compare also Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 195.

¹⁴ B. omits *kṛita*.

¹⁵ The original may possibly have *tasmin*, as read by Prinsep. Read *tasmin*.

¹⁶ I. has *prandīyâ*, and B. *prandīyâ*; but *prandīyâ* is quite distinct.

¹⁷ This *akshara* has been hitherto read *nô*, but the back of the impression clearly shows that *nâ* was engraved; this must be the last syllable of a noun in the instrumental case. Read *nâ garbhât*.

¹⁸ The vowel *i* over *d* appears to be quite certain; of the *akshara* which follows upon *di* the upper part is gone, and what remains looks like the remnant of *pa* or *sha* rather than of *ta*. But I consider *simudita* to be certain; *samudaya* would be impossible.

¹⁹ Read *=abhigamya*, which is the reading of I. and B.

²⁰ Read *-ârtham*, which is the reading of I. and B.

²¹ Read *vṛitên=â*.

²² Read *°jñên=ânyatra*.

²³ I. and B. have *(dhri)ta-* and *dhṛita-*, but the *akshara* preceding *ta* is quite illegible.

²⁴ Over the *ta* of *°gata* is a mark which might be taken for the sign of *anusvâra*.

²⁵ I. and B. have *-pranipatti-[viśê]sha-*, I. with the sign of interrogation after *viśê*. In my opinion, the *akshara* read *tti* by them is undoubtedly *ti*, with, below it, an accidental scratch (which, if it were really *t*, would stand under the right, not the left, vertical line of the upper *t*). Again, what remains of the consonant of the *akshara* preceding *sha*, does not look at all like a remnant of *t*, but seems to be an almost fully preserved *y*.

²⁶ I. and B. have *°sṛishṭapûrvva-*, but two impressions of this passage have clearly *shṭa*, not *shṭâ*.

- 11 janapadānām svaviry-ārjitānām=anurakta-sarvva-prakṛitīnām pūrvv-āpar-Ākarāvanty-
Anūpanivṛid-Ānartta-Surāshṭra-Śva[^{bh*}]ra-¹[Ma]ru-[Kach]chha-[S]i[n]dhu-S[au]-
v[ī]ra-Kukur-Āparāmta-Nishād-ādīnām samagrānām tat-prabhāvād=[y]a . .
. r[ttha]-²kāma-vishayāpā[m] vishayānām patinā³ sarvva-kshatr-
āvishkṛita-
- 12 vīrasabda-jātotsēk-⁴avidhēyānām Yaudhēyānām prasahy=ōtsādakēna Dakṣhīnāpatha-
patēs=Sātakarnēr=dvir=api nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya⁵ sambamdh-āv[i]dūrayā⁶
anutsādanāt=prāpta-yaśasā mā[d?] [pta]-⁷vijayēna bhrashta-
rāja-⁸pratishṭhāpakēna yathārthta-⁹hastō-
- 13 chchhṛay-¹⁰ārjit-ōrjita-dharm-ānurāgēna¹¹ śabdārthta-gāndharvva-nyāy-ādyānām vidyā-
nām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-āvāpta-vipula-kīrtinā turaga-gaja-
rathacharyy-āsi-charma-¹²niyuddh-ādyā [ti]-para-
bala-lāghava-saushṭhava-kriyēna¹³ ahar-ahar-ddāna-¹⁴mān-āna-
- 14 vāmāna-sīlēna sthūlalakshēṇa yathāvat=prāptair=bali-śulka-bhāgaiḥ kanaka-¹⁵
rajata-¹⁶vajra-vaidūrya-¹⁷ratn-ōpachaya-vishyandamāna-kōśēna sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-
chitra-kānta-śabdasamayōdār-ālamkṛita-gadya-padya
na pramāṇa-mān-ōnmāna-svara-gati-varṇa-¹⁸sāra-satv-¹⁹ādibhiḥ
- 15 parama-lakṣhaṇa-vyamjanair=upēta-kānta-mūrttinā²⁰ svayamadhigata-mahākshatrapa-
nāmna narēndra-kānyā-²¹svayamvar-ānēka-mālya-prāpta-dāmn[ā] mahākshatrapēna
Rudradāmnā varsha-sahasrāya gō-brāh[m]a
r[ttha]m dharmma-kīrtti-²²vṛiddhy-arthaṁ cha²³ apīdayit[v]ā kara-vishṭi-
- 16 prapayakriyābhiḥ paura-jānapadam janam svasmāt=kōśā²⁴ mahatā dhan-aughēna²⁵
anātimahatā cha kālēna trig[u]ṇa-dṛiḍhatara-vistār-āyāmam sētum vidhā[ya]
[sa ?]r[v]va-ta[?]ē²⁶ [s]c-
darśanateram kārītam=i[t]i [i*] [A ?][s]minn=²⁷artthē²⁸
- 17 mahākshatrapa[s]ya matisachiva-karmasachivair=²⁹amātyaguna-samudyuktair=apy-
utimahatvād=³⁰bhēday=ānutsāha-vimukha-matibhi[h] praty[ā]khyāt-ārambham

¹ From *bāra* to *Sauri* the upper portion of the *aksharas* is broken away. The text has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji to whom the word *Sindhu* was suggested by Prof. Buhler. Of the first *akshara* of the word *Maru* enough remains to show that the *akshara* was not *bha*.

² I omits this, and B has *rera*; but the *akshara* is undoubtedly the same which we have in *r[ttha]m*, l. 15, only without the *anusvāra*.—B. proposed to fill up the lacuna by reading *ya[tthēpsitādvāpta-sarvva]kāma*; I myself would read *ya[tthāvatprāpta-dharm-dṛttha]-kāma*.

³ The grammatically correct form would be *patyā*.

⁴ The *t* of the syllable *tō* of this word looks as if *th* or *ṭh* had been originally engraved.

⁵ Read *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya*.

⁶ I. and B. have *-āradūro[ta*]yā*, but there are clear traces of the vowel *i* above the sign for *v*. The top of the *akshara* *dū* is slightly damaged. Read *-āradūro[ta*]y=ānu*.

⁷ I. and B. have *[tta]*.

⁸ B. has *bhrashtardāya*, but the reading *bhrashtardāya* appears to me to be quite certain.

⁹ I. has *yathārtha*.

¹⁰ I. has *chhṛay*.

¹¹ Read *-ānurāgēna*.

¹² This *akshara* is *rma*, not *rma*, but the top part of it looks as if some other *akshara* had been originally intended to be engraved

¹³ Read *-kriyēna=āhar*.

¹⁴ I. has *=dāna*.

¹⁵ Possibly *kānaka* may have been actually engraved.

¹⁶ B. omits *rajata*.

¹⁷ I. and B. have *vaidūrya*, but the sign for *ḍ* is most distinct in the impression. Besides, the sign for the *ā* of *dū* differs, as has been shown above, from the sign for *ā* which is here used; compare the *dū* of *-d[ī]dūrayā*, above, l. 12.

¹⁸ I. has *-varṇa*.

¹⁹ Read *-satv*.

²⁰ I. has *-mūrtinā*.

²¹ I. and B. have *-kānyā*, but the *akshara* *nyā* is quite clear in the impression.

²² I. has *-kīrtti*.

²³ Read *ch=āpi*.

²⁴ Read *=kōśāna*.

²⁵ Read *-aughēna=ānati*.

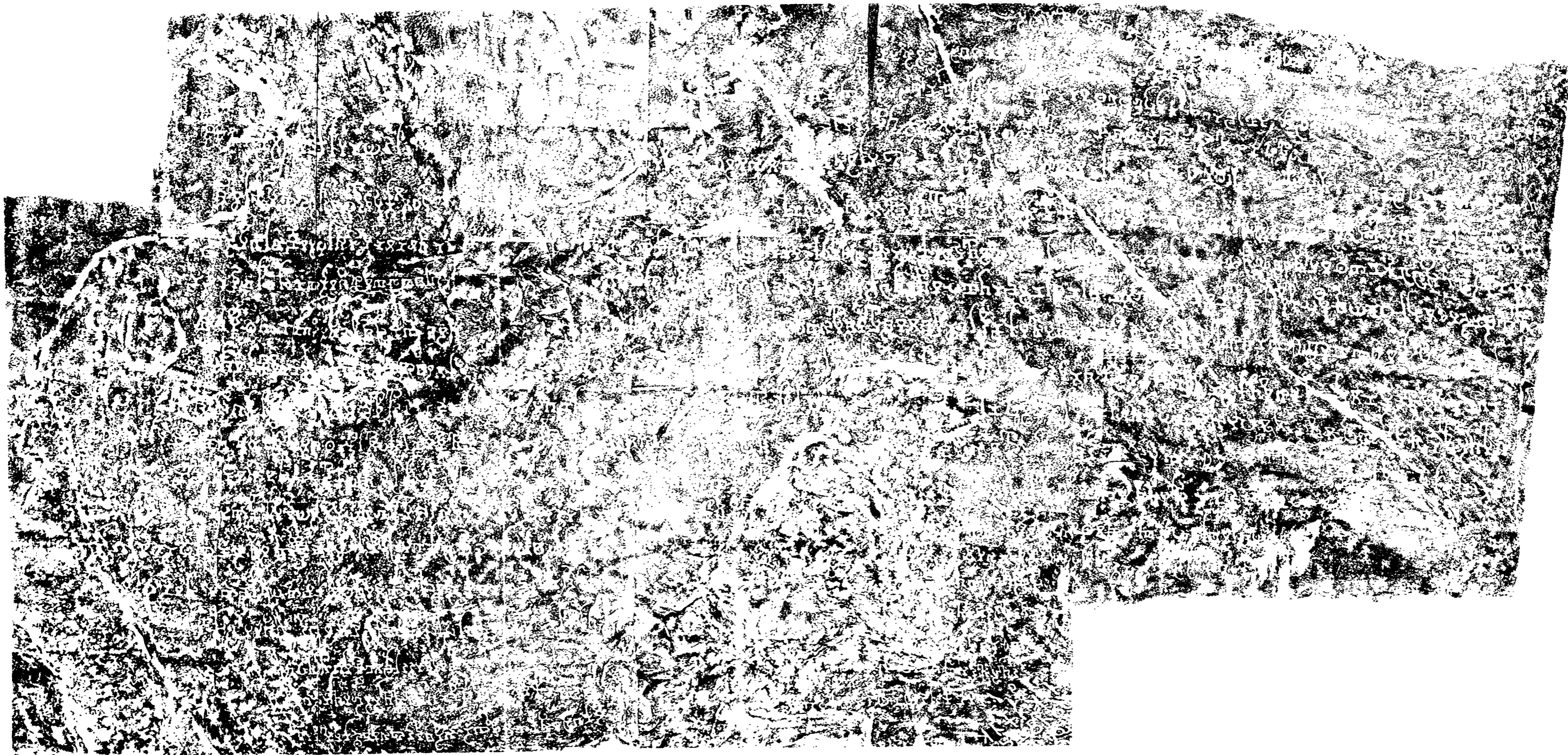
²⁶ I. and B. have *[sarvva]naga[rā]*, but the *akshara* read *na* by them is clearly *ta*.

²⁷ The *a* of *asminn* is very doubtful, but I consider it more probable than the *ta* of *asminn* in I. and B.

²⁸ I. has *=artthē*.

²⁹ I. has *-karmma*.

³⁰ Read *=mahatvād*.



- 18 punaḥsētubandha-nair[ā]śyād=hāhābhūtāsu prajāsu¹ ih=ādhiṣṭhānē paura-jānapada-
jan-ānugrah-ārtham² pāṭhivēna kṛtsnānām-Ānartta-Surāśhṭrānām³ pālan-
ārthan=⁴niyuktēna
- 19 Pahlavēna⁵ Kulaipa-putrēn=āmātyēna Suviśākhēna yathāvad=artha-dharma-⁶
vyavahāra-darsanair=anurāgam=abhivarddhayatā śaktēna dāntēn=āchapalēn=āvismitēn=
āryyēn=āhāryyēna⁷
- 20 svadhitiṣṭhatā dharma-kīrtti-⁸yaśāmsi bhartur=⁹abhivarddhayat=ānushṭhitam=iti 1(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished !

(Line 1.) This lake Sudarśana, from Girinagara [even a long distance?]
. of a structure so well joined as to rival the spur of a mountain, because
all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length and height constructed without gaps as they
are of stone, [clay], furnished with a na-
tural¹⁰ dam, [formed by?], and with well-
provided conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter,¹¹
. three sections by and other
favours is (now) in an excellent condition.¹²

(L. 3.) This same (lake)¹³— on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the
seventy-second — 72nd — year of the king, the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman whose name is
repeated by the venerable,¹⁴ the son of ¹⁵

¹ Read *prajāśr=ih=*.² I. has *-ārtham*.³ Read *°śhṭrānām*, which is the reading of I. and B.⁴ I. has *-ārthan=*.⁵ I. and B. have *Pahlavēna*.⁶ I. has *-dharmam*.⁷ I. and B. have *°hāryyēna*.⁸ I. has *-kīrtti=*.⁹ I. has *bharttur=*.¹⁰ Literally 'non-artificial.'

¹¹ The word *mīḍha* of the original text has been translated only by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji. Taking *mīḍha-vidhānam* as a separate epithet of the lake, he rendered it by 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine,' to which Prof. Bühler added the note that *mūṭrarākhā* is a common expression in Gujarāṭi for "crooked." Both scholars apparently took *mīḍha* to be synonymous with *gómūṭraka*; but this could hardly be approved of. Besides, *mīḍha-vidhānam*, as we now see, really forms part of the Bahuvrīhi compound commencing with *supraṭi-vihita*, and therefore either *mīḍha* by itself or *mīḍha-vidhāna* must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In my opinion *mīḍha* is identical with the Pāli *mīḍha* (e.g. in *mīḍhena littā, Jātaka*, Vol. III. p. 244, l. 18, *mīḍha-littā mahāpatham*, *ibid* p. 525, l. 27, *mīḍhena taṃ vadhiṣāmi pāṭi haññatu pūtina*, Vol. II. p. 211, l. 25, *mīḍadduno mīḍham adenti bālā*, Vol. VI. p. 112, l. 2), meaning 'excrements' or 'dirt, foul matter' generally; according to the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary *mīḍha* is used in this sense also in the *Lalitavistara*, e.g. in *mīḍha-giri*, 'a dunghill,' Calcutta ed. p. 240, l. 4. Now since foul matter would not have been provided for the lake, that which was so provided must be denoted by *mīḍha-vidhāna*, and I feel no hesitation in explaining this word to mean 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities.' By the context *vidhāna* here as elsewhere becomes practically equivalent to *parihāra* or *pratikriyā*; on *Rām*. III. 24, l. 11 *anāgata-vidhānam* is explained by *ajigamishitasy=dnishṭasya pratividhānam parihārah*, and on VII. 21, 5 *vidhāna* is similarly paraphrased by *pratikriyā*.

¹² If it were possible to say so with reference to a lake, I should have translated: 'is (now) in a highly prosperous state.'

¹³ The sentence is continued below, in the words 'with stones, trees, bushes,' etc.

¹⁴ As has been pointed out by Prof. S. Lévi (*Jour. Asiatique*, 1902, p. 100), the use of *abhyas* and the statement that Rudradāman's name was repeated by *gurus* at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages the name was like another Vēda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit. *Gurubhir=abhyasta-nāman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *sugrihita-nāman* which will be mentioned presently.— In *gurubhir=abhyasta-nāman* (for the more logical *gurvabhyasta-nāman*) we have one of those constructions which Indian grammarians impeach by the statement *sāpāksham-asamartham dhavati*, but after all justify by *gamakatvoti=samśaḥ*; similar constructions occur elsewhere in the text.

¹⁵ I.e. 'the son of the king, the Kshatrpa Lord Jayadāman;' see the note on the text. In inscriptions and on coins Jayadāman is called Kshatrpa, not Mahākshatrpa; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157; *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 140; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 32; and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 645.

., (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Lord Chashtana the taking of whose name is auspicious,¹

. when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean,² by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarṇasikātā, Palāśini and other streams of mount Ūrjayat the dam

., though proper precautions [were taken], the water—churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter³—scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart],—with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus⁴ laid open down to the bottom of the river:—

(L. 7.) By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, [became] extremely ugly [to look at].⁵

(L. 8.)⁶ . . . for the sake of . . . ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor⁷ of the Maurya king Chandragupta; adorned with

¹ The exact meaning of *sugrīhita-nāman* is well indicated by a passage in the *Harshacharita*, Bombay ed. p. 210, l. 6, which shows the result of uttering a bad man's name: *nām=āpi grīhṇatō 'sya pāpakāriṇaḥ pāpamalēna lipyata tva mē jīhāt*, 'as I take merely the name of this miscreant, my tongue seems soiled with a smirch of sin.' *Sugrīhita-nāman* itself often occurs in the *Harshacharita*, applied to royal or noble personages, both living and deceased; compare p. 30, l. 6; p. 85, l. 13; p. 101, l. 6; p. 179, l. 3; p. 200, l. 1; p. 246, l. 20; p. 261, l. 23; and p. 278, l. 19. From inscriptions I can quote only *sugrīhita-nāmadhēya* which occurs in the Bādāmi pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa, applied to Maṅgalēśa's grandfather Raṇarāga, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, l. 3 of the text.

² For the notion of the earth's being converted into one ocean (*ēkārṇava-bhūtiyām=iva*) compare e.g. *Rām.* V. 49, 20: *ayam hy=utsahatē kruddhaḥ kartum=ēkārṇavam jagat*. I may add that nouns ending in *bhūta* like *ēkārṇava-bhūta* are most common in the *Rāmāyana*; I have noted *dācharya-bhūta*, *trīṇa-bh.*, *dahana-bh.*, *nimitta-bh.*, *nyāsa-bh.*, *ratna-bh.*, *Rāma-bh.*, *mṛita-bhūta* *iva* (III. 36, 23), and others.

³ My translation of *upatalpa* and *uchchhṛaya* requires some justification. Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji has translated the former by '(pieces of) the neighbouring ground,' Prof. Bühler by 'Tempelzinnen' (i.e. pinnacles of temples); and both scholars, I do not know on what authority, have rendered *uchchhṛaya* by 'pillars of victory.' To me it seems highly probable that the words *aṭṭalak-ōpatalpa* of our text are identical in sense (as they are closely connected in form) with *talp-āṭṭa* in *Ragh.* XVI. 11, *viśṛṇa-talp-āṭṭa-śatō nirśaḥ*; there *talpa* is explained to mean 'a room on the top of a house' or 'upper story,' and the same meaning I would claim for *upatalpa*. *Uchchhṛaya* in line 1 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'height,' and in line 13 in that of 'raising, lifting up, elevation.' The word also (see e.g. the commentary on *Rām.* VII. 81, 10) means 'anything which rises,' 'elevation' in the sense of 'an elevated piece of ground,' etc.; and if in the present passage we take *śaraṇōchchhṛaya* as one word, there is no reason to go beyond that strictly etymological meaning. *Śaraṇōchchhṛaya* would be 'any raised place serving as shelter,' a meaning that seems perfectly appropriate. We may compare *stambhōchchhṛaya* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 44, l. 13, used clearly in the sense of 'a raised pillar, a lofty pillar' (*uchchhṛitaḥ stambhaḥ*, as the expression is *ibid.* p. 9, l. 30).—The reader will observe the contrast between *uchchhṛaya* and the immediately following *vidhvāmsin*, which two words remind one of *udaya-dhvāmsa* and similar expressions found elsewhere.

⁴ *Viz.* in the manner described in the following paragraph of the inscription.

⁵ For the play on the words—the lake Sudarśana became *durdarśana*—compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 60, l. 17.

⁶ This paragraph speaks of the original construction of the lake during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta and of improvements made under (his grandson) Aśoka. The subject of the sentence undoubtedly again was 'the lake'; 'the lake (probably for the benefit of the people) had been ordered to be made . . . ; it was adorned . . .')

⁷ The position held by Pushyagupta and Tushāspa, who were immediately instrumental in the making and improving of the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka, is indicated by the words *rāshṭriyāna* and *adhishṭhāya* respectively. Considering that *adhi-śhṭhā* in line 20 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'to govern,' and that *adhishṭhāna* in line 18 means 'government,' it seems most natural to ascribe the same meaning also to *adhishṭhāya* in the present passage, i.e. to translate it by 'after having assumed the government' or 'while he was governing (this province).' And this again should lead us, I think, to ascribe a similar meaning to *rāshṭriya*. I accordingly take this word, in its etymological sense, to be equivalent to *rāshṭrā'dhikṛita*, 'appointed to rule a province or district,' as the word is explained e.g. in the commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I. 7, 14 (compare also Pāṇini IV. 2, 93). The technical meaning 'a king's brother-in-law,' which the word has in the plays, would seem to be out of place here.

conduits for ¹ **Aśoka the Maurya** by the **Yavana king Tushāspha** while governing ; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam

(L. 9.)³ he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them ; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles ;³ who [showed] compassion
 not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face ; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him ;⁴ who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western **Ākarāvanti**, the **Anūpa** country, **Ānarta**, **Surāshtra**, **Śvabhra**, **Maru**, **Kachchha**, **Sindhu-Sauvira**, **Kukura**, **Aparānta**, **Nishāda** and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts⁵ of which are never troubled⁶ by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (and) where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained] ; who by force destroyed the **Yaudhēyas** who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all **Kshatriyas** ; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated⁷ **Sātakarni**, the lord of **Dakṣhiṇāpatha**, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him ; who [obtained] victory ; who reinstates deposed

¹ The word *kritē*, of which 'for' is the translation, is conjectural.

² In the original text the subject of this long sentence again is *idam tadākam*, 'this lake,' the predicate is *sudarśanatarām kṛitam* in line 16 ; 'this lake has now been caused to be made (even) more beautiful by Rudradāman (l. 15) who, because he was distinguished' In the translation I have adopted the active construction.

³ On the construction of the words *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* of the original text see above, p. 40, note 2. Here I would add two minor remarks. In the first place, it appears strange that, whereas elsewhere the end of one epithet (or phrase serving as an epithet) of Rudradāman is not joined by the rules of *saṃdhi* with the commencement of the following epithet—compare *vritēna ā prān-ōchchhvasāt* in line 9, and *-kriyēna akur-ahar* in line 13—here the rules of *saṃdhi* have been observed between *saṃgrāmēṣu* which belongs to the preceding, and *abhimukhāgata* with which a new epithet begins. The observance of the rules of euphony in this case is the more striking as those rules have not been observed between *anyatra* and the word preceding it with which *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* is closely connected in sense. Secondly, the way in which the author has put *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* reminds me somewhat of the Sūtra-style of literature ; the words *ā prān-ōchchhvasāt*=*purushavadhanivṛitti-kṛita-satyapratijñēna* contain a rule, *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* the exception. Both together look much like, e.g., the two Sūtras of the *Viṣṇu-smṛiti*, III. 48 and 49, the former of which is *na rājakulam=uchchhindyāt*, 'he should not extirpate a royal family,' while the latter adds *anyatr=ākulīna-rājakulāt*, 'except an ignoble royal family.' Looked at in this way the non-observance of the rules of euphony as between *-satyapratijñēna* and *anyatra* may lose somewhat of its strangeness ; the observance of them as between *saṃgrāmēṣu* and *abhimukhāgata*—I can only regard as accidental.

⁴ For the general meaning of this epithet we may compare, e.g., *nṛṇām śaraṇyāḥ śaraṇ-āgatānām* and *śaraṇ-aiśhinām śaraṇam* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 59, l. 10, and p. 165, l. 7. The word *āyusha* of the text, translated by 'life,' is more or less conjectural ; it is used at the end of compounds for *āyus* (see the St. Petersburg dictionary under *āyusha*). In the original I should have expected *pranipatita* to stand before *janapada* ; as it is, I can only take *svayamabhiगतajanapada-pranipatita* as a Dvandva compound. For *janapada* itself compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 82, l. 14, *bhīṭasya yō janapadasya cha bandhur=āst*.

⁵ With *nagara-nigama-janapada* compare e.g. *grāma-nagara-nigama* in *Harshacharita*, p. 220, l. 1.

⁶ There is no doubt about the reading of the word *anuparishṭapūrva* of the text. Ordinarily this word, 'not troubled before,' would imply that the territories now were, or might possibly be, troubled for the first time by robbers, etc., but it has apparently been (incorrectly) used by the writer simply in the sense of 'never troubled.' The territories are never troubled by robbers, etc., just because they are ruled by Rudradāman. He is the *apīkartā prajōpaghāta-kārinām=upaplavānām*, as the Valabhi plates express the same idea.—Compare above, p. 40, note 3.

⁷ For *ava-jī*, 'to defeat,' the St. Petersburg dictionary quotes only passages from the *Mahābhārata* ; it occurs in the same sense in the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 6, *andka-samar-āvajita-satwaghasa*.

kings;¹ who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma;² who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar,³ music,⁴ logic and other great sciences; who . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots,⁵ (the use of) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces;⁶ who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment;⁷ who is bounteous;⁸ whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (other) precious things; who⁹ . . .

¹ Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 23, *anēka-bhrashtarājyōtsanna-rājavāmsa-pratishthāpana*.

² In this epithet Rudradāman has been understood to be enlogized for making religious gifts; but I have searched in vain for passages in which 'the raising of the hand' is laid stress on or even mentioned where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterizes the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is moistened by the water (poured into the hand of the donee); compare e.g. *Kādambari*, p. 5, l. 12, *anavaratapravṛtta-dān-ārdrikṛita-karah*; the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 4, *abhayōdakadāna-kilina-nibhayakārāsa*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 175, l. 29, *pradānasalila-kshālita-āgrahastāravindah*; *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 17, note 2, etc. Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or raising the pitcher from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient; see e.g. *Jāt.* Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *rājā tussitvā gandhodakapunnāṃ suvanna-bhīmīkāraṃ ādāya . . . setthissa hatthe udakam pāt-tvā*; and *Rām.* II. 118, 50, *aham tatra Rāmāya pitrā . . . udyatā dātum=udyamya jalabhājanam=uttamam*, 'there my father, having raised the excellent water-pitcher, proceeded to give me to Rāma'. But that in the latter case the raising of the water-pitcher is quite an incidental matter we see from an analogous passage in *Harshacharita*, p. 156, *Grahavarmanā kanyāṃ prārthayitum prēshitasya pūrvagatasyaiva pradhāna-dūtapurushasya karē sarvarājakula-samakṣam duhitridāna-jalam=apātayat*, translated by Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas: 'in the presence of the whole royal household, he poured the betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Grahavarman to sue for the princess.' Considering these and similar passages, I do not think that *hasṭōchchhṛaya* by itself could convey the idea of donation. In my opinion the expression perhaps finds its explanation in the precept of Manu, VIII. 2, according to which a king, when investigating cases of law, should do so seated or standing, raising his right hand (*pānim=udyamya dakṣiṇam*), etc. This explanation, which would make 'the raising of the hand' during legal investigations equivalent to 'the dispensation of justice' itself, may seem far-fetched, but it would fit in well with the statement that by the right raising of his hand Rudradāman earned the strong attachment of Dharma, i.e. Law or Justice personified.

³ It may seem doubtful whether the compound *śabdārtha* of the original, in connection with the following *vidyānām*, should be understood to denote two sciences, — viz. *śabda-vidyā* or grammar, and *artha-vidyā* in the sense of *artha-śāstra* = *nīti-śāstra* — or only one, viz. the science of words and their meanings, i.e. grammar (including lexicography). The manner in which *śabdārtha* elsewhere is immediately connected with *nyāya* (e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 18, l. 9, *śabdarthā-nyāya-vidushā*, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 35, l. 4 of the text, *śabdarthā-nyāya-lōka-jūṇh=karah*) seems to render the adoption of the second alternative more natural. *Śabdarthā-nyāya* in my opinion would convey to a Hindu at once the notion of 'grammar and logic,' because these two belong closely together and would hardly be separated by something so different from them as 'policy.' It may be added that *śabdārtha*, on account of the irregular position of its two members, in grammar is a well-known compound in the sense of 'word and meaning' and frequently occurs in this sense in the titles of grammatical, lexicographical and other works.

⁴ Compare the commentary on *Vishnu-purāṇa*, III. 26: *gāndharva-vēdō Bharatamuni-prantō nṛityagatādi-vishayaḥ*. See also e.g. *Rām.* II. 2, 35: *gāndharvā cha bhuvī śrēṣṭhō babhūva Bharat-āgrajah*, where *gāndharvā* is explained by *samgīta-śāstrē*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 27, and p. 81, l. 7.

⁵ Compare *Rām.* I. 18, 27: *guḥya-skandhē'sva-prishthē cha rathacharyāsu saṁmatāḥ*.

⁶ I take the sense of the whole epithet to be that by his skill in the management of horses etc. he rendered futile the acts of quickness etc. of opponents.

⁷ Compare e.g. *dāna-mān-ārjava*, above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 2.

⁸ See *Halāyudha*, II. 210: *sthūlalakṣhō bahuvyayā*.

⁹ After 'who' we evidently have to supply something like 'is skilled in producing compositions in.' On the epithet which begins here compare Prof. Buhler's *Die Ind. Inschriften und das Alter der Ind. Kunstpoesie*, p. 53 ff., where Prof. Buhler has tried to show that the adjectives *sphuṭa* etc. of the text have reference to certain rules of the *Alamkāra-śāstra*. Agreeing with him in general, I take *sphuṭa*, *madhura* and *kānta* to indicate the qualities *prasāda*, *mādhurya* and *kānti* of Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa* (I. 45, 51 and 81); *sphuṭa*, 'clear,' would thus be what is readily understood (*prattī-subhaga*); *madhura*, 'sweet,' that which pleases by its sound and (refined) diction; and *kānta*, 'beautiful,' that which is free from exaggeration, is not too far-fetched, etc. *Śabdasaṁaya* being almost synonymous with *śabdanyāya* in *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 75, I incline to connect *śabdasaṁayōddāra* with Daṇḍin's *artha-*

. prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs,¹ such as (*auspicious*) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of kings' daughters;— he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to² cows and Brāhmanas for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,— without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country³ by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection⁴— by (*the expenditure of*) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length [on] all [banks]⁵ (and so) had (*this lake*) made (*even*) more beautiful to look at⁶

(L. 16.) When in this matter the Mahākshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (*regarded as*) futile⁷ on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (*of the work*),⁸ (*and*) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting,⁹ (*the work*) was carried out by the minister Suvisākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāshtra, (*a minister*) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (*of the people*), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (*and*) not to be bribed, (*and*) who by his good¹⁰ government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

vyakti, which depends on an author's giving clear verbal expression to his thoughts instead of leaving them to be guessed. *Laghu*, 'agreeable' (*iṣṭa*), and *chitra*, 'charming,' seem too vague expressions to connect them confidently with any particular qualities of the text-books; *alamkṛita*, 'adorned,' requires no explanation.

¹ Compare *Rām.* V. 33, 11, *vyāñjanāni hi tē yāni lakṣhaṇāni cha*; and, for various auspicious marks and signs, *ibid.* I. 1, 9 ff., II. 48, 29 ff., V. 35, 8 ff., etc.

² *I.e.*, shortly, 'in order to benefit.' The original text may have contained something equivalent to *gō-brāhmaṇa-hitārthāya dāsasya cha hitāya cha* in *Rām.* I. 26, 5. The expression *gō-brāhmaṇa*, 'cows and Brāhmanas,' is very common; see *e.g. ibid.* III. 23, 28; 24, 21; VI. 107, 49; 117, 20, etc.; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 89, l. 9, *gō-brāhmaṇa-purōgābhyah sarva-prajābhyah*; and above, Vol. VI. p. 20, note 1.

³ The words *paura-jānapadaṃ janāṃ* of the text clearly are the second or fourth Pāda of an ordinary Śloka; the same phrase we actually have *e.g. in Rām.* II. 111, 19 and 27. *paura-jānapadō janāḥ* in II. 2, 51, *paura-jānapadā janāḥ* in VII. 43, 5, etc. *Paurajānapada-jana* occurs again in line 18 of the text.

⁴ Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested that *pranaya-kriyā* may be 'a kind of tax like the modern *prītidān*.' I have not found the word elsewhere, used as a technical term, and can only suggest that it may denote offerings or contributions which nominally are voluntary, but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody or for other reasons.

⁵ *I.e.*, perhaps, 'planted trees on all banks.'

⁶ As above (see p. 46, note 5) there is here also a play on the words; the lake Sudarśana was made *sudarśanātara*.

⁷ On the analogy of compounds like *apratishēdhaḥ=anarthakaḥ pratishēdhaḥ*, *avachanam=anarthakanam*, which we find in grammatical works, I explain *anutsāha* by *anarthaka utsāha*, 'a futile (or impossible) task.' In connection with this explanation we may note that the two words *pratyākhyāta* and *ārambha* of the text are just such as a grammarian would be familiar with.

⁸ Since I have translated somewhat freely, I would state that *pratyākhyāt-ārambham*, which has been objected to as grammatically wrong, in my opinion is correct. The word is the subject of *anushṭhitam* in line 20; 'that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out.'

With *punaḥśētibandha-nairāśyāt* compare *kōrya-nairāśyāt* in *Rām.* V. 35, 57; with *hādhbhūtāsu prajāsu*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 60, l. 17, *vishādya[mānāḥ khalu sarvatō ja]nāḥ katham-katham kāryam=iti pravādinah*. *Hādhbhūta*, 'exclaiming *hā hā*,' like *hādhkṛita*, is well known from the *Mahābhārata* etc.

¹⁰ For the way in which *su* in *śādhitiśīkṛatā* is prefixed to a present participle we may compare *Rām.* II. 33, 4, *śukākyantē*; VI. 40, 12, *śuchēratuḥ*; VI. 110, 9, *suparivartatē*; V. 62, 21, *suparigrihya*; VII. 30, 36, *śunirbharteya*; etc.

No. 7.—CHIKMAGALUR INSCRIPTION OF RACHAMALLA III.; OF THE PERIOD
A.D. 989—1005.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

Chikmagalūr, or more precisely **Chikka-Magalūr**, is the head-quarters town of the Kaḍūr district, and of the Chikmagalūr tāluka of that district, in Mysore. In the Indian Atlas sheet No. 43, N.E. (1892), it is shewn as '**Chikmagalur**,' in lat. 13° 19', long. 75° 50'. In the present record, as in some others, it is mentioned as **Kiriya-Mugulī**, "the smaller or junior Mugulī." The **Piriya-Mugulī**, or "larger or senior Mugulī," of the record, is the modern **Hirēmagalūr** or **Hirē-Magalūr**, shewn in the Atlas sheet as simply '**Magalur**,' about one mile east-by-south from Chikmagalūr; in an inscription of A.D. 959 (? 958) at Uppahalli (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 42; regarding the date, see note 1 on page 56 below), Piriya-Mugulī seems to be referred to as simply **Mugulī**. Local imagination, as reported by Mr. Rice in his *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II., pp. 379, 395, 396, would account for the names by alleging that one village was the dowry of the eldest daughter (*hirē-magaḷu*, *pīriya-magaḷ*), and the other was the dowry of a younger daughter (*chikka-magaḷu*, *kiriya-magaḷ*), of the epic king Rukmāṅgada, whose capital is locally supposed to have been Sakarāpātṇa or Sakkarēpātṇa, a village about thirteen miles towards the north-east of Chikmagalūr. But it is quite plain that that idea is based upon nothing but the modern corrupted form of the essential name of the two places, namely *magaḷūr* for *muguliyūr*. And, as has practically been already suggested by Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* p. 379), the original name is no doubt to be attributed to a local abundance of the *mugulī*-tree, *Acacia suma*.

The inscription, which is on a stone standing on the north of the *kalyāṇī*,—apparently a square pond with steps on all sides,—in the fort at Chikmagalūr, has been published by Mr. Rice in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. (1901), Kaḍūr district, Cm. 3, transliterated texts p. 95, translations p. 35, Kanarese texts p. 154. I now edit it, partly from the Kanarese text, and partly from a photograph which Mr. Rice kindly sent me in December, 1899. The photograph is not as distinct as an ink-impression or an estampage would be. But it shews quite clearly all the historically important part of the record, lines 1 to 7. And it suffices, with the help of the Kanarese text, to make the decipherment of the remainder satisfactory, except in respect of a very few doubtful syllables which I have placed in square brackets with queries attached to them.

According to the entry above Mr. Rice's Kanarese text, the size of the stone is 2' 6" broad by 5' 0" high.—The photograph shews, above the writing, an elephant, which must be about 1' 3" high, standing to the right (proper left): its trunk hangs straight down, almost to the ground, with the tip turned up inwards; and it seems to have a snrcingle, like the elephant above the Peggūr inscription of A.D. 978, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, No. I, and Plate opposite *Coorg Insers.* p. 7.—The area covered by the writing must be about 3' 3" high. It is somewhat irregular in shape; and, if we understand that 2' 6" is its extreme breadth, then in line 1 it is about 1' 9" broad, and the breadth gradually increases to the full measure of 2' 6" in line 11 or 12, and maintains that measure as far as the end. The writing seems sufficiently well preserved for a good ink-impression or estampage to make the whole of it quite legible without any doubt.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and evidently well executed. And they are of a type which is fairly referable to any time about A.D. 1000. Of the usual test-letters, the *kh* is absent; the *ni*, which occurs four times, in lines 9, 10, 12, and 16, and the *j*, *b*, and *l*, are all of the fully developed later type. The initial short *i* occurs four times, in *innūru* for *innūru*, line 9, in *int*, line 12, in *i* (for *i*) *koḍaṅgeyam*, line 12, and in *indavūrada*, line 16; and in each case it is of the fully developed later type: the importance of this palæographic

detail, in guiding us to the real period and attribution of the record, will be made clear further on. The record further presents an initial *ô* in line 10, and final forms of *t* in line 4. of *r* in line 12 (twice), and of *l* in line 7. It does not seem to make any perceptible difference between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. And the vocabulary presents three words which call for comment. In line 9 we have a word which according to Mr. Rice's published texts is *nir-panya*, and which, in Mr. Rice's translation, has been rendered by 'wet land.' That rendering is based, I suppose, on an idea that *nir* may occur as another form of *nîr*, *nîru*, 'water.' But there is no justification for that in the late Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary. And from the photograph I read *l*, not *r*, and find the word *nîl*, 'length.' From the context, and the usual method of expression in the records, I should have been disposed to take the whole word *nîlpanya* as denoting some particular measure of land, of the same class with *mattar*, *nivartana*, etc. But Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *panya*, *panneya*, in the sense of 'a farm, a landed estate,' connected with *pane*, 4, 'ground that is worked, tillage, a quarry;' and Mr. Ullal Narasinga Rao's Kisamwâr Glossary, Mangalore, 1891, p. 95, gives *panya* in the sense of 'lands formerly held by the Rajas and now leased out on the condition of their being surrendered when government makes a demand; crown-lands.' I therefore take *nîlpanya* as some particular kind of *panya*-lands, consisting of very long narrow strips such as may be often seen in various parts of the Kanarese country. And I consider that probably the word *mattar* should be supplied. In line 12, assuming that we have the lingual *ḍ* and not the dental *d*, we have *koḍaṅgeyam*, as the accusative of a word *koḍaṅge*. This word has not been translated by Mr. Rice. I take it as the older form of the *koḍage*, *koḍige*, 'a gift, a grant,' of Dr. Kittel's Dictionary, and of the later *koḍagi*, which is given in the Kisamwâr Glossary as meaning 'a grant of land' (p. 144), and (a) 'lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any change on account of the seasons, etc., and saleable,' and (b) 'lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks, or of their maintenance in good order' (p. 91). It seems sufficient to translate it here by 'allotment.' In line 12, again, we have a word *baḷasidor* which Mr. Rice, apparently taking it from *baḷasu*, 1, 'to go in a circle or round; to circumambulate; to surround,' etc., has translated by "those (? who own the land) surrounding." I notice that the Kisamwâr Glossary, p. 15, gives *baḷasu* in the sense of 'husbandry, cultivation;' and, even apart from that, I see no difficulty about taking *baḷasu* as a variant of *beḷasu*, 'to cause to grow, to raise (a crop),' etc.: and I therefore translate the word by 'those who have cultivated;' finding in that meaning an equally good means of defining exactly the grant that was made. As a matter of fact, the photograph shews before the *b* a mark which might justify our actually reading *b[e]lasidor*. That, however, does not seem to be really necessary.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal *ṇ* in [*gaunḍa*]ṇge, line 8-9, *narasiṅgayyanuṇ*, line 10, *koḍaṅgeyam*, line 12, and *maṅgala*, line 16, as contrasted with the use of the *anusvāra* in *koṇḡuṇi*, line 1, *rāchamallaiṅge*, line 4, *paṭṭaṅgaṭṭid*, line 4-5, and *rājyaṅ-geyyuttam*, line 7-8; and (2) the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddha*, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a prince Nitimārga-Rāchamalla, plainly of the family of the Western Gāṅgas of Talakāḍ, in whom we have a third Rāchamalla, not previously recognised. And it is dated, without a reference to any era, in the sixth year of his rule, on a day specified by certain details to which we shall advert further on. It is a non-sectarian record, registering a grant of land by private persons to a private person.

The following places are mentioned in the record, in addition to Kiriya-Muguḷi and Piriya-Muguḷi:—

Palmāḍi. This is mentioned again in an inscription of A.D. 959 (? 958) at Uppahalli, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 42. I cannot find its representative in the maps.



Benṇeyūr. This is probably the Benṇūr at which there is an inscription of A.D. 1538, *ibid.*, Cm. 127. I cannot find it in the maps.

Maṭṭavūra. This is probably a village which is not shewn in the Atlas sheet, but is entered as 'Mattavara,' somewhere close on the south of Chikmagalūr but without an indication of its actual site, in the map of the Kaḍūr district in *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II. p. 367.

Urpavalli. This must be the Uppahalli at which there are inscriptions of A.D. 959 (? 958) and later dates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 38 to 43. I cannot find it in maps. Regarding the proper attribution of one of these records, Cm. 42, and the question of its actual date in A.D. 959 or 958, see page 56 below, and note 1. According to the published reading, another of them, Cm. 38, is dated (see the Kanarese text, p. 171) in the Paridhāvin *saṃvatsara* coupled with *Vikragālaṃ 1070*, which (see the transliterated text, p. 103, the translation, p. 38, and Introd. p. 15) is supposed to mean *Vikrama-kālaṃ 1070*, giving the Vikrama year 1070 (current), which was the Paridhāvin *saṃvatsara*, = A.D. 1012-13. But anything of that kind would of course stamp the record as a spurious one.

Indavūra. This must be the 'Indavara' of the Atlas sheet, two miles west-by-north from Chikmagalūr, and, I suppose, the 'Indāvāra' at which there are inscriptions, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 30 to 36. Its name is given as Indāvāra above the Kanarese text of Cm. 30; but the record itself gives it as Indavara according to the transliterated text, and as Indapara according to the Kanarese text, line 10. The inscription Cm. 36, of A.D. 1292, gives it according to the transliterated text as Indāūra, but according to the Kanarese text as Indavūra, in line 9, and according to both the texts as Indavura in line 10. The Uppahalli inscription Cm. 38, which purports or is supposed to be dated in A.D. 1012-13, appears to give the name as Indayūra.

* * * * *

The record is certainly a Western Gaṅga record. This is established partly by the locality to which it belongs; partly by the emblem of the elephant at the top of the stone; and partly by the personal name Rāchamalla, and the epithet Nītimārga, of the reigning prince, and by his titles, Koṅṇuṇivarman, lord of Kuvalāla, and lord of Nandagiri. For the rest, the interest of it centres in the question of the period in which we are to place it.

Mr. Rice originally, in 1884 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 188 b), brought this Chikmagalūr inscription to notice as being "dated in the 6th year after Mādhava Mahārājādhirāja had enfeoffed Rācha-Malla;" which explanation of it would have the effect of placing it, according to the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree and chronology, before at any rate A.D. 466, and perhaps before A.D. 248 (see my Table in Vol. III. above, p. 161). Subsequently, however, in 1886 (*Georg. Inscr.* p. 5), having apparently recognised meanwhile that it does not really mention a Mahārājādhirāja Mādhava, he referred it to a Nītimārga-Rāchamalla who, according to his views, was ruling from A.D. 902 to 909. And in his last treatment of it, in 1901 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introd. p. 8), endorsing that view with only the alteration that the record should be placed in or about A.D. 899, he has grouped it along with the following other records:—

(1) An inscription at Gañjigere in the Kaḍūr district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 133. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first (year of the) rule of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(2) An inscription at Hirē-Bāsūr in the Kaḍūr district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 141. This record refers itself to the time of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it. It contained a date in the month Chaitra of a Śaka year which Mr. Rice has assumed to be the year 822 (current), with the result of A.D. 899 (*loc. cit.* Introd. p. 8, and translations, p. 26). But all that remains extant of the passage containing the date is nūra i[r]ppatt-

śraḍaneya varisuda Chaitra-māsa . . . , "[of] the month Chaitra of the year hundred and twenty-two," and there is nothing whatever to fix us to the year 822.

(3) An inscription at Hirēmagalūr in the Kaḍūr district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 8. This is a record of a Nīti[mārga], whose personal name is not mentioned in it, but who, we are supposed to learn from it (see the translation, p. 36), had the *biruda* Jayadutta[raṅga]. It does not present any date at all.

(4) An inscription at Añchavāḍi in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 134. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(5) An inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 97. This record, however, is dated in the fifth year of the crowning, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya. And it does not include any mention either of a Nītimārga, or of a Rāchamalla, or of the Śaka year.

(6) Another inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi, on the back of the same stone, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 98, which is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the fifth year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(7) An inscription at Kūligere in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30. This record refers itself to the time of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it. And it is dated in the Śaka year 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910.

(8) The inscription at Doḍḍahunḍi in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 91; edited by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 43. This record commemorates the death of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it, and speaks of his eldest son Satyavākya, whose personal name, also, is not mentioned. It does not present any date at all.

And Mr. Rice has thus arrived at " ? 899 A.D." as the date of this Chikmagalūr record; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Classified List, p. 1, and translations, p. 35.

Mr. Rice's arrangement, however, will not stand the test of examination. In the first place, from his incongruous grouping we have to dismiss the first Gaṭṭavāḍi inscription (5). As remarked above, it is a record, not of a Nītimārga at all, but of a Satyavākya. And it does not help in any way in connection with the Chikmagalūr inscription.

In the second place, we must dismiss the Doḍḍahunḍi inscription (8). This record is shewn by a palæographic detail to be appreciably earlier than A.D. 899. And, as has been explained by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 43, it is to be placed roughly about A.D. 840, and the Nītimārga of it is Raṇavikrama, son of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa.

And we must further dismiss the other inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi (6). This can only be a record of Nītimārga-Eṇeyappa, to whom I have already referred it (Vol. VI. above, p. 70), falling probably in A.D. 912-13.

We need not give any attention to the Gañjigere inscription (1) and the Añchavāḍi inscription (4). These records do not throw any light on the date of the Chikmagalūr record. And there is nothing at present to identify the prince or princes mentioned as Nītimārga in them, or to enable us to refer them to any particular period; as in the case of many other records, nothing can be done with them until we have facsimiles or ink-impressions of them, unless perhaps an index, when we have one, of all the miscellaneous proper names mentioned in the records of the Western Gaṅga series, may furnish any clues.

The Kūligere inscription (7) does certainly give a date for a Nītimārga in A.D. 909-910. But it does not contain anything tending to identify that Nītimārga with the Nītimārga

Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record. And, as has been shewn by me in Vol. VI. above p. 69, it is a record of Nitimārga-Ereyappa.

And as regards the Hirê-Bāsūr inscription (2), in the first place, the extant remnant of its date may be understood to mean Śaka-Saṃvat 922 (expired), in A.D. 1000, quite as well as Ś.-S. 822 (expired), in A.D. 900.¹ And in the second place, its date cannot be A.D. 899 or 900; because there was then ruling, not a Nitimārga, but Satyavākya-Būtuga I.: see my remarks in Vol. VI. above. p. 68 f., and my Table, *ibid.* p. 59. It is highly probable that the Hirê-Bāsūr inscription really is another record of the Nitimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record; but, if so, then its date is certainly Ś.-S. 922 expired, in A.D. 1000.

There remains the Hirêmagalūr inscription (3), the published text of which gives a Niti[mārga], with the *viruda* of Jayadutta[raṅga]. It is quite possible that this is another record of the Nitimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr inscription. But that point depends a good deal upon whether the *viruda* which has been read in it as Jayadutta[raṅga] should rather be read Jayadaṅka[kāra], or whether a *viruda* in an inscription at Elkūru in the Mysore district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 10; and see note 4 on page 56 below), which has been presented to us as Jayadaṅkakāra, should rather be read Jayaduttaraṅga. And, in any case, this Hirêmagalūr undated record does not help us to arrive at a date for the Chikmagalūr record.

In coming now to my own determination of the real period of this Chikmagalūr inscription, I may premise that this is not the first occasion on which I have had the matter under consideration. In August, 1899, Mr. Rice sent me the texts of the dates of this inscription, and of the spurious Jāvali copper-plate record (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Mg. 36) which purports to register a grant made by Śrīpurusha-(Muttarasa) in his twenty-fifth regnal year, on a specified occasion in the month Vaiśākha, Śaka-Saṃvat 672 expired. I had not then received the photograph of the Chikmagalūr inscription. All that I could say at that time, was, that the inscription might be a record of the Racheha-Gaṅga who ruled between Būtuga II. and Mārasimha II.; that is to say, between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64 as matters then stood, but, as we know now (see Vol. VI. above, pp. 59, 71), between A.D. 953 and 963-64. Disregarding the *nakshatra*, and calculating for the full-moon, I found that the only possible result, for that period, is Monday, 5th November, A.D. 960, on which day the full-moon *tithi*, of the second Kārttika if we take Kārttika itself as the intercalary month, or of the only Kārttika if we take Bhādrapada as the intercalary month, began at about 4 hrs. 41 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). This result was not altogether satisfactory, inasmuch as there was no apparent reason why the *tithi* should have been used with the day upon which it began. But I communicated the result, such as it was, to Mr. Rice, in September, 1899, and sent him at the same time the result for the Jāvali date, the details of which are quite correct for Monday, 20th April, A.D. 750. And this leads me into a short digression, for which I must be excused. Mr. Rice has not mentioned the suggestion that I then made about the Chikmagalūr record; which, however, is not a matter of any importance. But he has quoted my result for the Jāvali date, in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introd. p. 7, and note 1. It is not, however, to be thought,—though it might easily be so imagined from the way in which the matter is there put,—that the opinion is mine, that the date of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa is now fixed by this result of my own calculations (see *loc. cit.* p. 29, line 23 f.), or that “this confirmation of an exact date is important” (*loc. cit.* p. 7, line 5 f.). There are the facts, that, amidst all the mass of information about Mysore which we have now available in Vols. III. to VII. and XI. of Mr. Rice’s *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and in his books entitled *Mysore Inscriptions*, *Coorg Inscriptions*, and *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgola*, the earliest instance that is forthcoming, of the use of the Śaka era in Western Gaṅga records the authenticity of which is or seems to be

¹ It could equally well mean Śaka-Saṃvat 722 (expired), in A.D. 800, but for a point, stated by me on page 55 below, about the period of the adoption of the Śaka era in the Western Gaṅga records.

unquestionable, is in the Husukuru inscription, from the Mysore district, of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, which is dated in the Śaka year 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75), and that the era was not used by any means freely in that series of records even after that time; which facts indicate pretty plainly that the Śaka era was not adopted at all by the Western Gaṅgas until long after the alleged date of the Jāvali plates, and probably was not even known at that alleged date in the southern parts of Mysore, and are sufficient in themselves, even apart from other considerations, to cause any thoughtful person to hesitate before accepting a Śaka date of more than a century earlier, even though it does work out correctly. Further, we who are accustomed to handle Hindū dates, know quite well that the fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious; and it will be obvious, to anyone who reflects, that a Hindū, wishing to set up any particular date with accuracy, could, even in ancient times, by going to a proper person, get it correctly computed for him just as surely, though not so quickly, as we can now test it. And the case about the Jāvali date simply is that the accuracy of its details *would be* important, *if* the record were a genuine one, which it certainly is not. Beyond that, Mr. Rice took the opportunity to make certain observations in a foot-note (*loc. cit.* p. 7, note 2) and in a postscript (*loc. cit.* p. 29 f.), about which I cannot well avoid saying something, though it does not seem necessary that I should say much. As regards his foot-note, its tone speaks for itself; and I have only to add that the modifications and corrections which I could not make in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 180, but which I made in Vol. VI. above, p. 58 and p. 67 ff., were in respect of details in which I had been misled through relying on Mr. Rice himself, and notably in connection with the spurious Suradhēnupura plates (see Vol. VI. p. 58). As regards his postscript, the same remark as to tone applies; and also, anyone who may care to take the trouble can see, by means of the extracts and references given by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 74 ff., and p. 80 ff., that Mr. Rice did attempt to make out a case, against my views on the subject of the invention of Purāṇic genealogies, by means of garbled extracts from my writings. It is a matter for regret, because of the complications to which it leads, that Mr. Rice, in spite of the exceptional opportunities available to him, is still bent on trying, and by methods which may be ingenious but are certainly not commendable from any other point of view, to bolster up the fictitious early history of Mysore which he has put together from a credulous acceptance of spurious records and imaginative legends and from a resulting failure to deal properly with even some of the genuine records, instead of joining in the much more profitable and really interesting task of working out the true early history and accounting for the existence of the spurious records. But unfortunately that is the case; and it furnishes the explanation of the differences between Mr. Rice and me. I would add, though it is hardly necessary, that, if anything should ever come to light to justify such a course, I should not hesitate for a moment about abandoning my present views in respect of the Western Gaṅgas, and cancelling anything in my writings about them which would then be wrong. But nothing of that kind has happened yet. It is true that,—assuming the reliability of a record which I have no means of judging by either a facsimile or an ink-impression or a photograph,—an inscription at Āsandi in the Kaṭūr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 145) does shew that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa really had a son named Vijayāditya. That fact, however, is scarcely sufficient to establish a whole series of other things which are impossible in themselves.

We return to the subject of the Chikmagalūr record. Such was my opinion in 1899; that it might be placed between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64, and perhaps in A.D. 960. But now more light can be thrown upon the matter.

In the first place, we must notice an inscription at Uppahalli in the Kaṭūr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 42), which refers itself to the time of a Satyavākya whose personal name is

not mentioned in it, and is dated in A.D. 959, or possibly 958.¹ Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 8 f.) has attributed this record either to the well known Ereyappa, or else to his immediate predecessor: which of the two he intends, is not clear; but the doubt is unimportant, because the record does not really belong to either of them. And, by the way, in connection with the mention of Ayyapadēva along with Ereyappa in the Bêgûr inscription (see Vol. VI. above, p. 47), Mr. Rice has in the same place referred to the same period, and has proposed to date in A.D. 929, an inscription at Kuppehâlu in the Kaḍûr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 6) which registers a grant made by the order of a certain Ayyaparasaya. But there is here a very peculiar confusion. The declensional and conjugational forms in the Kuppehâlu inscription mark that record, quite unmistakably, as at least several centuries later than A.D. 929.² And Ereyappa, who was moreover a Nîtimârğa, not a Satyavākya, died before at any rate A.D. 940 (see Vol. VI. above, p. 70); and so the Uppahalli inscription Cm. 42, dated in A.D. 959 (? 958), cannot be attributed to him, and much less to his predecessor. That record can be properly ascribed only to Rachcha-Gaṅga, who ruled between A.D. 953 and 963-64. And it marks him as a Satyavākya, and shews that the Chikmagalûr record, of a Nîtimârğa, is not one of his records.

In the second place, the photograph of the Chikmagalûr record, which reached me in January, 1900, shews that the record presents, and no less than four times, the later type, and that type only, of the initial short *i*. And this feature, in a Mysore record, is practically absolute proof that we must not place it before A.D. 982.³

On the other side, it must be placed before A.D. 1022 at the latest, if we put any reliance upon records published in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V., Hassan district, which indicate that in A.D. 1022-23 (Mj. 43), A.D. 1026 (Ag. 76), and A.D. 1027 (Mj. 44), that part of Mysore, to which this record belongs, was in the hands either of Nripakāma-Poysala, or of a Rājendra-Chôḷa who may be either the Chôḷa king or a Koṅḡalva prince.

Further, an inscription at Elkûru in the Mysore district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 10),—overlooked by me in 1899,—shews (see my Table in Vol. VI. above, p. 59, and remarks on p. 57), that Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II., with a final date in A.D. 984-85 (see Vol. V. above, p. 173, note 6), was not the last Western Gaṅga prince; after him there came at any rate a Nîtimârğa, proper name not disclosed, with apparently the *birudas* Jayadaṅkakāra and Komaraveḍṅga,⁴ for whom the Elkûru inscription gives the date A.D. 999-1000.

¹ The actual details of the date given in this record are not satisfactory. Either the original presents an inaccurate date. Or there is some substantial mistake in the published reading.

Both the transliterated text, p. 104, and the Kanarese text, p. 172, give us Āśhādha bahuḷa pūñchami Biliḡspati-vāra, and the Siddhārthin *saṁvatsara*. And in the 883 *eraḍaneya* of the Kanarese text we have, no doubt, a misprint for 882 as given in the transliterated text.

According to the so-called southern luni-solar system, Siddhārthin was Śāka-Saṁvat 882 current, = A.D. 959-60. And in that year the given *tithi* ended at about 3 hrs. 3 min. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 23th June, A.D. 959, and did not touch a Thursday at all.

According, however, to the so-called northern luni-solar system, Siddhārthin was S.-S. 881 current, = A.D. 958-59. And in this year the given *tithi* began at exactly 22 hrs. 23 min. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 7th July, A.D. 958, and ended at exactly 20 minutes after mean sunrise on the Friday; and it was thus an *adhika-tithi* covering the whole of the Thursday. This, therefore, may possibly be the real date of the record; namely, Thursday, 8th July, A.D. 958.

The times given above are, as usual, for Ujjain. But they are practically just the same for Chikmagalûr. In view of the time of the year, July, when the sun was rising just about 5-30 A.M., a determination of the *tithi* according to actual sunrise would not make any difference in the week-days.

² Even the other date suggested elsewhere, “? 1169 A.D.”—see the translations, p. 2,—is far too early.

³ On this point, see my remarks on the initial short *i* attached to my paper on an inscription at Dēvagēri, in the Dharwar district, which will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal.

⁴ The Kanarese text (p. 4, of the Elkûru inscription) presents *jayadaṅkakāra-kōtiraveḍaṅgaṁ*. The transliterated text (p. 2) presents *jayad-aṅkakāra komara-veḍaṅgaṁ*. Such discrepancies as these are not very alarming. And, if we take this record in connection with the Hirēmagalûr inscription, mentioned as (3) on pages 53, 54 above, it remains quite possible that the first *biruda* here ought to be read *jayaduttaraṅga*.

It seems reasonable, in these circumstances, to identify the **Nitimarga-Rāchamalla** of this Chikmagalūr inscription with the **Nitimarga**, personal name not disclosed, for whom the Elkūru inscription supplies the date of **A.D. 999-1000**, precisely in the period to which we are independently brought for the Chikmagalūr record. And, if we assume that the rule of this Nitimarga only began in A.D. 1000, then the **Chikmagalūr record**, dated in the month Kārttika of the sixth regnal year, **cannot be placed later than A.D. 1005**. While, on the other side, with A.D. 984-985 as the final date of Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II., it **cannot be placed before A.D. 989**.

Thus, the extreme limits for this Chikmagalūr inscription are **A.D. 989 and 1005**. And it gives us a new Western Gaṅga name, that of **Rāchamalla III.**, with the appellation **Nitimarga**, whose sixth regnal year was current at some time during that interval.

A precise result cannot be arrived at just now, simply because the details of the date of the record are erroneous in one respect or another. They couple the Mūla *nakshatra* with the full-moon *tithi* of the month Kārttika; whereas, though the moon is often according to the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras*, but rarely if ever according to the equal-space or ordinary system, in Mūla in the course of the new-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, she cannot ever be anywhere near Mūla on the full-moon *tithi* of that month. And, until we obtain some further guide, we cannot decide whether we should discard the *nakshatra* and accept the full-moon, or whether we should regard the mention of the full-moon as a mistake and should take the new-moon and the Mūla *nakshatra*.

The following results, however, which tend to reduce the above-mentioned period to **A.D. 991 to 1004**, may be stated, to be utilised and examined more closely hereafter when we obtain some further guide, in the shape either of a Śaka date distinctly coupled with the name of Rāchamalla III., or of another regnal date which will be free from ambiguity:—

(1) On the supposition that we must discard the *nakshatra* and calculate for the full-moon. With the tables in Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, I have the following results:—

(a) During the above-mentioned period, the full-moon was first connected with a Monday in **A.D. 991**, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 2 hrs. 20 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on **Monday**, 26th October. This result would place the commencement of the first year of Nitimarga-Rāchamalla III. on some day from Kārttika *krishṇa* 1 in A.D. 985 to the full-moon day of Kārttika in A.D. 986; leaving a short but sufficient period, about eight to twenty months, for some Western Gaṅga prince, whose name would not be Rāchamalla, standing between Rāchamalla II. and Rāchamalla III.

(b) Other years in which the full-moon *tithi* ended on a **Monday** were A.D. 994, 997, 1001, and 1004. In A.D. 1003, it may have begun very shortly before the actual sunrise at the end of a Monday; but in that case, of course, it could not be connected with the Monday for any practical purposes.

(2) On the supposition that we should regard *purnāma* as a mistake for *amāvāse*, and should calculate for the new-moon and the Mūla *nakshatra*. Here, the results are as follows:—

(c) In this case, again, during the above-mentioned period, the new-moon was first connected with a Monday in **A.D. 991**, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 4 hrs. 58 min. on **Monday**, 9th November. The moon entered the Mūla *nakshatra* according to the Brahmasiddhānta system at about 17 hrs. 7 min., and according to the Garga system at about 22 hrs. 6 min., on the Monday; but according to the ordinary system she did not come to that *nakshatra* until about 10 hrs. 18 min. on the Tuesday. This result, in A.D. 991, would place the commencement of the first

year of Nītimārga-Rāchamalla III. on some day from Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 in A.D. 985 to the new-moon day of Kārttika in A.D. 986; leaving just about the same short but sufficient period indicated under 1, a, above, for some Western Gaṅga prince, whose name would not be Rāchamalla, standing between Rāchamalla II. and Rāchamalla III.

(d) Other years in which the new-moon *tithi*, ending or beginning, and with or without the Mūla *nakshatra*, was connected with a **Monday**, were, A.D. 994, 998, and 1001.

In view of these facts, this Chikmagalūr record ought to be placed in A.D. 991, 994, 997, 998, 1001, or 1004, unless the details of the date given in it have been altogether inaccurately recorded.

TEXT.¹

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | Om ² Svasti Nītimārgga-Koṁguṇi- ³ | |
| 2 | varmma-dharmamahārājādhirā- | |
| 3 | ja Kuvaḷāla-puravar-ēśvara [Nanda]- | |
| 4 | giri-nātha śrīmat Rāchamallaṅge [pa]- | |
| 5 | ṭṭam-gaṭṭid-āraneya varshada Kārttika-mā[sa]- | |
| 6 | da suddha puṇṇameyu[m] Sômaṇvāramu[m] ⁴ Mūla-nakshatra- | |
| 7 | mum-āge Pemmanāḍigaḷ prithuvi-rājyaṁ-ge- | |
| 8 | yy[u]ttam-ire Kiriya-Muguḷiya Pemmāḍig[au ?]- | |
| 9 | [ṇḍa]ṅge ⁵ koṭṭa nilpaṇya iṇṇū(nnū)ṇu Pemmāḍiyu[m] Nilabe- | |
| 10 | yu[m] Narasiṅgayanuṁ Kēsavayyanu[m] [Pa ?]ne-ōjaru[m] | |
| 11 | [Ma ?]dhukammōjaruṁ Beṇṇegēsiyuṁ Eṇṇeyamman[um] | |
| 12 | int-ivar-iḷdu koṭṭor i(i) ⁶ koḍaṅgeyaṁ balasidor | |
| 13 | nāḷgāmunḍa-Biyaḷanuṁ Piriya-Muguḷiya [Ko]ma- | |
| 14 | rayyanu[m] Palmāḍiya Mendammanu[m] Beṇṇeyūra Dēva- | |
| 15 | [gaṇa ?]nu[m] Maḷ[ṭ]javûrada Pemmāḍigāmunḍanu[m] Urppavalliya | |
| 16 | Chamayyanuṁ Indavûrada Vi[ti ?]yyanu[m] maṅgaḷa Om | |

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When it was the full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika of the sixth year of the crowning of the Dharmamahārājādhirāja Nītimārga-Koṁguṇivarman, the lord of Kuvaḷāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Rāchamalla, and when it was Monday and the Mūla nakshatra:—

(Line 7)—While the Pemmanāḍi was ruling the earth, to Pemmāḍig[au]ṇḍa (?)⁷ of Kiriya-Muguḷi there were given two hundred—[supply probably *mattars*]⁸—of nilpaṇya-land.

¹ Partly from the photograph, and partly from the previously published Kanarese text; see page 50 above.

² Represented by a plain symbol; so also at the end of line 16.

³ The previously published Kanarese and transliterated texts both give *konguni*, with the guttural *ṇ*. But the photograph shows unmistakably *koṁguṇi*.

⁴ The second *akshara* of this word, the *ma*, was at first omitted by the writer, and was then inserted by him below the line, under the small space between the *sô* and the *vā*. It is rather faint in the photograph.

⁵ The previously published texts both give *gonḍaṅge*; and the translation presents the name as Pemmāḍi-Gauḍa. The period seems rather early for the form *gaṇḍa* (see Vol. VII. above, p. 183); and we have the form *gāmunḍa* in lines 13 and 15. I suspect that an *estampage* would show that the real reading here is *gi[mu]ṇḍaṅge*, with a damaged *mu* at the end of line 8.

⁶ Mr. Rice's transliterated text gives here the long *i*; for which of course, in such a construction as that which we have here, the short *i* is a mistake. His Kanarese text gives quite properly the short *i*, which is shewn by the photograph to be most distinctly the real reading.

⁷ See note 5 above.

Pemmādi, and Nilabe, and Narasiṅgaya, and Kēsavayya, and Panne-ōja (?), and Madhukammōja (?), and Bennegēsi, and Eṇṇayamma, — these persons, being (*convened*),¹ gave (*them*).

(Line 12)— Those who have cultivated this allotment (*are*) the Nālgāmuṇḍa Biyaḷa, and Komarayya (?) of Piriya-Muguḷi, and Mendamma of Palmādi, and Dēvagana (?) of Benneyūr, and Pemmādigāmuṇḍa of Maḷtavūra, and Chamayya of Urpavalli, and Vitiyya (?) of Indavūra. (*May there be*) felicity ! Ōm !

NO. 8. — THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVES AT NASIK.

By E. SENART; PARIS.

For a description of the caves at Nāsik, as well as for those at Kārlē,² it will be enough to refer to Burgess and Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples* and to the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV. p. 37 ff. As for the inscriptions which these caves contain, the first publication of them goes back to Vol. VII. p. 37 ff. of the *Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, and the first interpretation to Bhandarkar's *Notices*, published in the *Transactions of the London Congress*, 1874, p. 306 ff. To Bhagwanlal Indraji we are indebted for the reproductions on which are based Bühler's translations, printed in the *Archæological Survey of Western India* (AS.), and for the commentary written by Bhagwanlal himself and embodied in the volume devoted to Nāsik in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. p. 544 ff. (G.). These two translations, being based on thoroughly reliable documents, are the real tests of our present knowledge on the subject, and I shall constantly refer to them in this article. As in the case of Kārlē, the epigraphs of Nāsik have been distributed by AS. into two different series, *viz.* "Kshatrapa and Andhra inscriptions" (Ksh.) and "Nāsik inscriptions of private individuals" (Pr.). The numbering adopted here is that which was used by Bhagwanlal in the *Gazetteer*.

NO. 1, Plate iii. (Ksh. 16).

On the back wall of the veranda of Cave No. 2.

TEXT.

Sidha (1) raṇo Vāsīṭhiputasa (2) Siri-Puḷumayisa saṁvachhare (3) chhaṭhe 6 gimhapakhe (4) pachame 5 divase (5)

REMARKS.

(1) AS. *sidham*. — (2) G. and AS. *Vāsāṭhi*^o; but on the estampages the beginning of the i-curl is sufficiently discernible. — (3) G. and AS. *sava*^o. — (4) AS. *gima*^o, doubtless a simple typographical mistake. — (5) AS. *divase 1 . po . hi . ti . ā*. I can make nothing of the indistinct traces of letters which follow *divase*.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the day of the fifth — 5th — fortnight of summer in the sixth — 6th — year of king Siri-Puḷumayi, son of Vāsīṭhi"

¹ The *īḍa* of line 12 of this record is equivalent to the *oḍaṇ=īḍa*, 'being together, being in the company of each other, being convened,' of various other records; see a remark in Vol. VI. above, p. 68, note 6.

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 47 f.

No. 2, Plate i. (Ksh. 18).

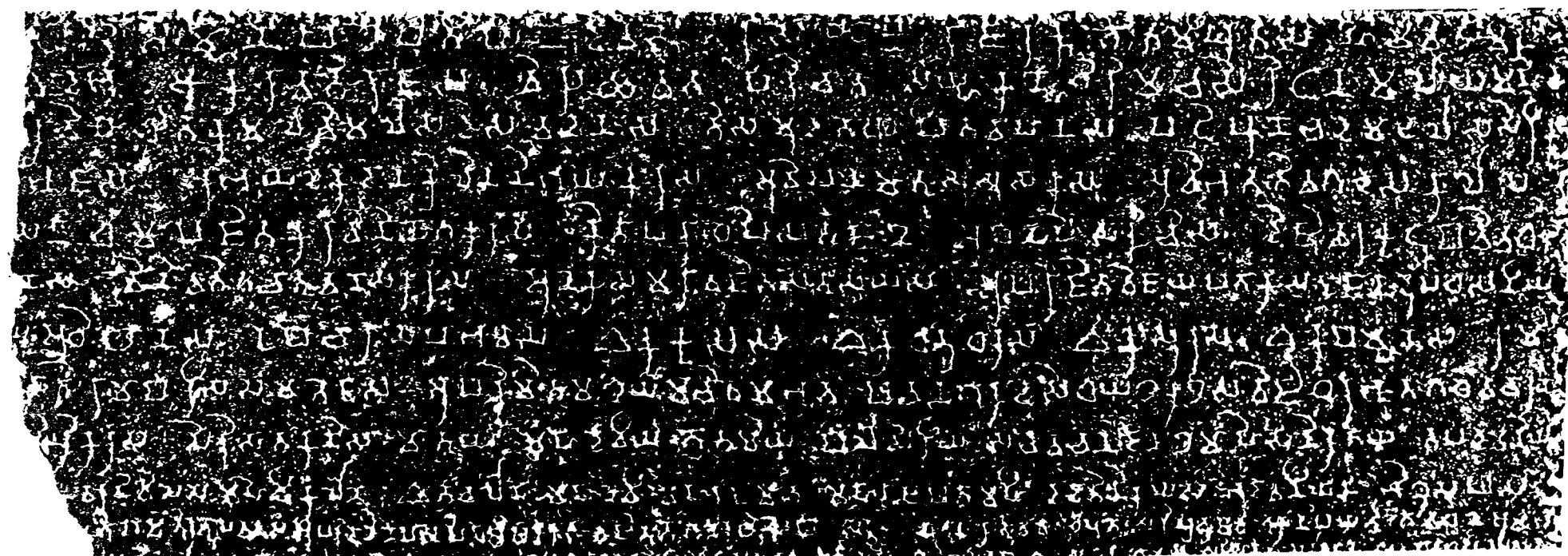
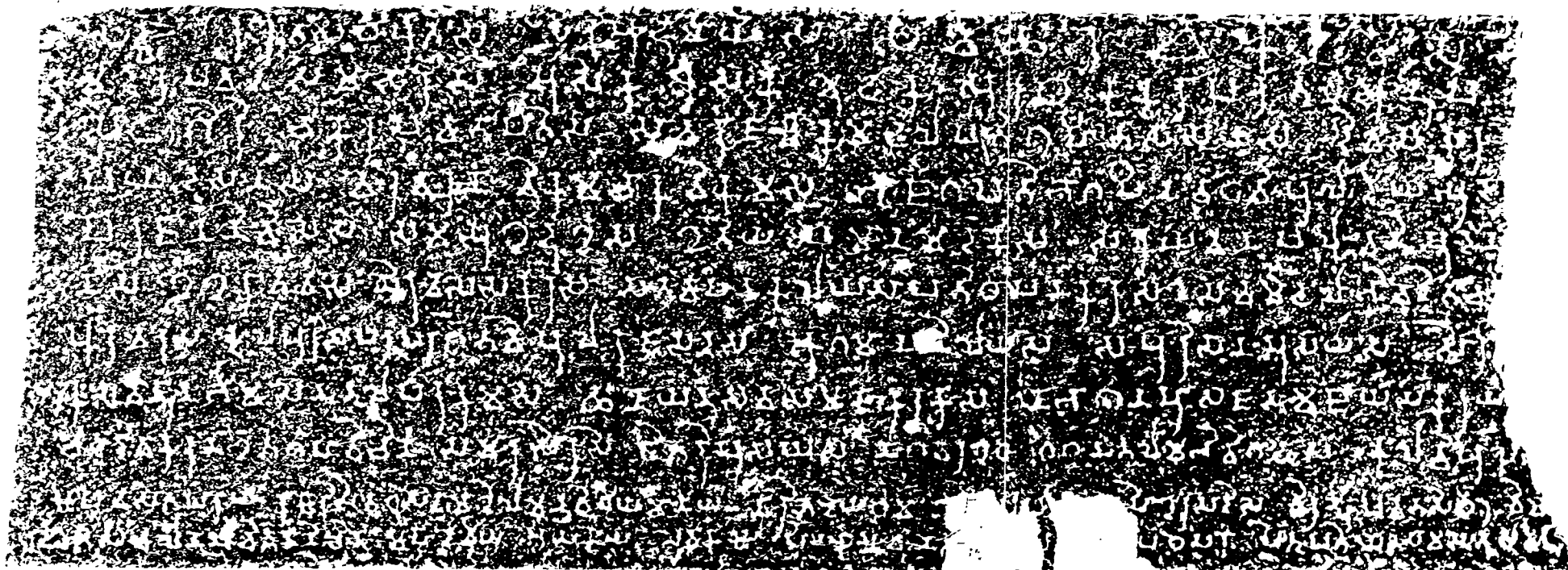
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

TEXT.

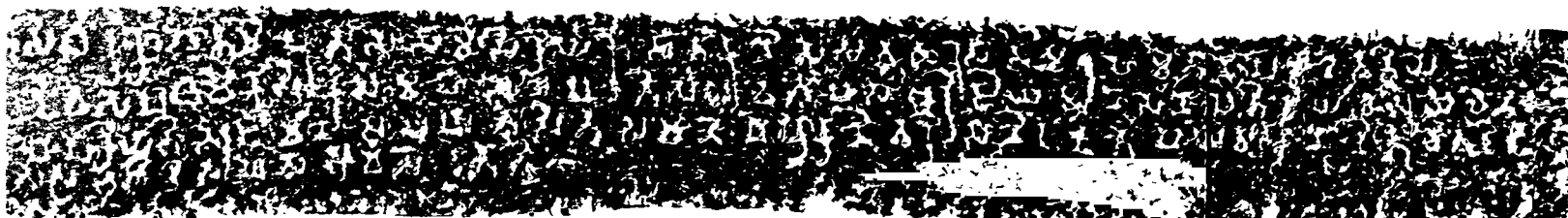
- 1 Siddham (1) raño Vāsīthiputasa (2) Siri-Puṣumāvīsa savichhare (3) ekunavise 10
gimhāna (4) pakhe bitīye 2 divase terase 13 rājaraño Gotamiputasa Himavata-
Meru-
- 2 Madara-pavatasamasārasa Asika-Asaka(5)-Muḥaka-Suraṭha-Kukur-Āparamta(6)-
Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvati-rājasa Vijha-Chhavata-Pārichāta(7)-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-
Macha-Siriṭana-Malaya-Mahida-
- 3 Seṭagiri-Chakora-pavatapatisa savarājaloḥa(8)maḍala(9)patigabitasāsanasa
divasakarakara(10)vibodhitakamalavimalasadisavadanasa tisamudatoyapitavāhanasa
paṭipupachadamadālasasirika-
- 4 piyadasanasa varavāraṇavikamachāruvikamasa bhujagapatibhogapīnavāta(11)-
vipuladīghasuda . bujasa (12) abhayodakadānakilinanibhayakarasa avipanamātu-
susūsākasa (13) suvibhatativagadesakālāsa
- 5 porajananiṣisesamasasukhadukhasa khatiyadapamānamadanasa (14) Saka-Yavana-
Palhava-nisūdanasa dhamopajitakaravinīyogakarasa kitāparādhe pi satujane
apāṇahisāruchisa dijāvarakūṭubavivadhā-
- 6 nasa Khakharātavasa(15)niravasesakarasa Sātavāhanakulayasapatithāpana(16)karasa
savamaḍalā(17)bhivādītacha . nasa vinivatitachātuvāṇasakarasa anekasamarāvaji-
tasatusaghasa aparājītavijayapatākāsatuṇadupadhasaniya(18)-
- 7 puravarasa kulapurisaparaparāgatavipulārājasadāsa āgamāna (19) nilayasa sapurīsānam
asayasa Siriy . adhithānasa upachārāna (20) pabhavasa ekakusasa ekadhanu-
dharasa ekasūrasa (21) ekabamhaṇasa Rāma-
- 8 Kesav-Ājuna-Bhīmasena-tulaparakamasa (22) chhapagghanusava(23)samājākārakasa
Nābhāga(24)-Nahusa-Jaṇamejaya-Sakara-Yayāti-Rām-Ābarisa-samatejasa aparimitam
akhayam achitam abhuta (25) Pavana-Gaṇa(26)-Sidha-Yakha-Rakhasa-
Vijadhara-Bhūta-Gadhava-Chāraṇa-
- 9 Chada-Divākara-Nakhata-Gaba-vichīpasamarasirasi jitaripusaghasa nāga(27)varakhadhā
gaganatalam abhivigādhasa kulavipulasirīkarasa Siri-Sātakanīsa mātuya
mahādevīya (28) Gotamiya Balasiriya sachavachanadānakhamā(29)hisā(30)-
nirātāya tapadamaniya-
- 10 mopavāsataparāya rājansivadhūsadam (31) akhūlam anuvīdhīyamānāya kārīta
dīyadhūma (32) sikharasadise Tiraṇhupavatasikhare
vim . (33)varanivī-esamahīdhīka lepa eta cha lepa mahādevī mahārājamātā
mahārājap . tāmahi (34) dadāti nikāyasa Bhadāvanīyānam (35) bhikhusaghasa
(36)
- 11 etasa cha lepa chitananimita (37) mahādevīya ayakāya sevakāmo (38) piyakāmo
cha nat (39)pathesaro (40) pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti
gāma (41) Tiraṇhupavatasā aparadakhīnapase Pisājipadakam (42)
savajātabhoganirāthi.

REMARKS.

(1) G. *siddha ra*°. — (2) G. and AS. °*sīthipu*°. — (3) G. *savachhare*; AS. *samvachhare*; *i* seems clear, and it must be remembered that *savimchhala* = *samvatsara* is found in the Sahasrām edict. As to the change of *a* into *i* in Prākṛit, comp. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, paragraphs 101-3. — (4) G. and AS. *gimhāna*. — (5) G. *Asika-Susaka*°. — (C) G. °*parāta*°; *ta* is followed not only by such a blank as is frequent in this inscription, but by some traces which look like the rest of a letter. As, however, it cannot be a *k*, it is not easy to



SCALE · 1



SCALE · 1

imagine what it could have been, and it is most probable, as has been admitted by the former editors, that these traces are nothing but accidental deteriorations of the stone. — (7) AS. °*Parivāta*°. — (8) The character *lo* is all but clear. — (9) AS. °*maṇḍala*°. — (10) The *ka* of the second *kara*, which falls into the flaw, is very indistinct. — (11) G. and AS. °*pīnavata*°. — (12) The *ra* restored by G. and AS. cannot be doubted, though injured by the flaw. — (13) G. °*sususa*°. — (14) The top of the *na* of *dana* seems to bear a horizontal stroke, and I am inclined to think that *madanisa* was intended. — (15) AS. °*vaṁsa*°. — (16) AS. °*pīthīpa*°; this is at least more probable, besides being more correct. — (17) AS. °*maṇḍali*°. — (18) AS. °*padhasasaniya*' (a mere printer's mistake). — (19) G. °*mānaṁ*. — (20) G. °*chīrinaṁ*. — (21) AS. omits *ekasūrasa* in the transcript. — (22) AS. °*parāka*°. — (23) G. °*chhapīyanusa*°. — (24) AS. °*Nabhāga*°. — (25) G. °*bhutaṁ*. — (26) G. °*Garuḍa*°. — (27) G. °*ṇaya*°; AS. °*naga*°. — (28) AS. °*deviya*. — (29) *ā* of °*khamā*° seems to me at least doubtful. — (30) G. °*himsā*°. — (31) AS. °*vadhāsadam*. — (32) AS. restores [°*Kelāsa*]°[°*pa*[°*vata*]°]. I feel no doubt at all about this restoration which is confirmed by the still visible *e*-stroke; but it must be understood that it is entirely conjectural. — (33) G. and AS. restore °*vimā*[°*na*]°, which is certainly right. — (34) G. °*patāma*°; AS. °*p[i]tāma*°; the beginning of the *i*-curl of *pita* is still visible. — (35) AS. °*niyā*°; G. and AS. °*yāna bhi*°. — (36) G. °*saṁghasa*. — (37) AS. °*chitara*°. — (38) G. °*sevākāmo*. — (39) AS. °*na[tā Dakhinī]*°. Except the *t* which has left some traces, the passage in brackets is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one. — (40) AS. °*paṭhisaro*. — (41) AS. °*gīmaṁ*. — (42) AS. °*Pisāchi*°; the final *anusvāra* is at least doubtful.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the nineteenth — 19th — year of king Siri-Pulumāyi Vāsīthiputa, in the second — 2nd — fortnight of summer, on the thirteenth — 13th — day, the great queen Gotamī Balasirī, delighting in truth, charity, patience and respect for life; bent on penance, self-control, restraint and abstinence; fully working out the type of a royal *Ṛishī's* wife; the mother of the king of kings, Siri-Sātakani Gotamiputa, who was in strength equal to mount Himavat, mount Meru, mount Mandara; king of Asika, Asaka, Mūlaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidabha, Ākarāvanti; lord of the mountains Vindhya, Chhavata, Pārichāta, Sahya, Kanhagiri, Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahendra, Setagiri, Chakora; obeyed by the circle of all kings on earth; whose face was beautiful and pure like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun; whose chargers had drunk the water of three oceans; whose face was lovely and radiant like the orb of the full moon; whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant; whose arms were as muscular and rounded, broad and long as the folds of the lord of serpents; whose fearless hand was wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness; of unchecked obedience towards his mother; who properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity); who sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens; who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas; who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice; alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy; the furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born; who rooted out the Khakharāta race; who restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family; whose feet were saluted by all provinces; who stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*; who conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles; whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes; who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music; the abode of traditional lore; the refuge of the virtuous; the asylum of Fortune; the fountain of good manners; the unique controller; the unique archer; the unique hero; the unique Brāhmaṇa; in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena; liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies; not inferior in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarisha; who, vanquishing his enemies in a way as constant as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous;

in battles fought by the Wind, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Rākshasas, the Vidyā-dharas, the Bhūtas, the Gandharvas, the Chāraṇas, the Moon, the Sun, the Asterisms and the Planets, (appeared to be himself) plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant; (and) who (thus) raised his family to high fortune, — caused, as a pious gift, on the top of the **Tiraṇhu** mountain similar to the top of the Kailāsa, (this) cave to be made quite equal to the divine mansions (there). And that cave the great queen, mother of a *Mahārāja* and grandmother of a *Mahārāja*, gives to the *Sanḡha* of monks in the person of the fraternity of the **Bhadāvaniyas**; and for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the great queen his grandmother, her grandson lord of **[Dakṣiṇā]-patha**, making over the merit of the gift to his father, grants to this meritorious donation (*viz.* the cave) the village **Pisājipadaka** on the south-west side of mount **Tiraṇhu**. Renunciation to the enjoyments of every kind."

For all the proper names which are enumerated in line 2, I must refer the reader to the short geographical index given at the end of the Nāsik chapter in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI.¹ The names **Surāshṭra**, **Anūpa**, **Ākarāvanti**, **Kukura** and **Aparānta** appear again in the **Rudradāman** inscription at **Girnār**.² The observations to which they have given rise, will be found especially in *Arch. Surv. West. India, Antiq. of Kāthiāwār and Kachchh*, p. 128 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. This reference establishes the reading **Ākarāvanti**, and even in Sanskrit orthography the form **Kukura**. Of the other names, **Asaka** may be = **Ashaka**, or also **Aśvaka**; but I am not prepared to admit for Asika the connection with the *Arsacidæ* which was proposed by Bhagwanlal. They are simply the **Rishikas** who are well known from the Epic, and for whom I may refer to the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. II. p. 58 f. The verse from the *Mahābhārata* (V. 81) which is noted there (*Kāmbōjā Rishikā yē cha Pāśchimānūpakāścha yē*) very conveniently brings them into contact with the **Anūpa** country. Seeing them here immediately associated with the **Aśvakas**, one is reminded of the legends which were current of their marvellous horses. The **Mulakas** remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the **Muḍakas**, known from the *Vishṇupurāṇa*; and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the **Śakas** and **Tukhāras** is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of *ḷ* into *ṇḍ*.³ As to the names of mountains, I do not think there can be any hesitation in reading **Pārichāta**. It must therefore be admitted that the form **Pāriyātra** need not necessarily be proscribed as was done by Bühler, who otherwise agreed with Bhagwanlal in the identification of that range. As to **Macha** (apparently = **Mañcha**), we have nothing to rely on but the conjecture of Bhagwanlal, too bold I fear to be really convincing. Cases like *gahata* = *grihasṭha* (K. 5) do not permit us to be quite as positive as Bühler regarding the impossibility of **Sirīṭana** being = **Śristāna**. I am less inclined to consider *seṭa* = *śvṛta* in **Seṭagiri**. On the other hand, the name can hardly be connected, as Bhagwanlal wanted, with **Sādagera**, **Sādakara**, which in the **Kuḍā** inscriptions (1, 9) has no *e* in the first syllable, and which, as a family or tribal appellation, rather reminds of the name of **Sāta** (or **Sāda**) **kārpi**.

The compound **savarāja**^o is slightly irregular; but in the somewhat loose style of **Prākṛit** we often meet with forms like **savalokarājamaḍala** or **savalokamaḍalarāja**. The transposition of **abhayodakadīnakilīna** (= **abhayadīnodakukilīna**), proposed by Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar (*Or. Congr.* 1874. p. 313), would give a decidedly better construction and bring out more clearly the antithesis between **bhayadāna** and **nirbhaya**; but it has no bearing on the general meaning. The attribute **dharmopajita**^o is meant to imply that the king not only levied taxes in strict accordance with the law, but used them exclusively for just purposes.

¹ Compare also Mr. V. Smith's note in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. LVI. p. 674 f.

² See p. 47 above.

³ Mr. V. Smith (*loc. cit.*) refers doubtfully to the **Mūlikas** and **Maulikas** of the *Epīkatsamhitā*, XIV. 8 and 23.

To all appearance Bhagwanlal is right in supposing that after *patāka* the proximity of the initial *sa* in *satu* has caused the dropping of the genitive termination *sa*, which is required if the compound *aparājitavijayapatāka* is taken as an independent epithet of the king. Otherwise it would have to be taken as qualifying *puravara*, which would be a far-fetched sort of interpretation and against the phraseology of our inscriptions.

Bühler translated *kulapurisa*² by 'who bore many royal titles descended to him from a (long) line of ancestors.' It seems to me certain that *purusha* implies 'descent by males.' Besides, one cannot help comparing the second part of the expression *vipularājasāda* with a compound frequently used in more modern inscriptions: *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda*; the only difference is that *samadhigata* is here replaced by the more emphatic *paramparāgata*. *Vipula* is used instead of the synonymous *mahā* only in order to prevent the misunderstanding which the vicinity of *rāja* could have produced; for the adjective must refer to *śabda* or *rājasabda*, not to *rāja*, the title *mahārāja* by itself being too modest. If the comparison be correct, and I hardly think it can be doubted, we have to interpret the phrase here in the same sense as the more modern formula. Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 296, note 9, corroborated by *Ep Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 296, note 3) has conclusively discarded the translation which considered it as summing up certain royal titles. This qualification is generally applied to feudatories in order to enhance their importance; but Dr. Fleet has already pointed out cases where it is applied to paramount sovereigns, as one of whom Śātakarṇi certainly wanted to be considered.

The transcription *ékāikuśasya*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, is I think decidedly to be preferred to Bhandarkar's correction *ekakusalasa*. Perhaps the epithet contains an allusion to the title "Gajapati," which by tradition is conferred on the principal regent of Western India (compare Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II. p. 27 f.), and which our Gautamīputra may have claimed.

In spite of the form *achitam* instead of *achi[m]tiyam*, Bühler is certainly right in his explanation of those adverbs; but I think that they refer not only to *jita*², but to the following epithet, which is closely connected with them. Of *nagavarakhadhā* nothing satisfactory can be made; the reading *nāga*² gives a better sense. On his battle elephant the king appears as if he would rise to heaven. This is not only a hyperbolical way of describing the height of the animal, but implies more. The king is *jitaripusaṅgha* — he is seen in the glory of his triumph; besides, as he is seconded in his fights by the divine powers, Pavana and others, he appears in some manner in the sky and among the gods. The two epithets *Pavana*² *jita*² and *nāga*² *°vigāḍha* complement each other conformably to the law which Benfey (*Gesch. der Sprachwiss.* p. 35) has rightly pointed out, and in virtue of which the more general term comes at the end, preceded by the determining word, — a rule which, to state it *en passant*, ought never to be lost sight of in the interpretation of inscriptions and may in more than one instance help to bring out the right shade of meaning in complicated constructions. One more point remains to be settled. *Samarasirasi* has been translated: 'in the foremost ranks in a battle;' and in fact this is the way in which, following some Hindu commentaries, it has been customary to interpret *siras* when compounded with some word meaning 'fight.' But not one of the instances which are known to me necessarily requires this signification, and several would much rather, exclude it (e.g. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 45, 138); on the other hand the idiom is used, as far as I know, only in the locative case, either simply *°sirasī* or, by way of a periphrase, *°sirasō madhyē* (*Mahābhārata*, IV. 1131; VI. 4041), which comes exactly to the same. I have elsewhere (*Mahāvastu*, I. 624), in connection with another idiom, noted the inclination of the Prākṛits to form periphrastic cases, and have drawn attention to the Pāli use, in this case, of *piṭṭhe* (*prishṭhā*) and *matthake* (*mastakē*). Such analogies strongly support a similar interpretation of *sirasī*. It would indeed be puzzling if instances were limited to the expression *raṇasirasī* and its equivalents. But such is in no way the case, and to *sarāhsirasī*, i.e. 'in, or on, the pond,' which the *St. Pet. Dict.* cites from the *Nāradapañchar.* I. 3, 56, other cases will, I believe,

now be added after attention has been invited to this point. Of course the unsatisfactory explanation of *raṇasīraḥ* = *sēnāgra*, having once been suggested, may have contributed to enlarge the use of the word. Anyhow I consider that here *samarasīrasi* means no more than *samarē* or *samarēśhu*.

Kelūsaparatasikhara being perfectly certain, *vimāna* ought not to be interpreted as an unspecified 'palace,' but as one of the heavenly mansions of the gods residing on Kailāsa. The Prākṛit *Tiraṇhu* must, notwithstanding its irregular form, be = Sanskrit *Triraśmi*. The meaning of *raśanā* is partially identical with *raśmi*; this circumstance may have favoured the transition, especially the substitution of *n* for *m*. Besides, local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure. Of Bhadāvaniya the etymologically correct form is that which we shall find in the next epigraph, viz. **Bhadāyaniya** '(-ka). Regarding that sect, a subdivision of the Sthaviras, comp. Rhys Davids in *J. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., 1891, p. 411 ff. and 1892, pp. 5-7. As to the relation between the three genitives at the end of line 10 of the text, I may refer to my remarks on K. 13 above.

Chitāṇanimīta is translated: 'to allow (this cave) to be taken care of' by Bühler, who reads *chitānā* and takes it to mean *chintana*; and: 'for painting (the cave)' by Bhagwanlal, who reads *chitāṇa* and derives the word from *chitrayati*. This etymology, which is recommended by the *n*, seems to me to be the only acceptable one, although Bhagwanlal probably limits the meaning too closely. *Chitrāy* may as well be taken in the general sense of 'ornamentation, embellishment.' Bühler seems to have been influenced by the comparison of *leṇasa paṭisaṭharāṇa* which, in the next inscription, sums up the object of the present donation. To be sure, the two expressions cannot contradict each other; but nothing requires *a priori* that they should be exactly synonymous. *Chintana* has the very definite and abstract meaning of 'thought'; it is not easy to introduce it here without some violence. We shall see on the other hand that the explanation 'for the repairs of the cave,' proposed [for *paṭisaṭharāṇa* in N. 3, is far from being certain.

The restoration *ṇa[tā Dakṣiṇā]paṭisaro* is as probable as the translation of *pitupatiyo* proposed by Bühler is inadmissible. *Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period (above, Vol. III. p. 343; Vol. IV. p. 207, etc.), denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit,' which enables its author to get over the ocean of *saṃsāra*. The way in which the word is used in ll. 12-13 of the next inscription could lead us to fancy that it is here transformed into a proper name, attached to that cave which has been dug out by the king's grandmother. Such a name, however, would be very vague and little significant. I admit that *dharmasetu* must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as an apposition to *leṇa* either expressed or understood, to mean 'the pious foundation' of the queen. I cannot account for the curious idea of Bhagwanlal, who sees in it the personal name of some 'manager of the cave.' As to *pitupatiyo*, he transcribes it by *pitripitrikah*. He evidently thought of the analogy of *pitripitāmaha*; but the two are in no way identical. It might be admitted that they are equivalent, and that *pitripitri* = 'father and (father's) father.' The insuperable difficulty lies in the reading. The stone does not bear *pitupitiyo* or *pitupetiyo*, but *pitupatiyo*. The *i*-vowel after the second *p* is decidedly excluded by the tail of the *r* in the preceding line, and no trace of an *e*-vowel can be discovered. It is *pitupatiyo* and nothing else that has to be explained. *Patti* in the Buddhist Pāli, i.e. *prāpti*, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, by a foundation (Childers, s.v.). It is probably through the intermediate meaning 'a part, participation,' that the word has come to be used in that way. Thus *pitupattiyo* or *ṭṭiko* means 'who is applying to his father the merit of his donations.' The king speaks of his father only because his father alone is dead, and he begins by alluding to his mother, proclaiming his donation to be inspired by his veneration towards her and his wish to share in her views. It is therefore just as if he had said, with an idiom more familiar to the language of inscriptions, *pitaram vuddisya*. From this case I am inclined to conclude, without

being able actually to verify the conjecture, that such an application of merit can be made only in favour of deceased persons. However that may be, it will now be seen by what very natural transition of thought the giver is led to use without any other preparation the name *dhammasetu* as given to the cave; he is inspired at this very moment by the line of religious thoughts which have suggested it and which explain it.

Bühler seems to entertain no doubt as to the identity of the village named here with that mentioned at the beginning of the following inscription. It is certain that the date of the donation mentioned there is exactly the same as in the present epigraph, and that this donation is made in favour of the same sect of Bhaddāyānīyas. It is above all evident from the place it occupies, and from the fact that the following text has been compressed in order that it might be inscribed here, that that place has been chosen intentionally. It must, however, be stated that the village called here Pisājipadaka, i.e. I suppose Pisāchīpadraka, gets in the following epigraph the name of **Sudisana**, and that the description is not identical in both texts, Pisājipadaka being located at the S. W. of Tiraṇhupavata, and Sudisana at the south of the **Govadhanāhāra**. The two may after all be the same; but the difference in the name and description deserves to be noted, especially because a perfect agreement would naturally be expected. Further N. 3 brings in the *Śramanas* from Dhanakāṭa, who are not mentioned in connection with the donation which No. 2 records. It is therefore impossible to affirm that the beginning of N. 3 refers to the present donation; nor is it absolutely impossible that the king should have consented on the same day to a double donation, although it would, in that case, be difficult to understand why he should not have combined the mention of both. It may, however, be remarked that the gift of the village is here recorded in a somewhat unusual style and summed up in an abridged form (*savajātabhoganirāṭhi*), which looks like a simple mention, so hasty that it was left without a grammatical construction and the detailed indications which generally authenticate the gifts. Perhaps we have here the trace of some peculiar and, to us, undetermined circumstances which, if known, would explain why a new deed was substituted three years later, as commemorated in the following document.

No. 3, Plate ii. (Ksh. 19).

Engraved in continuation of No. 2, from which it is separated only by a *Svastika* followed by another symbol.

TEXT.

- 11 Siddha (1) **Navanarasvāmī Vāsīṭhīputo Siri**(2)-**Puḷumavi** ānapayati **Govadhane**
āmacha (3)
12 **Sivakhadila** ya amhehi (4) **sava 19 gi pa 2 diva 13 Dhanakāṭasamanehi** (5)
ya etha pavate (6) **Tira**(7). na dhavasetusa (8)
leṇasa paṭisatharāṇe (9) . akhaya . . . (10) hetu etha **Govadhanāhāre**
dakhīpamage gāmo **Sudisanā** (11) bhikhuhi devileṇavāsehi nikāyena
Bhaddāyanīyehi (12) patigaya (13) dato (14) etasa dānagāmasa **Sudasanāna**
parivātake etha **Govadhanahare** (15) puvamage (16)
13 gāma (17) **Samalipada** dadāma (18) etata mahaaṛakena (19) odena (20)
dhamasetusa leṇasa paṭisatharāṇe (21) akhayanivihetu (22) gāma **Samalipada** (23)
bhi . uhi devileṇa yena (24) **Bhaddāyanayehi** (25) patigayha (26)
oyapapehi (27) etasa cha gāmasa **Samalipadasa** (28) bhikhuhalaparihāra (29)
14 vitarāma apālasa anomasa (30) aloṇakhādaka araṭhasavinavika savajātaparihārika
cha etehi na parihārehi (31) pariharehi (32) eta (33) cha gāma **Samalipada** (34)
panihāre cha (35) etha (36) nibadhāpehi (37) **Sud** . . na (38) gāmasa cha
Sudasanāna vinibadhakārehi apatā (39) mahāsenāpatinā (40) **Medhunena**
nā (41) chhato baṭikā . v . . kehi (42) hatha . . to (43) datā
paṭikā (44) **sava 22 gi pakhe** (45) . diva 7 . **takaṇinā** (46) kaṭā

Govadhanavâthavâna (47) phâsa . yo (48) Viṇhupâlena (49) svâmi-
vaṇaṇapata (50) nama (51) bhagatasapatipatapasa (52) Jinavarasa Budhasa.

REMARKS.

(1) AŚ. *siddham*. — (2) G. *Sirī-Pu*°. — (3) G. and AS. *amacha* ; *ā* seems clear, though faint. — (4) G. °*lana sumapa sa*° ; AS. °*la ya amhepa sa*°. The reading *amhehi* is required by the context. We might at the utmost read *amhepi* if *amhehi* were not morally certain. — (5) G. *Dhanahka*°. It will be seen that I incline to read *Benākaṭa*°. — (6) G. restores *pa[va]ts*. I think I can read the three characters. — (7) G. and AS. restore *Tira[nhumhi]*. — (8) G. . . . *na etasatasa le*° ; AS. *dhavāsetisa le*°. I have no doubt that the text really had *dhama*°. — (9) AS. notes no lacuna between °*ne* and *a*°, and G. only points out an undetermined one. I admit not only that there remains room for one character, but that the back of the estampage seems to retain some traces of it, which might be mistaken for *na*. As, however, in the repetition which will follow, and the phraseology of which is the exact counterpart of this first formula, the reading °*tharane* is certain and perfectly complete, it seems hardly possible that the text should have been different here. — (10) G. and AS. restore °[*nivī*]°. — (11) G. notes between °*mo* and *su*° a lacuna which nothing compels us to admit, and reads *Sudisana* ; AS. *Sadasanā*. — (12) AS. °*niyena* ; only a lapsus. — (13) G. *patikhaya* ; AS. *paṭikhaya*. Here and in l. 13 the letter looks like *ga*. — (14) AS. *datā*. — (15) AS. °*dhanāhāre*. — (16) G. °*vasime*. — (17) G. and AS. *gāmo*. — (18) G. and AS. *dadīma*. — (19) G. *mahā*° ; G. and AS. °*kana*. — (20) G. *odāna*. The back of the estampage seems to warrant *de*. — (21) G. °*samtha*°. — (22) AS. °*heta*. — (23) G. °*padam*. — (24) G. *bhikhūhi devīṇavā[sehi nikā]yena* ; AS. *ta [. . . bhi]khuhi leṇa[vāsehi nikā]y[e]na*. — (25) G. °*yaniyehi* ; AS. °*yanayahi*. — (26) G. °*gahya* ; AS. °*tikhaya*. — (27) G. *uyapa e*° ; AS. *uyapaya e*°. The transcription *u* for the first character and *ya* for the last would, *a priori* and for purely palæographical reasons, be inadmissible. Besides, in the strokes which Bühler interprets as *paya*, I read with some confidence *pehi*. But the reading *oyapāpehi* is warranted by the Koṇḍamudi plates and by Kārlê No. 19 (above, Vol. VI. p. 71, note 1). — (28) AS. *Sama*°. — (29) G. °*hāram*. — (30) G. *aṇama*°. — (31) AS. °*rihure*°. — (32) AS. °*harīhi*. — (33) G. *dataṁ cha*. — (34) G. °*padam* ; AS. °*mala-pada*. — (35) G. °*hārānaṁ* ; AS. °*hāre na*. Although *cha* is not clear, the parallel passage leaves no doubt as to the reading. — (36) AS. *eṭha*. — (37) AS. °*badha la . . . mi . gā*° ; G. °*baṁdhāpanaṁ gā*°. — (38) *su* and *na* appear to me certain, *d[a]* most probable. These elements lead almost irresistibly to the reading *Sudasan[e]* for the whole. It must be owned, however, that the third character does not give the impression of an *s* either on the front or on the back ; but as it does not resemble any other known character, it must be admitted that its aspect has been altered by some damage of the stone. — (39) G. *ānato* ; AS. °*nibakāre*°. The *dha* is not visible on the Plate, but at least very plausible on the back of the estampage, which at any rate warrants the presence of two letters between *ba* and *re*. I have no doubt that the direct examination of the stone has inspired Bhagwanlal correctly. — (40) AS. °*senapa*°. — (41) G. °*na [Sātakani]nā*. The visible traces make it a puzzle for me how Bhagwanlal could propose such a restoration. — (42) G. °*to Binikaṭavāsakahi* ; AS. °*to paṭikā . vāsakehi*. The reading *bi* (G.) can hardly be seriously upheld ; *pa* of AS. is not much more likely. As to the *sa* on which both agree, it seems less probable on the back than it looks on the front. — (43) G. *hathachhatā* ; AS. *hathichhatā*. I feel little doubt that the top-curl belongs to the *d* of the preceding line, and that the *i* ought to be struck off. — (44) AS. °*tā hīna sa*°. — (45) G. and AS. *pa . . .* — (46) G. 7 *Sātakapīnā* ; AS. 7 . *Sā . kanena*. — (47) AS. °*vathavana*. — (48) G. *phāsukāyam* ; AS. *phesakaye*. The top of the first letter seems to bear a horizontal stroke on both sides, which would give *pho* ; but the two strokes do not exactly face one another, and the one on the right is more clearly and deeply cut. Pro-

bably the stroke on the left is accidental, and we ought to read *phá*. — (49) AS. *V[i]ñhu°*, which is a printer's mistake for *Vinhu°*; G. *Venhu°*. — (50) G. *sāmivanañānata*; AS. *sāmivanañānata*. — (51) G. *namo*, which is perhaps right. — (52) G. *bhaga[ra]tasa°*; AS. *bhagatasa°*; G. *°patipatipasa*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! The lord of **Navanara**, **Siri-Puḷumāvi Vāsīṭhiputa**, commands **Sivakhandila**, the officer at **Govadhana**: The village of **Sudisaṇa** here in the **Govadhana** district on the Southern road, which by us, in the 19th year, on the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of summer, by the *Samaṇas* of **Dhanamkāṭa** who [dwell] here on mount **Tirapṇu**, has been given to be owned by the *Bhikkhus* of that fraternity, the **Bhadāyaniyas** dwelling in the **Queen's Cave**, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave meritoriously excavated, — in exchange for this gift, — the village of **Sudasana**, — we give the village of **Sāmalipada**, here in the **Govadhana** district on the Eastern road; and this village of **Sāmalipada**, by the *Mahā-Āryaka*, you must deliver to be owned by the *Bhikkhus* of the school of the **Bhadāyaniyas** dwelling in the **Queen's Cave**, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave meritoriously excavated; and to this village of **Sāmalipada** we grant the immunity belonging to monk's land, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities. With all these immunities you must hasten it, and this donation of the village of **Sāmalipada** and the immunities take care to have registered here at **Sudasana**. And by the (officers) entrusted with the abrogation of the (previous) donation of the **Sudasana** village it has been ordered. Written by the *Mahāsenāpati* **Maṇḍana**, kept (?) by the of deeds (?). The deed was delivered in the year 22, the 7th day of the . . fortnight of summer; executed by(?) With a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of **Govadhana**, **Vinḥupāla** proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent **Jina**, the **Buddha**.”

This inscription offers in its last part some difficulties which result from uncertain readings, and even more from lacunæ. In order not to lengthen this commentary unnecessarily, I shall not dwell on differences of opinion in a few passages where former interpreters have diverged gone astray.

From the comparison of *Benīkaṭasāṁhi* in the next inscription, which offers many analogies to the present one, I infer that Dr. Bhandarkar was right in understanding **Navanarasamāna** = lord of **Navanara**, I suppose for **Navanagara**. Nothing in the other inscriptions entitles us to look in it for some hypothetical *biruḷa*.

The sentence beginning with *ya amhehi* rests on two propositions which are exactly balanced and throw light upon one another. The general construction is clearly determined by the symmetry which obtains between the relative proposition: *ya amhehi* *Bhadāyaniyehi patigaya dato* on the one hand, and the principal one: *eta cha* *patigayha oyapāpehi*. They correspond link to link. The general similarity makes the more conspicuous the discrepancy which exists in respect of a single detail: instead of *Dhanakāṭasamānehi* *y[e] etha pavate Tira* *na*, line 13 has *mahaāṭrakena odana*. This disagreement is made worse by the lacuna and by the partial uncertainty of the reading *odana*. The obscurity of these two expressions is to my mind the only real difficulty in this part of the text. One useful result at least, although only a negative one, is gained from their comparison, namely, that the singular construction attempted by Bühler, who supposed *samānehi* and *āṭrakena* to be governed by *paṭikhaya* (as he read), must first of all be discarded. To connect, as he did, *Dhanakāṭasamānehi* and *bhikkhuhi* which are separated from each other by a whole sentence, is too inadmissible to require a lengthy refutation. Either member includes two terms, first

an instrumental, in one case *°samanehi* (followed by the relative proposition *ya* . . . which determines it more particularly, and the essentials of which have disappeared in the lacuna), on the other, *airakena*; secondly another word which we read *odena* is the second case, and the last syllable of which, *na*, alone has been preserved in the first. Unfortunately both *mahaaīraka* and *odena* are of doubtful meaning. One point is proved by the very difference between the two phrases: they must have referred respectively to each of the villages in question and must have contained some determination, whatever may have been its exact bearing, concerning not the nature or the application of the gift, but its object, which alone differs in the two, being in the first sentence the Sudisāṇa village, and the village of Sāmalipada in the second. Bühler took *odena* to be an instrumental qualifying *airakena*. Besides the fact that this view has led him to a most unlikely translation, the circumstance of [*ode*] *na* being in line 12 associated with *samanehi* seems to bear evidence to his error. To all appearance it is the instrumental, *samanehi* or *airakena*, which must be understood as dependent on *odena* or *odāna*, whichever may be the true reading. As to this word — either a substantive or, more probably, a participle — it cannot well be anything but a nominative or accusative, agreeing with the preceding pronoun, *ya* or *eta*. The last inscription, which informs us of the original gift for which this one is substituted, makes no allusion to the monks of Dhanakāṭa; as to the *Mahaaīraka*, the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious personage. Even admitting that the title *araka* given to Yaśasiri-Sātakaṇi by an inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 96) be really = *āryaka*, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title *Chāla-ārya* conferred on the *Ārya* Buddharakshita, who is styled *Arhat* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, Plate lix. No. 39, p. 104). What in any case appears to me above all doubt is that, contrary to the conjecture of Bühler, the title cannot be Puṣumāyī's. I refer to the observations on the title *Mahāsvāmika*, which follow the next inscription.

As to the letters which, besides *ole*, are comprised in the lacuna, no parallel passage helps us to fill them up with confidence. The writing is not regular enough to enable us to ascertain even the number of characters which have disappeared. Probably from seven to nine are missing. The two first, *phunhi*, and the two last, *ole*, being known, it may at least be imagined that *vasanti* or *pativasanti* would fill up the gap conveniently, and that the monks 'who dwell on mount Triraśmi' were meant here. On Dhanakāṭa or Dhanuikāṭa we have no other information than what has been collected by Dr. Bhandarkar (p. 349). Of course I cannot venture to hold my own against those who worked from the stone itself; I must own, however, that, considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*, it seems very tempting to suppose that our *Dhanakāṭa* is not different from the *Benūkāṭaka* in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading *Benūkāṭaka* seems to me to be the better secured one. I should incline to introduce it here. In No. 10, l. 2, we shall find a river *Karabendā*. Several *Benās* are known. *Benūkāṭaka* is therefore quite satisfactory. As to the hypothetical *Dhanakāṭaka*, it could in no case be identified (as postulated by Bhandarkar) with the proper name (equivalent to Dhanuikōṭ or not) which we find again at Amarāvati, as it has there the form *Dhamnūkaṭaka* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, No. 53, p. 90).

I think I can explain with certainty one word at least which has led astray my predecessors. The comparison of the two passages establishes the form *patigayha*, i.e. *pratigrihya*, and the preceding instrumental, as it cannot be construed with *datō*, can only be governed by this word, which is therefore the future passive participle — here *pratigrihyah*, and below *parigraha* which I have explained in K. 19. and that it is in the same way applied to a property assigned to a special act. The close etymological relationship of the two terms

justifies their parallelism naturally enough. I have therefore no doubt that *pratigrihya* must mean here 'to be received as property by . . .'. As I have stated above (in K. 13), the construction *nikāyena Bhaddāyanīyehi* seems to imply that even where the reading *nikāyasa Bhaddāyanīyānaṃ* would rather suggest an interdependence of the two genitives, it must be admitted that the two terms are, as is necessarily the case here, co-ordinated, and that the second follows the first as a kind of apposition.

Paṭisaṃtharāna is, as far as I know, an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. Its general meaning is evident. Bhagwanlal has aptly compared the Pāli meaning of *paṭisanthāra*; but I fear he has from these exact premises elicited a conclusion which is inadmissible. *Paṭisanthāra* is by Childers translated 'friendly greeting, welcome, etc.' But the word, I think, points not so much to the feelings, as to the material care which is involved by the duty of hospitality. The etymological meaning must have started from the carpet which is spread out to accommodate the guests, and is in perfect agreement with the instances adduced. If a term has been thus fixed in a certain sense, somewhat diverted from the literal bearing, it would evidently be imprudent to vindicate for secondary, simply analogous derivations an identical figurative meaning. Nothing authorises us to attribute to *paṭisaṃtharāna* the precise sense of 'hospitality,' which would not suit either the construction of the sentence or the term *chitāna* in the preceding inscription. Nor do I see on what ground could be maintained the too precise translation of 'repairs,' given by Bühler. It seems to me that the general meaning of 'care' is more conformable to what analogy requires.

The reading *eta cha* for the apparent *etata*, judiciously advocated by Bühler, is above all doubt. As to *vyapāpchi*, I have, in commenting on K. 19, only been able to state in an additional note that this transcription seems now to be secured by the Kondaṃudi plates where Prof. Hultsch has made it out. His etymology from *avayava* is extremely ingenious. But I do not think, and to this effect our epigraphs seem to me to supply decisive arguments, that we ought to insist on the etymological shade of meaning. I would prefer 'to distribute, to bestow,' i.e. in fact to realise the gift.

This passage and the sequel agree with K. 19 and N. 4. It is enough here to refer to these two records. But in spite of the general symmetry, there are some divergencies for which we are left without the aid and control of direct analogies. First, if, after *niba[n]dhāpchi*, we really must, in spite of some difficulties, read *Sudasana* (and the characters *Sul . . na* at least appear extremely probable), the *cha* which follows after *gāmasa* compels us to take *gāmasa* with the sequel, and implies that *Sulasana* belongs to what precedes. Hence I am led to postulate the reading *Sudasane*, 'in the village of Sudasana;' but *Sudasane* for *Sudasanesu*, or rather for *gāme Sulasanesu*, does not satisfy me entirely.

The sequel corresponds exactly with our No. 4, in so far as five different acts connected with the donation are enumerated in both places. In the next epigraph they are expressed by the words *ānata*, *chhata*, *uparakhita*, *datā paṭikā* and *kaṭā*, of which the first, second, fourth and fifth are common to the present text as well. It is *a priori* probable that the third also is, if not identical in form, at least equivalent in bearing. The reading *hathachhato* gives no meaning which can be made to agree with *uparakhita*. Besides, *chhato* stands condemned by the fact that this word already figures in the same series. Although the transcription *chh*, especially if we judge from the back of the estampage, cannot be said to be impossible, the too angular tracing and the unusual place which would have to be assigned to the vertical stroke surmounting the double curl joins with the general aspect of the front to make it at least doubtful. The reading *hatha* (or *hathe*) *guto*, besides reminding of *Rohanigutto* which I have adduced in K. 19, would perhaps satisfy the desideratum of close agreement; but I must own that the actual traces of the estampage do not seem to favour it, and I put it here only as a provisional guess, to stand until a more acute reader or some evident analogy removes every uncertainty.

The five different terms have been explained in K. 19. The same is not the case with the titles and names which are special to our text, and which the imperfect preservation of the latter renders more or less obscure. As for the first, as stated before, I join with some confidence in Bhagwanlal's reading *vinibandhakīrehi*. He understood the word as 'document writer.' It is certain on the resonance of the use of *nibandhāpēhi*, that *nibandha*, as in N. 5, has to be taken here in some analogous sense. But how did Bhagwanlal dispose of the initial *vi*, which implies a meaning of suppression, or negation? We have seen besides (in K. 11) that *nibandha* more specially means 'investment.' The object of the deed is to unmake the gift of the Sudasana village by substituting the gift of another. I therefore explain *vinibandhakāra* by: 'one unmakes an investment,' and take it as an epithet applied to the officers entitled to register the withdrawal of the former donation, whichever may have been the proper qualification of these *Dātāras*.

As to the *Mahāsānāpati*, the proper name alone seems obliterated or doubtful; but the lacuna may have contained something else than his name. Other inscriptions do not attribute to the *Sānāpati* the mental work of drafting, but perpetuate his name as that of a high officer entrusted with this charge at the end of the grant; see e.g. Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* Nos. 86 and 87. In a still higher degree the title of *Mahāsānāpati*, which comes near to that of *Mahārāja* (*ibid.* p. 15, note), seems to place the person who is honoured with it above any such menial task. This is why I suspect that the obliterated letters, if exactly known, would let his part appear in a different light.

There remains the third qualification, of which the greater part is erased, and which begins with *baṭṭhā*. Although this reading seems more likely than *paṭikā*, the two forms would be equivalent, and all I venture to say is that the first part of the title seems to refer to some function of an archivist, analogous to what is elsewhere expressed by *akshapaṭalika* and *śikṣasādhika*. This meaning would suit the general bearing which, I think, points to the mention of such an officer. At the utmost I would note that the reading *vāsakehi*, which G. and AS. have put in at the end of the word, reminds of *vāmikehi* (= *svāmikehi*) which, in N. 4, closes the title of the *Mahāsvāmikas* entrusted with an identical task. I must add that the visible traces do so favour the restoration of the reading *sāmikehi*.

It is most improbable that we should have to read *Sītakaṇḍinā*, and it would indeed be extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver.

With *kaṭā* the inscription proper comes to an end, as is indicated by the blank which is left after it. The difficulties in the following sentence are chiefly due to the uncertainty of several readings. It does not, however, seem to me impossible to do away with them. One point is certain, namely that the second part forms an adoration to the **Buddha**. The first ought to introduce and explain it. To this natural desideratum neither the translation of Bhagwanlal nor that of Bühler do justice. That of Bühler has the drawback of resting on the reading *svāmivachana*, which is at variance with the original; it presupposes the name *Vinhupālana*, which has to be explained as a mistake for *Vinhupālita*: lastly it has recourse, in explaining the supposed *phesakaye*, to comparisons and interpretations singularly open to controversy. The readings of Bhagwanlal are more plausible: but his translation: 'the description of the king has been given by Vishnupāla for imparting pleasure to the inhabitants of Gôvardhana' is certainly odd, as no 'description of the king' is given here. In fact the translation requires only a few slight alterations to become quite satisfactory. *Phāsu*, from which the abstract *phāsukā* is derived, means, in Buddhist style, not exactly 'satisfaction,' but 'health,' and thence 'well-being.' The interpretation of *svāmi* involves a more essential modification. If we refer this title to the king, we are confronted with several difficulties. Could it not be a

¹ [See my remarks on these two terms, above, Vol. VII, p. 107, note 4.—E. H.]

denomination of the Buddha himself? It would be a somewhat unusual application of the word; but perhaps it could, to some extent, be explained by the necessity of avoiding here the names of Bhagavat, Buddha and Jina which follow later on. I take *vannanā* in the sense which is now commonly reserved to *varṇa*, 'eulogy, glorification.' If taken thus, the sentence introduces the invocation quite naturally. Viṇhupāla, whatever may have been his position and the reason for his intervention (nothing enlightens us about the matter; is the name perhaps only an equivalent of Viṇhupālita in the following epigraph?), proclaimed this praise of the Lord, 'i.e. adored the Buddha, 'in order to procure the well-being of the inhabitants of Gôvardhana.'

The beginning of the invocation itself seems puzzling. Bühler read *patipatapasa*; but this does not help us. He translates (perhaps by some inadvertency?) as if he had read *patipatasa* = *prāptiprāptasya*; but even thus the compound would be an error for *prāptiprāptēh*. It seems little credible that *prāpti*, which, as seen in N. 2, has acquired a different technical sense, should have been used here in a way which is at least unusual even in religious literature. Bühler and Bhagwanlal seem to have fallen into a common error by considering it beyond all discussion that *bhagatasa* must be a fault for *bhagavatasa*. We ought to be careful not to charge the engraver too rashly. All difficulties vanish if we admit: first, that the words must be separated otherwise, and secondly that the *bh* bore the vowel *u* which has disappeared, the stone being here much defaced. Thus we get '*bhugatasapaṭipatapasa* = *abhyudgatasamprāptipratāpasya*, an excellent epithet to *Budhasa*, as will be seen from my rendering. *Saṃpatti* is well known in Pāli (see Childers) not only in the sense of 'prosperity,' but with the special and more technical meaning of 'religious attainment.' Nothing in this sentence betrays a later origin. It may be supposed that Viṇhupāla, being concerned in some way with the execution of the inscription, was led by his zeal to crown it by that pious manifestation.

No. 4, Plate ii. (Ksh. 13).

On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham senāye Vejayaṃtiye (1) vijayakhadhāvarā Govadhanasa
Benākatakasvāmi (2) Gotamiputo Siri-Sadakaṇi (3)
- 2 ānapayati Govadhane amacha Viṇhupālita (4) gāme Aparakakhadiye ya (5)
khetam Ajakālakiyam Usabhadatena (6) bhūtam nivatana (7)-
- 3 satāni be 200 eta ambakheta nivatanasatāni (8) be 200 imesa pavajitāna
Tekirasiṇa (9) vitarāma etasa chasa khetasa paribhāra
- 4 vitarāma apavesa (10) anomasa (11) aloṇakhādaka arathasavinayika
savajātapāribhārika (12) cha etahi na parihārehi parihar . hi (13)
- 5 ete (14) chasa khetaparihar . (15) cha etha nibadhāpehi (16) aviyena (17)
āpatam amachena Sivagutena chhato Mahāsāmiyehi uparakhito (18)
- 6 datā paṭikā savachhare 18 (19) vāsapakhe (20) 2 divase 1 Tāpasena (21)
katā.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. °jayati°. — (2) G. and AS. °takā svā°. — (3) G. °dakāni. — (4) G. and AS. °litam. — (5) G. °diyam yaṃ khe°; AS. °diya ya khe°. — (6) G. Ushabhadātēna. — (7) AS. nivatane. — (8) AS. °satāmi. — (9) G. °sina; AS. °sinā. — (10) G. apāve°; AS. °vesam. — (11) AS. °masam. — (12) G. °tapari°. — (13) G. °riharahi; AS. °riharihi. — (14) AS. eta. — (15) G. and AS. °hāre. — (16) G. and AS. nibadhō lihi. The only point which in my reading seems subject to some material uncertainty is the vocal *e* of the syllable *pe*. — (17) G. suviṇṇa; AS. aviyēna. — (18)

G. °*khītā*. — (19) AS. 14 ; but Bühler has corrected this reading to 18 in *Die Ind. Inschriften und die Kunstpoesie*, p. 58. — (20) G. *vasāpakhe* ; AS. *vasapa[khe]*. — (21) G. °*pasana*.

TRANSLATION.

"Success ! From the camp of victory of the **Vejayanti** army, **Siri-Sadakani Gotamiputa**, lord of **Benākataka** of **Govadhana**, commands **Viṇhupālita**, the officer at **Govadhana**: The **Ajakālakiya** field in the village of **Western Kakhadi**, previously enjoyed by **Usabhadata**, — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas*, — that our field — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas* — we confer on those **Tekirasi** ascetics ; and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities ; with those immunities invest it ; and this field and these immunities take care to have registered here. Verbally ordered ; written down by the officer **Sivaguta** ; kept by the *Mahāsāmiyas*. The deed was delivered in the 18th year, on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season ; executed by **Tāpasa**."

Vejayāntiye ought to be taken as a local name and as alluding to the town of **Vejayanti** (K. 1). *Vejayanti* is not identical with *vijayanti*, the feminine of the participle *vijayat*, 'victorious.' The mention of the 'Vejayanti army' may have been promoted by the wish of recalling to mind the usual formula *vijayaskandhāvāra* in a way at once pleasant to the king and honourable for his troops, whose successes it commemorated.

I cannot discover the *ā* which AS. and G. attach to the second *k* of *Benākataka*. This is not to be wondered at, because it seems impossible to interpret *Benākatakasvāmi* otherwise than as a compound of the same form as *Navanarasvāmi* in N. 3. When *svāmin* is prefixed as a title, it is placed before the king's name (*sāmi* **Siri-Palumāyi**, K. 14 ; N. 25 ; *sāmi* **Siriyaṇa-Sātakani**, N. 24), and not, as would be the case here, if Bühler and Bhagwanlal were right, before his metronymic. As to the genitive *Govadhanasa*, it could certainly be explained as governed implicitly by *Benākataka* and pointing out the district where the place is situated. It seems however much more probable that it must be construed with *skandhāvārāt*. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular ; but the presence of another genitive, *senāye* *Vejayāntiye*, may have caused *Govadhanasa* to be placed after *kandhāvārāt*. As we know nothing about **Benākataka** (see the preceding inscription), its situation need not be considered here. But it is unlikely that the king, while dating his gift from his head-quarters, should not have stated the name, and, as the gift mentioned here was made by him verbally and personally, it is all but certain that he was himself present at **Govardhana**.

Bühler and Bhagwanlal understand *ajakālakiyaṃ* = Sanskrit *adyakālīkam*, an adjective qualifying *khetam*, and which, determining the following *Usabhadatena bhūtam*, would mean 'till to-day.' This meaning would be excellent ; it would have the advantage of dating positively the Southern conquest of **Gautamiputra**, which probably brought about the dispossession of the **Kshaharāta Rishabhadatta** in favour of the invader. But from the grammatical point of view — without taking into account the singularity of the form *adyakālakiya* = *adyakālīka*, — it would really be an odd way of speaking. It is, besides, necessary that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because, if **Rishabhadatta** had laid hand on a possession in these parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I, therefore, am inclined to think that **Ajakālakiya** is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology which I have no means to state for certain.

I have no doubt that *Tekirasiṇa* is the equivalent of *Tiraṇkukānam* and refers to the monks on mount **Triraśmi**. As to the phonetic change, I see nothing more convincing than the conjecture of Bühler, who corrects the word to *Terasikānam* = *Trairaśmīkānam*. But it is really a desperate expedient — so desperate that I may be allowed to ask a question

If really, as is supposed, the name *Triraśmi*, attached to the hill at *Nāsik*, had been inspired by its triple top, would it be too bold to imagine that, under the influence of those *Yavanas* whose traces are rather common in these parts, a Greek equivalent *Τρικερας* could, by some accident, have obtained currency by the side of the native name?

For what follows compare K. 19.—No more than former commentators have I any means of determining the exact bearing of the title *Mahāsvāmika*. I would only note that it reminds strongly of *Mahāvihārasvāmin*, a term known from other texts, and which Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 272, note) considers to denote a dignity superior to that which is expressed by the simple *Vihārasvāmin*. It would then point to a college of religious dignitaries. I feel tempted to compare with these the titles *Mahā-āryaka* and *Chūla-āryaka*, which have been examined before.

No. 5, Plate ii. (Ksh. 14.)

Engraved in continuation of No. 4, from which it is separated only by a *Svastika*.

TEXT.

- 6 Siddha (1) Govadhane amachasa Sāmakasa (2) deyo (3) rājāpito (4)
 7 raño Gotamiputasa Sātakaṇisa (5) mahādeviya (6) cha jīvasutāya rāja-
 mātuya vachanena Govadhane (7) . . cho (8) Sāmako arogavatavo tato
 eva cha (9)
 8 vatavo etha (10) amhehi pavate Tiraṇhumhi amhadhamadāne lepe
 pativasatānam (11) pavajitāna bhikhūna gāme Kakhaḍisu puva khetam
 data ta cha kheta
 9 . . kasate (12) so cha gāmo na vasati evam (13) sati ya (14)
 dāni etha (15) nagarasiṃse rājakaṃ kheta (16) amhasatakaṃ (17) tato
 etesa (18) pavajitāna bhikhūnam Teraṇhukānam dadama
 10 khetasa nivataṇasatam 100 tasa cha khetasa parihāra (19) vitarāma
 apāvesa anomasa alopakhādaka arathasavinayika savajātāparihārika cha (20)
 11 etehi na parihārehi parihareṭha (21) eta chasa khetāparihāre (22) cha
 etha (23) nibadhāpetha (24) ariyena (25) ānata paṭihārakhiya Loṭāya
 chhato (26) lekho (27) savachhare 24
 12 vāsāna (28) pakhe 4 divase pachame (29) 5 Sujivinā (30) katā
 nibadho (31) nibadho savachhare (32) 24 giṃhāṇa pakhe 2 divase 10.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. *siddham*. — (2) G. and AS. *Sama*°. — (3) The initial *de* is probable, but not entirely certain. — (4) G. *rājanito*; AS. *rājani*°. The syllable *rā* is very indistinct in the estampages. — (5) G. *Sata*°. — (6) AS. °*deviya*. — (7) G. °*vadhana*. — (8) G. restores very aptly [ama]cho. — (9) G. and AS. do not mention this *cha*, which I believe to discover in the estampage. — (10) AS. *eṭha*. — (11) G. and AS. °*satāna*. — (12) G. *vakasate*; AS. *va kaṃsate*. The first letter in the line is very indistinct in the estampage. The traces agree more with the reading *na* which the sense requires, than with *va*. — (13) AS. *eva*. — (14) G. and AS. *yaṃ*. — (15) AS. *eṭha*. — (16) G. and AS. *khetam*. — (17) AS. *ama*°. — (18) G. *etasa*. — (19) G. °*hāram*. — (20) AS. omits *cha*. — (21) G. °*haratha*; AS. °*hereṭha*. — (22) G. °*parihāra* and AS. °*hāra*. — (23) AS. *eṭha*. — (24) AS. °*dhā laṭha*. — (25) G. *suviye*°. — (26) G. *lājanīyamatā*; AS. *Loṭṭya matā*. — (27) G. and AS. *lekhe*. — (28) AS. [va]śā°. — (29) G. *paṃcha*°. — (30) G. *pu[va]-jitinā*; AS. *Pujitinā*. — (31) G. °*badhā*. — (32) AS. *saṃvāchhare*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! Order of the king, to be made over to *Sāmaka*, the officer at *Govadhana*. In the name of the king *Sātakaṇi Gotamiputa* and of the king’s queen mother whose son is living,

Sāmaka, the officer at **Govadhana**, shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus : " We have here on mount **Tirap̄hu** formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours, a field in the village of **Kakhaḍi** ; but this field is not tilled, nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so, that royal village of ours, which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of **Tirap̄hu** one hundred — 100 — *nivartanas* of land, and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities ; invest it with those immunities, and take care that the donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered." Verbally ordered ; the deed written down by **Loṭā**, the door-keeper ; (the charter) executed by **Sujivin** in the year 24, in the 4th fortnight of the rainy season, on the fifth — 5th — day. The donation had been made in the year 24, in the 2nd fortnight of summer, on the 10th day."

Rājānito is perplexing. Bühler's explanation does not convince me. The use of so deformed a word as *nīṃta* = *niryāta* is quite improbable, and some parallel instances would be required to render the idiom admissible. Besides, I doubt very much that the gift could have been attributed in that way to **Śyāmaka**, even with the limitation which would be implied by *rājānito*, meaning as proposed : ' which proceeds from the king.' The reading itself I do not consider as secured, at least to judge from the estampages. The genitive *Sāmakasa* would be used in the sense of a dative governed by *deya* : ' which ought to be bestowed on **Sāmaka**,' and the last syllables of the line would contain the substantive expressing what ought to be bestowed. Now I propose to read *rājānati*, and before it, *deyā* instead of *deyo*, the final vowel of which is far from clear. In this way we obtain a docket of the whole grant : ' a command of the king, to be conveyed to **Śyāmaka**.' The vocalisation is here so uncertain that my conjectures cannot be called risky. The somewhat exceptional beginning would at least have the advantage of harmonising perfectly with some other equally exceptional peculiarities of the inscription. First, as is shown by the following sentence, we have here not a command directly delivered to **Sāmaka**, but conveyed to him by some intermediary :
rañō . . . mahādevīya cha vachanena. This circumstance is worth remembering all the more because the sequel (l. 11) states that the command was a verbal one issued by the king ; in fact the plurals *pariharetha* and *nibadhāpetha* are accounted for by the circumstance that the command was not intimated directly to **Sāmaka** (in which case precedents would let us expect the singular), but to the intermediaries, whoever they may have been, that were delegated by the king. Further, in the ordinary form of deeds the engraver is mentioned at the end. In this inscription, however, the date of the execution of the grant is followed by another date, on which the donation had been pronounced — a date naturally anterior to the despatch of formalities. This date was probably added by **Sāmaka** because he wanted to state the interval which, owing to delays in transmission, intervened between the resolution of the two royal persons and the execution of their will.

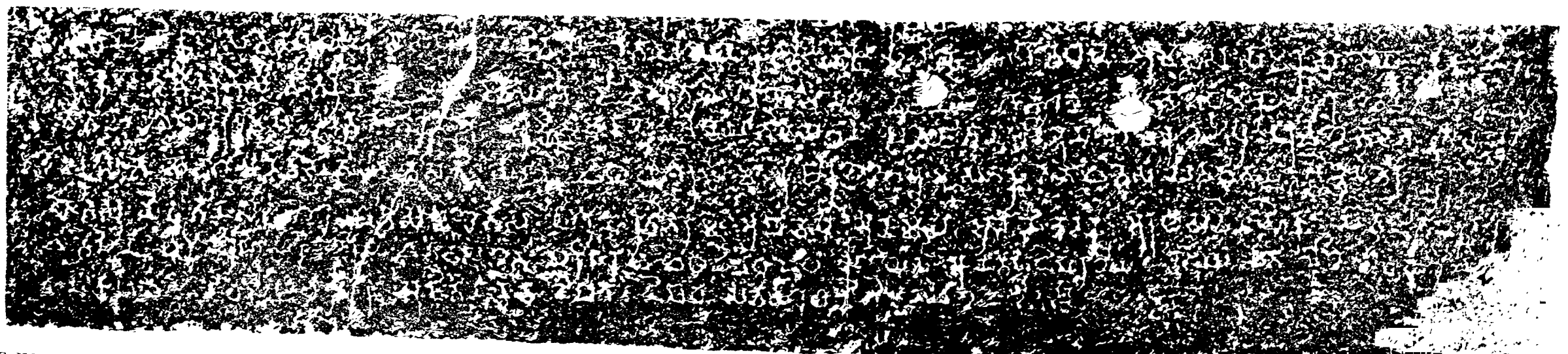
It is but natural to suppose that the field situated at **Kakhaḍi**, which had been bestowed before upon the monks, is the same as that mentioned in the preceding inscription. Our epigraph is, by the very place it occupies, brought into close connection with the preceding one. It must, however, be noted that the king's mother does not play any part in the preceding gift, which is contrary to the wording of the present one, and that **Apara-Kakhaḍi** as the name of the village looks like an intentional differentiation from the simple **Kakhaḍi** which we have here. At least the anterior deed did not state that the grant should concern exclusively, as it is said this time, the monks of the cave bestowed by the queen — the *Dharmasētū*. We must, however, remember the real nature of these epigraphs. They are not official documents, but, in some way, accidental commemorations of gifts, of which the records properly so called were kept among the charters of the monastery. So they may well abridge and sum them up ;



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in this way it is easy to understand why they do not note many details which could not fail to appear in the official deeds themselves.

Though it is generally inadvisable to have recourse to the correction of supposed errors of the engraver, it is difficult not to agree with Bühler when he corrects *pañihārarakhiya*. For other details see K. 19 and N. 3.

No. 6, Plate iii. (N. 8.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 6.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Viragahapatisa nyegamamsa (1) leṇam (2)
 2 deyaḍhama kuṭumbiṇiya (3) chasa Nandasiriya (4) ovarako duhutu-
 3 ya chasa Purisadatāva ovarako eva leṇam chatugabham
 4 niyuta (5) bhikhusaṃghasa chātudisasa piyāchitam.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. °gamasa; the *anuvāra*, although faulty, seems perfectly clear. — (2) G. and AS. *leṇa*. — (3) G. °biniya. — (4) AS. °dasarāya. The reading *siri* seems sure. — (5) G. *niyuta*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of the householder **Vira**, a merchant, a cell of his wife **Nandasiri**, and a cell of his daughter **Purisadattā**; the cave thus completed to four cells has been bequeathed to the universal *Saṅgha*.”

I do not think *gahapati* ought to be taken as a part of the proper name, any more than in *Nandagahapatini* at Śāilarwadi (CTI. p. 38, text l. 5). At Junnar (CTI. and AS. No. 4) we meet again with a donor *Virasenakasa gahapatipamughasa dhammanigamasa*. In spite of the close resemblance of the epithets, the writing of the two documents does not seem — unless, what is very possible, the difference be more local than chronological, — to entitle us to identify both. Anyhow it follows from the comparison that *gahapati*, just as *negama*, is a title. Besides, it may perhaps be concluded from it that *Vira* is only an abridgment of the real name which has to be completed by a second member like *sena*. *Negama* need not be explained; but it may be remarked *en passant* that its use here favours the opinion I have formerly stated, and which I must maintain against the doubts that have been raised by a learned opponent (Fick, *Soziale Gliederung zu Buddha's Zeit*, p. 164), viz. that *grihapati* is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of *Vaiśyas*.

The writing *nye* = *ne* is the more noteworthy because we find afterwards *niyāchita* = *niyātita*. It looks as if this engraver had felt some peculiar inclination towards the palatalizing of dentals.

Niyuta was translated by Bühler in various ways: ‘allotted, given,’ and often, as now, ‘dedicated.’ The inscription No. 1 at Mahād reads *leṇa chatiyaghara ovarakā cha atha ti kamaṃ niyutam* and seems to settle the exact bearing of the word, viz. ‘executed, completed,’ implying the notion of a plan, of an appropriation to some use or some object, which is conveyed by the verb *niyuj*. *Niyuta* is therefore not ordinarily construed with a dative; it is generally followed by another participle, as here by *niyātita*, pointing to the donation which takes place after the work has been completed. It is needless to observe that when *niyuta* is accompanied by a dative (or a genitive fulfilling the functions thereof), as at Junnar No. 15 (where we have to read *niyutaka*), this fact is no way irreconcilable with the translation I am advocating: ‘made for the *Saṅgha* (residing) at Kapichitā.’

No. 7, Plate iii.

On the back wall of Cave No. 7, left of the doorway.

TEXT.

- 1 Bhayaṃta-Savasānaṃ aṃtevā-
- 2 sīniya pavayitāya Tāpasi-
- 3 niya cha deyadhama [leṇa]
- 4 chātudisasa bhikkhusaḥsa dataṃ.

REMARKS.

This epigraph is missing in AS. I give the reading of Bhagwanlal rather than a transcription of my own. The estampages appear to be even less legible than the photographs. The letters are not deeply cut, so that the back of the estampages shows almost nothing. The direct examination of the stone may have enabled Bhagwanlal to see more than I can discover on the facsimiles. I can only abandon to him the honour and responsibility of the reading. Our facsimile is besides probably too short. For in the first line, where the visible traces indeed seem to confirm his transcription, the final *vā* which he has read is certainly wanting, and the following lines also, if compared with his readings, seem to be incomplete on the right. In the second line I am unable to make out *pavayitāya*, and even less *Tāpasi*°. The rest looks more probable. I must, however, except the last word. Besides the fact that no trace of *data* appears, it is not that participle, but *niyātita*, which is ordinarily used in that way. In l. 3 the *cha* must be wrong; to all appearance we have to do with a single gift.

TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Tāpasinī, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savasa, granted to the universal Saṅgha of ascetics."

It is hardly credible that the name of the donor should be omitted, as the epigraph takes the trouble to commemorate the name of her religious teacher. So she must have been called Tāpasinī, admitting the reading to be correct. We have already met (in N. 4) with Tāpasa as a man's name. As to that of the teacher, always supposing the reading to be correct, I do not see, among several possibilities, any Sanskrit transcription which can be safely admitted. The reading *Sovasa* is not impossible; it reminds of *Sovasaka* which in K. 20 seems to be an ethnic name, probably = Sauvarsha. Bhājā (AS. No. 4) supplies another instance of the *plurals majestatis*: *therānaṃ bhaṃta-Dhamagirināṃ*.

No. 8, Plate viii. (N. 7.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, right of the doorway.

TEXT.

Dāsakasa Mugūdāsasa (1) saparivārasa leṇa (2) deyadhama (3).

REMARKS.

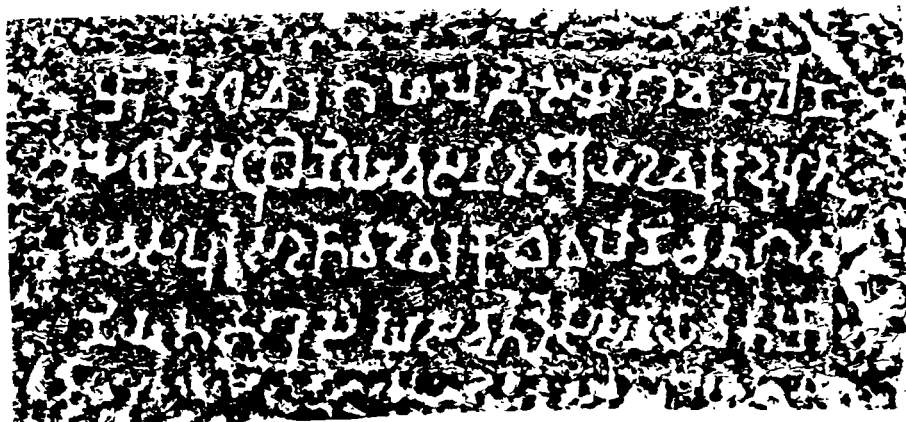
(1) AS. *Muguḍā*°. The *ḍ* is not quite distinct. The double stroke, however, accounts best for the crack, and besides the *ḍ* is sure in the following number. — (2) G. *leṇaṃ*. Even the *ṇ*, much more the *ṃ*, is extremely indistinct. — (3) G. °*dhamma*.

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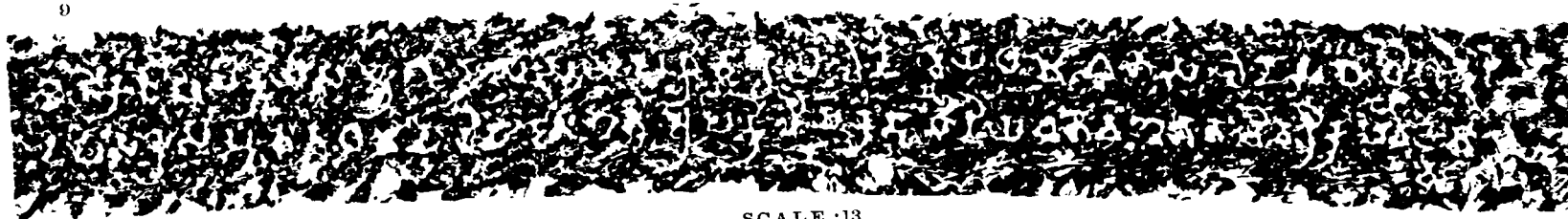
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7



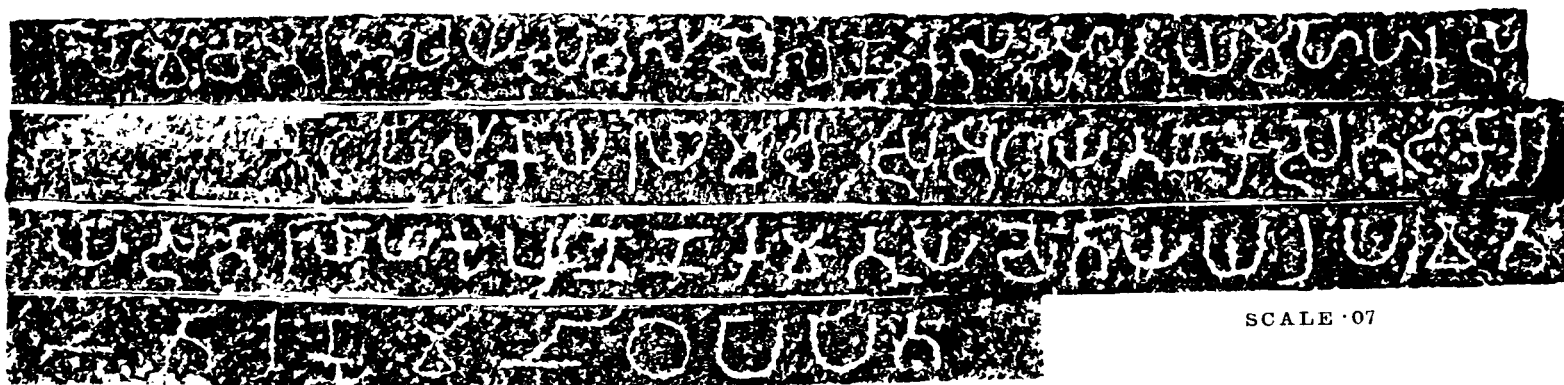
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9



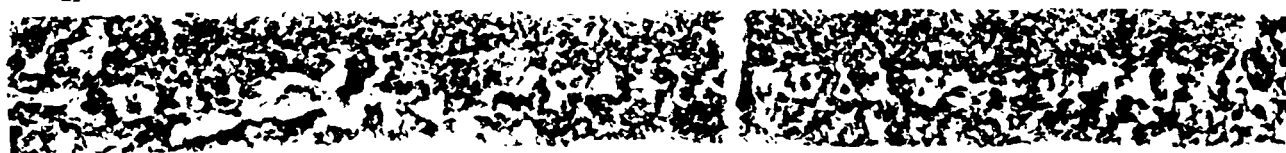
SCALE ·13

19



SCALE ·07

21



SCALE ·1

TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of **Mugûdâsa**, a fisherman, together with his next."

It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivâra* by 'with his family.' If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used either special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jâtî*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivâra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners.

Whatever may be the exact meaning of *dâsaka*, which I do not hesitate to identify with *dâsaka*, as suggested by Bühler, our **Mugûdâsa** cannot well be different from the one who is mentioned in the next inscription, also with his surroundings (*saparivâra*). It is strange that the gift of the cave should thus be commemorated twice in two epigraphs, each of which is located on one side of the same door. Generally our formulas distinguish the *lena* from the cells (*ovaraka*, *gabha*) which are excavated in them. Although *lena* is here used in both cases, I am inclined to think that the word in our No. 9 points no more to the veranda, but to the cell which the same donor **Mugûdâsa** must have added to his cave. This interpretation seems the more tempting as the second donation has for its object to supply with clothes the *parajîta*, i.e. the monk residing in the cell. However this may be, **Mugûdâsa** has a namesake at Kuḍâ (AS. No. 23), a *mâlākâra* or florist, whom nothing at least in the writing forbids to consider his contemporary.

No. 9, Plate iii. (N. 8.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, left of the doorway.

TEXT.

- 1 **Chetika**-upâsakiyasa **Mugûdâsasa** (1) *saparivârasa lenam* (2) *deyadhama* (3) *etasa lenasa* (4) **Bodhiguta**-
2 upâsakasa putena **Dhamanandinâ** datam (5) *khetam* (6) *aparilîya Kaṇḥahiniya*
eto cha khetâto chîvarikam (7) *pavaitasa*.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. *Mûgû*. — (2) G. and AS. *lena*. — (3) Perhaps *°dhamo*; but the vowel-mark would then, contrary to use, be attached to the top of the *m*. — (4) AS. *lenasa*. — (5) G. and AS. *data*. — (6) G. and AS. *khetâ*. — (7) G. and AS. *chivarika*.

TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of **Mugûdâsa**, of the lay community of **Chetikas**, together with his next. To this cave has been given by **Dhamanandin**, son of the lay worshipper **Bodhiguta**, a field in **Western Kaṇḥahini**, and from this field (accrues) the providing of clothes for the ascetic (living here)."

Compare the preceding inscription. The only difficulty peculiar to this epigraph is connected with the words *aparilîya Kaṇḥahiniya*. I have followed the translation of Bühler and Bhagwanlal, but without feeling so certain about its correctness as they appear to do. It presupposes an adjective *aparîla*, equivalent to *apara*, which is unusual, and which in any case does not conform to the precedent *Apara-Kakhaḍiye* in No. 4 above. The analogy of that passage would rather induce us to look in the word following *khetam* for the particular name of the field. Anyhow the long vowel of *lî*, which is quite distinct, remains somewhat puzzling; it would make me think of some passive participle of the future *a-parîliya*, if the use of *lî* with the prefix *pari* were testified to by literature or gave some clear and satisfactory meaning.

No. 10, Plate iv. (Ksh. 5.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10, under the ceiling.

TEXT.

Compare Dr. Hørnle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. pp. 27 ff. and Dr. Bhandarkar, *ibid.* pp. 139 ff.]

- 1 Siddham rājñāḥ **Kshaharātasya** kshatrapasya **Nahapānasya** jāmātrā (1)
Dinikaputrena **Ushavadātena** trigośatasahasradena nadyā **Bārṇāsāyām**
 suvarṇadānatīrthakareṇa devatābhyāḥ brāhmaṇebhyaścha shoḍaśagrāmadena
 anuvarshaṁ (2) brāhmaṇasatasahasribhojāpayitrā
- 2 Prabhāse puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ aṣṭabhāryāpradena **Bharukachhe** **Daśapure**
Govardhane **Śorparage** cha chatuśālāvasadhapratīśrayapradena ārāmataḍāga(3)-
 udapānakareṇa **Ibā-Pārādā-Damaṇa-Tāpi-Karabenā-Dāhanukā-nāvāpuṇyatarakarena**
 etāsām cha nadīnām ubhatotīram sabhā-
- 3 prapākareṇa **Pimḍitakāvaḍe** (4) **Govardhane** **Suvarṇamukhe** **Śorparage** cha
Rāmātīrthe Charakaparshabhyāḥ grāme (5) **Nānāṃgole** dvātrīśatanāḷigeramūla-
 sahasrapradena (6) **Govardhane** **Triraśmishu** parvateshu dharmātmanā idaṁ
 lepaṁ (7) kārītāṁ imā cha poḍhiyo (8) [||*] Bhaṭārakā amñātiyā (9) cha gato
 smiṁ (10) varshāratuṁ (11) **Mālayehi** (12) rudham **Utamabhādraṁ** (13)
 mochayitum
- 4 te cha **Mālayā** pranādeneva apayātā **Utamabhadrakānam** (14) cha kshatriyānam
 sarve parigrahā kṛitā tato smiṁ (15) gato **Poksharāni** tatra cha mayā
 abhiseko kṛito tṛiṇi (16) cha gosahasrāni datāni grāmo (17) cha [||*] **Data**
 chānena (18) kshetraṁ (19) brāhmaṇasa **Vārāhiputrasa** **Aśvibhūtisa** hathe
 kṛitā mulena (20) kāhāpapasahasrehi chatuḥ 4000 ya sapitusataka
 nagarasīmāya utarāparāya disāya (21) eto mama lepe vasa-
- 5 tānam (22) chātudisasa (23) bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhavisati.

REMARKS.

(1) The reading *trā* is very distinct; the right side of the *t* however bears a slight trace of the vowel *u*, as if the form *jāmātu* had been present, along with the form *jāmātrā*, in the mind of the writer. — (2) AS. °varsha. — (3) AS. °taḍāga°. — (4) G. *Pimḍi*°. — (5) AS. grāma. — (6) AS. °sahasradena. — (7) G. and AS. lepa. — (8) AS. poḍhiyo. — (9) The syllable *am* (for the *anusvāra* is quite visible) has been added between *kā* and *ñā*, probably in order to point out that the initial *a* has been absorbed into the *ā* of *kā*. The *ā* of *ñā* is doubtful; the vowel-mark is not ordinarily, as would here be the case, placed at the top of the vertical line. — (10) AS. smi. The *anusvāra* is doubtful. If it exists, it is of course a mistake. — (11) The *u* is subscribed in two ways, — the one very similar to *r*, as here and in *putrasa* in the next line, the other in the shape of a small horizontal stroke, as in *mochayitum*, *pitu*. — (12) Between *ye* and *hi* there is a blank, which seems to have been filled up by two or three characters that would have been effaced. — (13) AS. °bhādraṁ. The *ā* does not appear to be quite certain. — (14) AS. °kānām. — (15) AS. kṛitā tato smi. The *anusvāra*, though faulty, seems to exist on the stone. — (16) AS. tṛiṇi gosā°. — (17) AS. grāmo. — (18) G. cha nena. — (19) AS. kshetra. — (20) G. and AS. mūle°. — (21) G. disā°. — (22) G. and AS. °tina. — (23) G. °tudisa°.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! **Ushavadāta**, **Dinika**’s son, son-in-law of king **Nahapāna**, the **Kshaharāta** **Kshatrapa**, — who has given three-hundred-thousand cows, who has made gifts of money and *tirthas* on the river **Bārṇāsā**, who has given sixteen villages to the gods and **Brāhmaṇas**, who

causes one-hundred-thousand Brâhmanas to be fed the (whole) year round, who has given eight wives to Brâhmanas at the religious *tîrtha* of Prabhâsa, who at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorparāga has given the shelter of quadrangular rest-houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpi, Karabenā and Dāhanukā, and erected on both banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and such for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty-two-thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village Nānaṅgola to the congregation of Charakas at Pimḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha and the Rāmatîrtha in Śorparāga,—inspired by (true) religion, in the Triraśmi hills at Govardhana, has caused this cave to be made and these cisterns. And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas, and those Mālayas fled at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were, and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadra warriors. Thence I went to the Pokshara tanks, and there I bathed and gave three-thousand cows and a village. A field has also been given by him, bought at the hands of the Brâhmaṇa Aśvibhūti, son of Vārāhi, for the price of four-thousand — 4,000 — *kāhāpanas*, which (field) belonged to his father, on the boundary of the town towards the north-western side. From it food will be procured for all monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave."

The beginning of the inscription till *aṣṭabhāryāpradana* is, except one or two insignificant discrepancies, but the reproduction in Sanskrit orthography of the beginning of No. 13 at Kārlē. It will suffice to refer to this fact.

Daśapura is the only one among the four towns mentioned here which remains unidentified. I see no means of choosing between the Daśapura in Rajputana (Bühler), that in Malwa (Bhagwanlal), or others which might be added, as Mandasôr, etc. In No. 26 we see that some Śakas dwelt in that place; this is at least a hint that it ought to be searched for towards the north.

As for the river names, Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's views agree together. Dr. Bhandarkar proposed to restore °*panya*° and to separate °*vi-apanyatara*°. Such a correction would be rash; but the general meaning would come to the same. *Punyatara* must be compared with *punyatîrtha* which we have met before. As it characterises the Prabhâsatîrtha as a religious place, *punya* qualifies the ferries by boats established on those rivers as religious, charitable or meritorious ones, i.e. as gratuitous. The phraseology which so constantly associates *sabhā* and *prapā* (compare *Mahābhārata*, *Ānūsāsanikaparvan*, vv. 1635, 1671 and 6685; *Śāntiparvan*, v. 1492, etc.) proves, contrary to Dr. Hœrnle's ingenious, but too artificial conjecture, that the two words have to be taken as a *dvandva*.

Pimḍitakāvaḍa and Suvarṇamukha are, as far as I know, unidentified. In Nānaṅgola it is at least tempting to see with Bhagwanlal Nārgol near Sanjan. The communities of Charakas to whom the gift has been made seem to be identical with the Charakas who are named in a stereotyped formula of Buddhist (e.g. *Mahāvastu*, III. 412: *anyatîrthikacharakaparivṛjakā*) and Jaina texts, namely a certain special category of Brâhmapical ascetics. To take *charaku* for 'Brâhmapical students' would leave the gift too undetermined, and if the Charaka-śākhā of the Yajurvêda were meant, the expression would have been made more definite.

The real stumbling-block here is the compound *dvatṛiṣata*°. All interpreters understand by it a gift of 'a thousand (coins) representing the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees.' Bhagwanlal alone has translated 'who has bestowed as a gift thirty-two-thousand cocoanut trees.' This text cannot be considered independently from another, perfectly parallel one in N. 12, where we read: *gāme Chikhalapadre datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni aṭha 8000*. The same difference exists there between Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's translations. First of all it must be owned that the gift of a capital amounting to the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees, to be distributed among at least four religious fraternities, would be, especially from so mighty and liberal a donor, extremely

improbable. Secondly, what could be the use of specifying so accurately, as is done in the two cases, the village in which those trees would have been alienated, if the donees were only concerned with the proceeds of the sale? The fact itself, that the king's son-in-law should have sold a few cocoanut trees in order to provide himself with funds for his private charities, is the more unlikely as gifts in kind are the more usual ones; or, if money is intended, it is a consolidated investment (see N. 12), a foundation of a perpetual rent. We see below that the same donor buys a field in order to secure food for the monks, but not the reverse. If we follow Bühler, we must admit, in spite of the general parallelism of the two phrases, that the number of trees would have been noted in our case, while in N. 12 the sum of money alone would be stated, as representing the cocoanut trees (*nāṭigerāna*), the number of which would be undefined. In N. 12, if only we read *mūlaṃ* for *mūla*, we may well construe the word in apposition to *sahasāni*. Such an expedient is here out of the question, and this is a very strong reason for taking in N. 12 *mūlasahasāni* as a compound. This must be the spontaneous impression of every unprejudiced reader; even here, where the compound is certain, its resolution into a first member ending with *mūla* and being in apposition to *sahasra* (which would be excluded by the compound *mūlasahasāni* in N. 12) is, although possible, certainly too remote to appear probable at first sight. Lastly, in N. 12, if a gift of 8,000 *kārshāpaṇas* were really intended, it is not easy to see why it should have been consigned to the third place, without any details regarding the mode of foundation, while the inferior gift of 3,000 *kārshāpaṇas*, previously mentioned, is treated quite differently. From all these facts I conclude that Bhagwanlal is certainly right, and that we have here to do with a gift of 32,000 cocoanut trees, and in N. 12 with one of 8,000, the first at the village of **Nānaṅgola**, and the second at the village of **Chikhalapadra**. The only difficulty lies in the use of *mūla*, which seems to imply 'roots of cocoanut trees' instead of simply 'cocoanut trees.' Such an idiom is surely not more puzzling than if, in French, we reckon trees by '*pieds*' and say 32,000 '*pieds de cocotiers*.'

The locatives *Govardhane Triraśmishu parvateshu* have been generally construed in immediate connection with *kāritam* and *dharmātmanā*, which was considered as an independent epithet, meaning 'religious, charitable,' and would have been introduced here into the midst of the sentence without any special signification. The general plan of the construction does not seem to favour such an interpretation. The words beginning with *Govardhane* and ending with *dharmātmanā* are exactly symmetrical with the analogous groups which precede this one. These groups make up the bulk of our epigraph and end uniformly with a laudatory epithet, preceded by such determinatives as it requires. It seems difficult to admit that the analogy created by such a concatenation of instances should be disturbed in this only case, and that the strict correspondence which is warranted by the whole structure should here be fallacious. Besides it would be the only case where to the mention of the mountains in which the cave was excavated would be added the name of the neighbouring town of *Gōvardhana*, which is perfectly superfluous in this place,—the only one too where, in order to commemorate, on the site itself, the name of the hill in which it has been dug, the plural would be used. These two particularities rather suggest the idea of some fact which is more general, less strictly localised, and concerning not the cave itself, but the region as a whole. I must add that all the donations previously mentioned are bestowed without any exception on Brāhmaṇs or Brāhmaṇ institutions, while the gift which our epigraph records, and which this part of the sentence introduces, is, on the contrary, made in favour of Buddhist monks. I have previously, in connection with the term *dharmā-Yavana* in K. 10, expressed the idea that *dharmā* has to be taken in the sense of 'Buddhist religion,' and the same is, I believe, the case here as well. This is why I understand the passage to mean 'imbued at **Govardhana** in the **Triraśmi** hills with (true) religion.' I dare not decide if this phrase implies an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhmaṇical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this

explanation I propose in N. 18 to take *dhammātmanā* in a similar way. I believe the reading °*tmanā*, not °*tmano*, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genitives confirms the impression that *dharmātmanā* is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indrāgnidatta.

I consider *varshāratum* intimately connected with *rudham*. Besides the fact that the accusative commonly denotes duration, I beg to insist once more upon that rule of Sanskrit construction which requires the determinant to precede the determined, and to which it is so important to pay attention in the, so to say, amorphous style of inscriptions. I have unfortunately nothing to add to the explanations, though little conclusive, which have been given by others respecting some other topics in this first postscript. Of the *Uttamabhadras* we know nothing, and as to the *Mālayas*, though it seems natural to look for them in the inhabitants of the Malaya or southern hills, it must be owned that if, as seems possible, they were on the way or at least in the direction towards *Pokhara*, i.e. Ajmer, the equation *Mālaya* = *Mālava*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, would be well worthy of consideration. Of course 'mountaineers' of the same region may also be meant.

In the second additional paragraph, the principal difficulty lies in *yasapītusataka*. Bhagwanlal divides: *yasa pītu sataka*, 'belonging to whose (Āsvibhūti's) father.' Bühler transcribes *ya sa(sva)pītusa(m)taka* and translates 'which belongs to my (Āsvibhūti's) father;' and he is of course obliged to connect the epithet *sapītusataka* with *nagarasīmāya*. It is evident to my mind that Bühler was mistaken, and that the adjective, which, if applied to *nagarasīmāya*, would be meaningless, must be referred to the field. As to the grammatical analysis, the matter is different. The relative *ya* is construed less naturally with *Āsvibhūtisa* which is far off, than with *kshetram*, the idea of which pervades the whole sentence. I, therefore, divide *ya sapītusataka* = *svapī*°, *sva* being applied to Āsvibhūti's father. It is just because the field does not belong to this Brāhman himself, and because he plays in this transaction the part of a representative only of his father, that the epigraph uses the expression *Āsvibhūtisa kathe* instead of the ablative case: 'at the hand of Āsvibhūti,'—a shade of meaning which ought not to have passed unnoticed.

On account of the proximity of *mama leṇe vasatānaṃ* and *chātudisasa saṃghasa*, this inscription is one of those where the exact meaning of *chātudisa saṃgha* is most clearly brought out, as I have tried to show in K. 13.

No. 11, Plate vii. (Ksh. 10.)

In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left celi.

TEXT.

1 Sidham (1) rāmño (2) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapanasa dihi-
2 tu Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa kuḍumbiniya Dakhamitrāya (3) deyadham-
mam (4) ovarako.

REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *sidham*.—(2) G. *rāmño*; AS. *raño*.—(3) AS. °*mitāya*.—(4) G. °*dhammam*.

This epigraph is repeated twice, with, as it seems, only slight graphical differences; compare N. 13 below. Although AS. refers to the facsimile on Plate lii., the way in which the lines are cut proves that the transcription was made, not from the estampage which corresponds with our N. 13, but from that which we transcribe here, and which figures on the accompanying Plate vii.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cell, the gift of **Dakhamitrā**, wife of **Ushavadāta**, son of **Dinika**, and daughter of king **Nahapāna**, the **Kshaharāta Kshatrapa**."

No. 12, Plate v. (Ksh. 9.)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

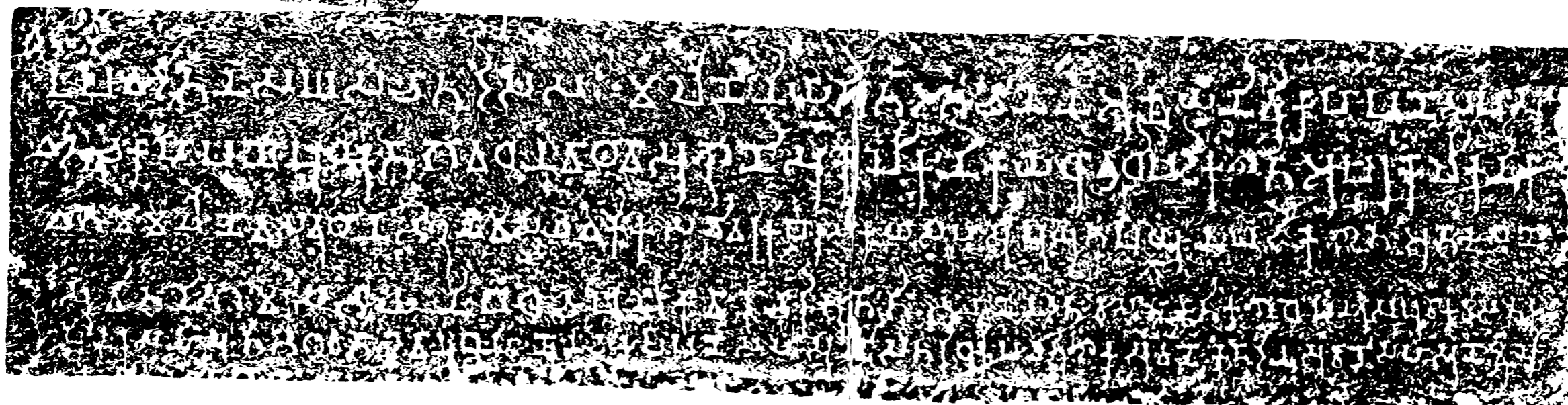
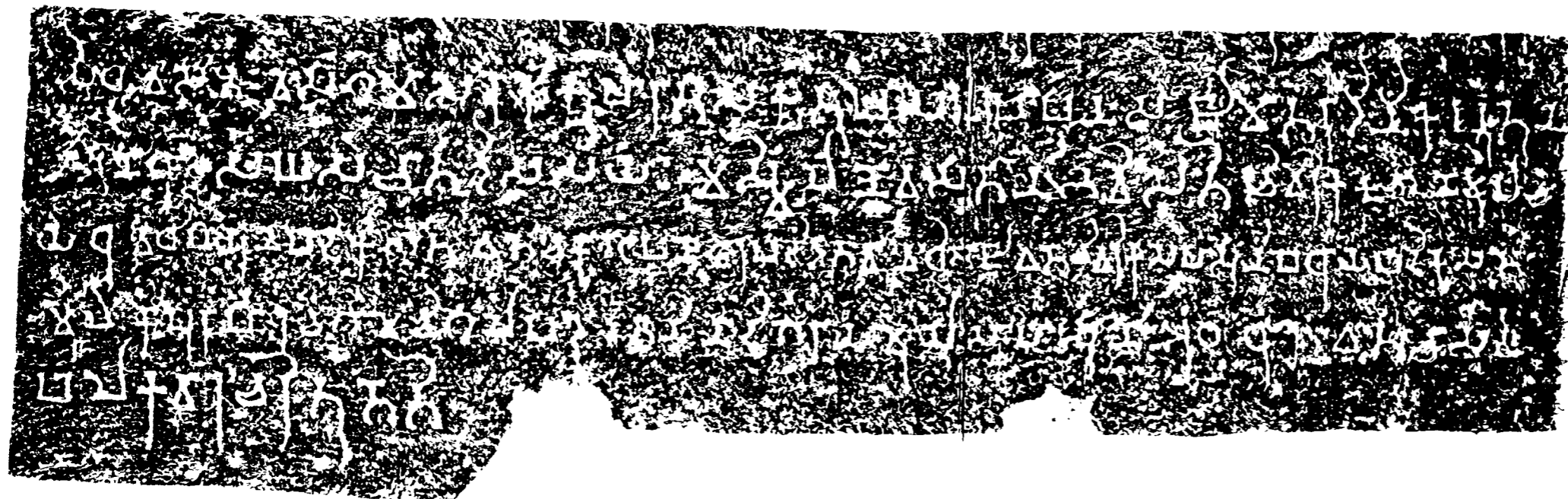
- 1 Sidham vase 42 **Vesākhamāse** rāño (1) **Kshaharātasa** kshatrapasa
Nahapānasa jāmātarā **Dinikaputrena** **Ushavadātena** saṅghasa chātudisasa
 imam leṇam (2) niyātitaṁ data chānena (3) akshayanivi kâhâpanasahasrâ-
 2 ni trini 3000 saṅghasa chātudisasa ye imasmim leṇe vasāntānam (4)
 bhavisati chivarika kuṣaṇamūle (5) cha ete cha kâhâpanâ prayutâ
Govadhanavâthavāsu śreṇisu (6) kolikanikāye (7) 2000 vṛidhi (8) paḍikaśata
 aparakolikanikâ-
 3 ye (9) 1000 vadhi pâyūnapaḍikaśata (10) ete cha kâhâpanâ apaḍidātavâ
 vadhibhojâ eto chivarikasahasrāni (11) be 2000 ye paḍike sate eto mama
 leṇe vasavuthāna bhikkhunam vīsāya ekikasa chivarika bārasaka yâ (12)
 sahasra prayutaṁ pâyūnapaḍike (13) śate ato kuṣana-
 4 mūla (14) **Kāpurāhāre** cha gāme **Chikhalapadre** datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni
 aṭha 8000 eta cha sarva (15) srāvita (16) nigamasabhāya nibadha (17) cha
 phalakavāre charitratoti bhūyo nena dataṁ vase 41 **Kâtikaśudhe**
panarasa (18) puvāka vase 45
 5 **panarasa** niyutaṁ (19) bhagavatāṁ devānaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ cha karshāpanasa-
 hasrāpi (20) satari 70000 pañchatrisaka (21) suvarṇa (22) kṛitâ
 dina suvarṇasahasraṇaṁ (23) mūlyam (24)
 6 phalakavāre charitratoti.

REMARKS.

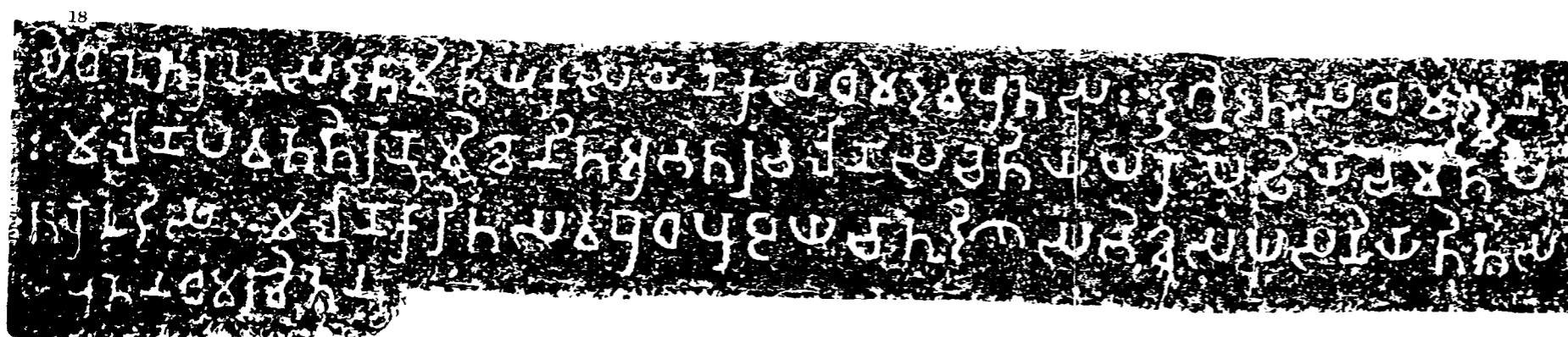
(1) AS. *rāño*.—(2) G. and AS. *ima leṇa*.—(3) G. *datā nena*; AS. *data chānena*.—
 (4) G. and AS. *vasāntāna*.—(5) G. *kuṣaṇamūla*.—(6) AS. *śreṇisu*.—(7) AS. *kolika*°.—
 (8) AS. *vadhi*.—(9) AS. °*kolika*°.—(10) G. and AS. *pâyuna*°.—(11) G. °*srāṇi*.—(12)
 G. and AS. *ya*.—(13) G. and AS. *pâyuna*°.—(14) G. °*mūla*.—(15) G. *sarvam*.—(16)
 G. *srāvita*.—(17) G. *nibadha*.—(18) G. °*rāsa*.—(19) G. °*yuta*.—(20) G. °*srāṇi*.—(21) G.
 °*triśaka*.—(22) G. *suvarṇam*.—(23) G. °*srāṇam*; AS. °*srāṇam*.—(24) G. *mūlyam*; AS.
 °*mūla*.

TRANSLATION.

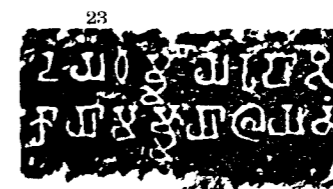
"Success! In the year 42, in the month **Vesākha**, **Ushavadāta**, son of **Dinika**, son-in-law of king **Nahapāna**, the **Kshaharāta Kshatrapa**, has bestowed this cave on the *Saṅgha* generally; he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—*kâhâpanas*, which, for the members of the *Saṅgha* of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (*kuṣaṇa*); and those *kâhâpanas* have been invested in guilds dwelling at **Govadhana**,—2000 in a weavers' guild, interest one *pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1000 in another weavers' guild, interest three quarters of a *paḍika* (monthly) for the hundred; and those *kâhâpanas* are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand—2000—at one *pratika* per cent. are the cloth money; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the *vassa* in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (*kâhâpanas*). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a *pratika* per cent., out of them the money for *kuṣaṇa*. And at the village of **Chikhalapadra** in the



SCALE ·13



SCALE ·07



SCALE ·12

Kāpura district have been given eight thousand—8000—stems of cocoanut trees; and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom."

"Again the donation previously made by the same in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kārttika, has in the year 45, on the fifteenth been settled on the venerable gods and Brāhmanas, viz. seventy thousand—70000—*kārshāpanas*, each thirty-five making a *suvarṇa*, a capital (therefore) of two thousand *suvarṇas*. (This is registered) at the record office according to custom."

Here the difficulties begin with the word *kuṣaṇa*. Bhagwanlal's vague attempts at explaining it cannot well be considered anything but a failure, and the comparison with the Vedic *kṛṣṇa* does not help us any more. Literary works do not seem to have supplied to this day any instance of the word. It is but to be wondered at that the use itself to which it refers is not only foreign, but contrary to the laws of discipline as they are laid down in the Scriptures. In fact I do not think any doubt can be entertained as to the custom to which the word *kuṣaṇa* alludes. Several inscriptions at Kanheri (*Arch. Surv.* Vol. V.) commemorate various endowments with a double object: *chivarika solasaka paḍiko cha māse utukāle* (No. 15); *chivarika bīrasaka gīmḥasu paḍiko māse* (No. 18); *chivarika solasaka paḍiko māse cha utukāle* (No. 21); *chivarika . . . solasaka utukāle cha [paḍiko māse]* (No. 28). This series corresponds with our own epigraph in the first member; it is extremely probable that both correspond in the second as well, and that consequently *kuṣaṇa* means a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year, and probably to be applied for his food. Such a proceeding of course is, from the point of view of principle, most incorrect, the monks being expected to live on alms and being precluded from even touching any money. The general interpretation seems nevertheless certain. The case is different as regards the precise meaning and etymology of the word. I know of no really probable conjecture I could suggest. Although rather numerous, the passages at Kanheri do not even state distinctly during which period of the year the supply was conceded. Most of them are content to speak of the *ritukāla*. As, however, the distribution of the *kuṣaṇamūla* appears to have been strictly parallel with that of the *chivarika* or 'money for clothes' reserved for the *varṣa* time (*vasavuthānam bhikkhūnam*), this 'season' *kar' ēḥōḥṇ* must be the *varṣa*. If No. 18 expressly mentions the hot season (*gīmhesu*), this is due, I suppose, to the circumstance that at that time and in that place the annual retreat began already in Āshāḍha, i.e. still in summer.

The words *vridhi paḍikasata* and *vadhi pāyūnapaḍikasata* look perfectly clear, and they have in fact been translated quite naturally: 'the interest amounts to one hundred' and 'to seventy-five *pratikas*.' The matter is, however, not quite so simple. Those expressions cannot be considered separately from others which do not admit of such an interpretation; I mean in this inscription *sahasrāṇi be ye paḍike sate* and *yā sahasraprayutaṁ pāyūnapaḍike sate*, and at Kanheri, No. 15, *kāhāpanāni satāni be saghasa yeva haṭhe paḍike sate*. It is clear from the first that a capital of 200 *kārshāpanas* cannot possibly bring in the same interest as a capital of 2000. On the other hand, the final *e* of *paḍike* and *sate* being secured by the threefold repetition, we must find an explanation for the double locative which the ordinary translations in no way account for. As to *vridhi paḍikasata*, the translation 'interest a hundred *paḍikas*' is excluded by the consequences it would involve. Bühler was led by reasons which on the whole are, if not cogent, at least very plausible, to consider *pratika* as an equivalent of *kārshāpana*. Of course he was obliged to acknowledge that those hundred *pratikas* were not sufficient to supply the expenses for the clothes of twenty monks, at twelve *kārshāpanas* each, because they would in that case require 240 *kārshāpanas* in all. He was obliged to assume that *bīrasaka* (Sanskrit *dvādaśaka*) refers to some coins different from the *kārshāpana*. But Kanheri No. 16, where the fee of 'sixteen *kārshāpanas*' for cloth money is expressly mentioned, leaves no room for doubt; *kārshāpanas* are

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| 4 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ? | e | (3) | Anugāmimhi Ujeniya Sākhāya |
| 5 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | to brāhmaṇā bhujate (4) sataśāha- |
| 6 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | vatā (5) brāhmaṇānam gavām satasa- |
| 7 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | bhagavatā (6) devāna brāhmaṇānam cha datā |
| 8 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | Chetrasudhe panarasa (7) Kshaharā- |
| 9 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | gavām ṣatasahasādena (8) Usha- |
| 10 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | (9) nadiye Barṇāsaya (10) da- |
| 11 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | suvapa titha (11) che ṇayate (12) tasa |
| 12 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | (13) |

REMARKS.

(1) AS. [. *Śorpāra*] *ga Vechimāe*. The reading *ve* seems possible; but not, I think, the reading *ga*.—(2) G. and AS. *°gare*.—(3) G. and AS. [. *Bharuka*] *chhe anu°*. I cannot make out the *chh*.—(4) G. *bhujate*.—(5) G. [. *bhagavatīm*] *brī°*; AS. [*rī*] *brā°*. The characters *vatām* seem to be still discernible on the estampage.—(6) G. and AS. [*hasra*] *bhagava*] *tā*.—(7) G. *°rase*.—(8) G. and AS. *gavām śata°*. The *ś* is very doubtful; we could as well read *s*. Before *ga* I think I can make out an *n*, probably the ending of *°dena*.—(9) G. [*radītena*] *brāhma* *na°*.—(10) AS. *°diya Barṇāsāya*; G. *°nāsāya*.—(11) AS. *°vaṇṇīti°*.—(12) G. *cha ñayate*. This reading, especially *cha*, is quite possible.—(13) G. *chati*. I can see nothing of these characters.

TRANSLATION.

" [Success!] By permanent charities of Ushavadāta, the Śaka, [son of Dinika], son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the [Kshaharā]ta Kshatrapa, one-hundred-thousand holy Brāhmaṇas dine [the whole year round] at Chechiñña, at the town of Dahanūkā, at Kekāpura, at Anugāmi, at Ujeni, at Sākhā. [By the same, three]-hundred-thousand cows have been given to holy Brāhmaṇas, [and sixteen villages] have been given to the holy gods and Brahmanas. [In the year], in the bright half of Chaitra, on the fifteenth day by Usha[vadāta] money and a tīrtha have been bestowed in the Barṇāsā river "

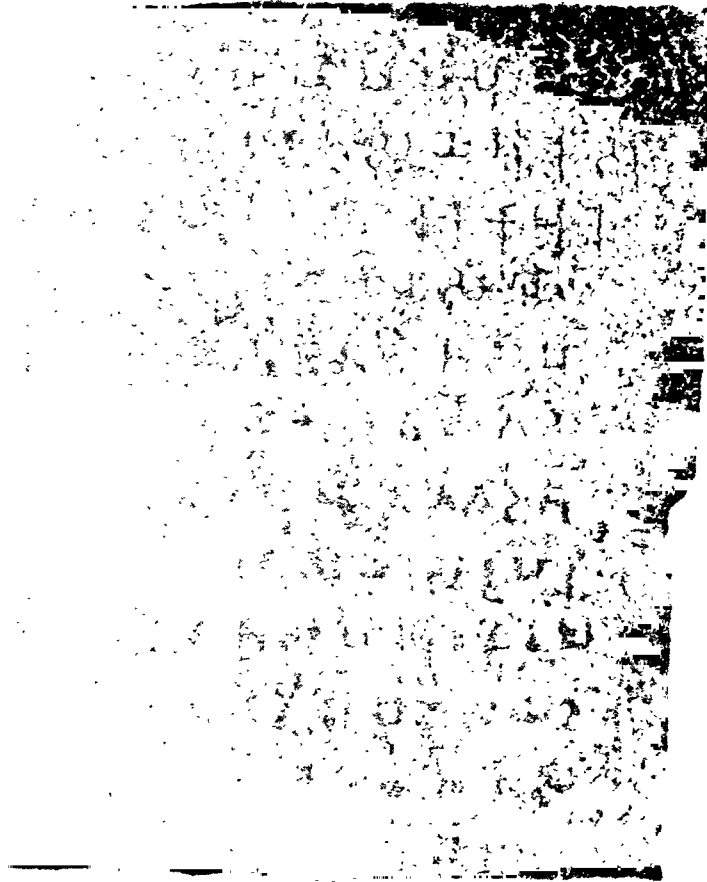
The lost characters in the beginning of several lines can be easily and safely filled in from K. 13 and N. 10. The first line, the restoration of which is certain, proves that every line has lost about eight letters.

- 1 [Sidham raño Kshaharā]
- 2 [tu Dinikaputasa]
- 3 [anuvāsam bhagavam]
- 4 [si bhaga]
- 5 [hasāni tīni datāni]
- 6 [solasa gāmā vase]

Unfortunately this restoration supplies nothing but known elements and is consequently of little interest. We can restore neither the date nor the local names in ll. 3, 4, nor can we say definitely what is missing at the beginning of l. 11. I am equally unable to state how and under what circumstances the word Kshaharāta was introduced in line 8, because other epigraphs mention that name only among the titles of Nahapāna. The 10th line began of course with the letters *radītena*, completing *Usha* in the preceding one, and they were probably followed by some epithet. The word *ṣatasahasādena* of N. 10 would fit as to length; but this gift has already been mentioned in the foregoing lines, independently of the gift of one-hundred-thousand cows, the mention of which immediately precedes. It seems indeed certain that the donations enu-

Nasik Inscriptions. — Plate VI.

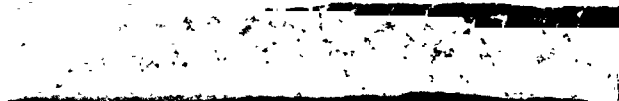
14a



SCALE · 12

14b

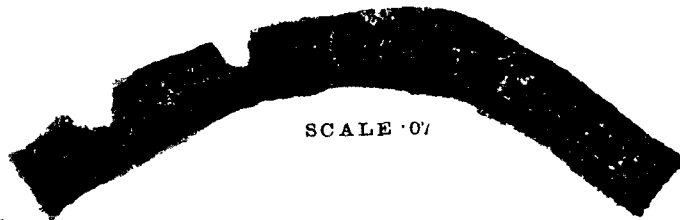
22



SCALE · 12

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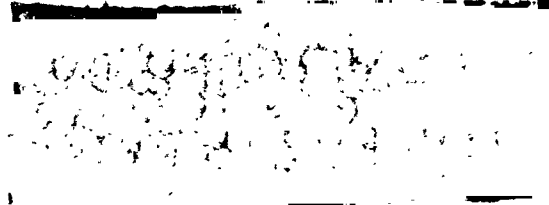
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27

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SCALE · 1

merated in ll. 3 - 5, 6 - 7, 7 - 8 correspond to the first three commemorated in N. 10, while, on the other hand, ll. 10 - 11 allude to the gifts made on the *Barnāsā* river (l. 1 in N. 10). It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the three words *suvaṇa titha cha* in l. 12 prove that the interpretation I have advocated for the compound in K. 13 is correct.

I do not believe that *netyaka*, Sanskrit *naityaka*, must be understood, as taken by Bühler, in the sense of 'daily rites.' No daily rites performed by Ushavadāta, on the occasion of which the Brāhmanas would have been fed, can be intended here, as those distributions are extended to a number of different localities. Regular continuous works and gifts are meant here in opposition to special and exceptional foundations. One doubt only remains: are we to translate 'among the regular liberalities,' or is the locative used for the instrumental: 'by (in virtue of) regular liberalities?' The vague character of the syntax in this style (many analogous cases may be found in my commentary on the *Mahāvastu*) does not exclude the second interpretation, which in itself seems to be the more satisfactory of the two.

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the last words: *cheñayate tasa*; and Bhagwanlal's translation of *ñāyate* by 'is known' does not convey any real meaning. The vowel signs are rather uncertain in this part of the inscription. I feel little hesitation in reading *cha*. As to what follows, a double hypothesis offers itself to my mind: either to read *ñay[u]te (tam) tasa* or *ñayāt[ṣ]ta sa*; in either case we have to admit an irregular transcription of *niyā°* or *niyu°* by *ñayā°* or *ñayu°*. It would be exactly the same graphical peculiarity as is found already at Girnar in the eighth of Piyadasi's edicts, which reads (l. 1) *ñayāsu = niyyāsu*. In N. 6 we have already met with an irregular palatalisation of *t* to *ch* in the same word, which is there written *niyāchita* instead of *niyātita*. To tell the truth, it is towards the restoration of *ñayātita* rather than *ñayuta* that I should incline. Ushavadāta seems to use the word with some predilection (as in N. 12), and it fits in better with the first at least—*suvaṇāni*—of the two substantives on which it would bear. Anyhow, and in spite of the uncertainty resulting from the sudden interruption of the text, the general meaning seems clear.

No. 14b, Plate vi. (Ksh. 8.)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 gavatā brāhmanā
2 ? ṇi pañchāsaṁ . 000 (1)
3 māsāya tīrthe (2)
4 deya na japa (3).

REMARKS.

(1) G. [*saha*] *śrāṇi pañchāsa 50000*; AS. *do sahaśa 2000*. AS. does not succeed any more than I in making out the traces that G. interprets as *śrā*, which is graphically very unlikely. AS. interprets as *do* the character which G. reads *ṇi*, and this reading seems at least probable. In the following letters the position of G. appears to me much stronger than that of AS. But the *m* joined to *śa* is at least as probable as that which seems to be appended to *pa*. As to the number, the 'thousand' is clearly visible, and also a bracket on the right which has caused the whole to be interpreted as 2000. But the *do sahaśa* cannot be upheld, and *pañchāsa* is at least likely; on the other hand, it seems indeed as if the sign for 'thousand' were followed by some exponent, too much erased to be confidently made out, which probably expressed the number of thousands. If Bhagwanlal took it for 50, I must own that the visible traces do not seem to favour this reading. But it is commended by his reading of the foregoing word.—(2) AS. *māsīyaṁ tīrthe*. *Tīrthe* seems certain, especially on the back of the estampage.

--- (3) G. °*yanajapa*: AS. °*he* [°] *yāna ja* . . The differences in reading show how doubtful all these letters are, except perhaps the *na*.

It results from the information supplied by Bhagwanlal (G. p. 576) that it cannot even be decided if these fragments are connected with the preceding epigraph or independent from it. In such a condition of things, I wish to express only one conjecture, viz., that in l. 3 we ought to read *nisāya*, and that consequently this postscript, which certainly commemorated both a gift of money to Brāhmanas and the creation of a *tirtha*, may have contained some details about the donation 'on the **Barnāsā** river,' of which it was the principal object of the preceding inscription to state the exact date.

No. 15, Plate vii. (Ksh. 12.)

On the left wall of the court in Cave No. 1°.

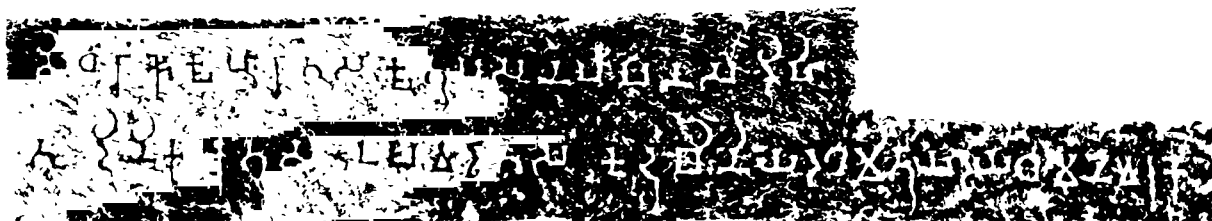
TEXT.

- 1 Sidhārā rājñāḥ Mādhariputrasya (1) Śivadatt-Ābhiraputrasya
- 2 Abhirasy-Ēśvarasenasya samvatsare (2) navama . (3)
- 3 mhapakhe chothe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13 (4) . .
- 4 ya puvaya (5) Śak-Āgnivarmmaṇaḥ duhitā (6) gaṇapaka . (7)
- 5 Rebhilasya bharyayā (8) gaṇapakasya (9) Viśvavarmasya .
- 6 trā Śakanikayā (10) upāśikāya Viśvudatāyā (11) sarvasatvahi-
- 7 tasukhārtham (12) Tirāśmiparvatavihārāvastavyasya chāturdīśa (13)
- 8 bhikshusamghasya (14) gilānabhesajārtham (15) akshayanivī prayuktā
- . vasta (16)-
- 9 vyasu āgatānagatasu (17) śreṇiṣu (18) yataḥ kularikaśreṇyā haste karshāpapa-
- 10 sahasra 1000 oḍḍyamtrikaśreṇyā (19) sahasraṇi dve (20)
- 11 nyāḥ (21) śatāni pañcha 500 tilapishakaśreṇ . . . (22)
- 12 etc cha karshāpapa chatālepa (23).

REMARKS.

(1) AS. leaves a blank for the two first characters of *Mādharī*, which are certainly not quite clear; but on the e-stampage sufficient traces of both are still discernible, especially of *ḍha*. I may mention that, as appears from the comparison of the two facsimiles, this epigraph seems to have suffered very much since the time when it was examined by Bhagwanlal. In addition to the cases which I shall expressly mention, many readings would be risky if they could not be ascertained from the context.—(2) AS. *sava*°; G. °*tsara*.—(3) AS. *navame* [9]; G. *navama*[gi]°. In reality the last character is indistinct. AS. has [gi] at the beginning of l. 3.—(4) Of the *śa* and of the number I cannot make out anything.—(5) AS. *yā puvāya*.—(6) AS. *duhitā*.—(7) AS. *gaṇāpa*°.—(8) G. and AS. *bhāryayā*.—(9) AS. *gaṇāpa*°.—(10) AS. . . . *gāśākānikā*.—(11) G. °*dattayā*.—(12) G. °*sattva*°; AS. °*sukhārtha*.—(13) AS. *chāturdīśa*[ya] The end is much damaged.—(14) AS. *bhikshusamghasya*.—(15) AS. *gilina*°.—(16) AS. °*ktā* . *va* . *na* . . The reading *vāsta* is little more than a conjecture. It seems indeed that traces of *va* and *na* are visible.—(17) G. *āgatā[nā]gatāsu*; AS. *Sugatāgat āsu*.—(18) AS. *sreniṣu*.—(19) G. *oḍḍyamtrikaśreṇyāḥ sa*°; AS. *oḍḍyamtrikaśreṇyā[m] sa*°. I dare not decide absolutely if *da* or *ḍa* must be read. Both letters are too similar to be distinguished with certainty in so defaced an inscription. At least I can discover no reason for excluding the reading *da*. (20) G. *dve* 2 [śre]°. The figure is entirely illegible.—(21) AS. °*nyā[m]*.—(22) G. *śreṇyā śatā* ; AS. °*śreṇyā[m] śatā* It will be seen from the comparison of Plate vii. that in this line and the next one some characters that are still visible have not been included in the estampage I have before me.—(23) AS. [chatā]l-*pa*. The two first letters, especially the first one, are certainly most doubtful

11



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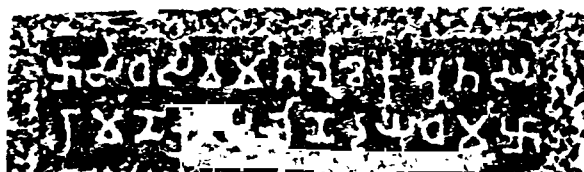
15



SCALE 12

16

SCALE 1



G. and AS. add fragments of one more line: *śya ma* (AS. *mā*) *sa* *sarva* (AS. *sarva*[*m*]) *rakshāti* (AS. *rakshati*) *vidya* (AS. *Vishn*[*udatā*]) Of all this I can discern nothing on the estampages.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the ninth year of king Īśvarasena, the Ābhira, son of Śivadatta, the Ābhira, son of Mādhari, on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer on the above, by the lay devotee Vishṇudattā, the Sakāni, mother of the *Gaṇapaka* Viśvavarma, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* Rebhila, daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the *Śaṃgha* of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Triraśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling [at Govardhana], viz. in the hands of the guild of Kularikas, one-thousand—1000—*kārshāpanas*, of the guild of Odayantrikas, two-thousand, of the guild of five-hundred—500—, of the guild of oil-millers and those *kārshāpanas*"

Bühler asserts that "*gaṇāpaka* means 'protector or leader of a *gaṇa*,' which consists of three *gūlmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of colonel." According to Bhagwanlal "it appears to be a professional name or a surname; *gaṇāpaka* means the head of a group." Neither of them gives references for this word which I do not find in the lexicons, and the analysis of which, as proposed by them, seems in no way self-convincing. What is most certain is the statement of Bhagwanlal that its meaning in this passage is not clear. It is no use comparing such ecclesiastical titles as *gaṇīchārya*, for example in Junnar No. 22. The only correct derivation of the word seems to be from *gaṇāpayati*, a normal equivalent of *gaṇayati*, so that *gaṇāpaka* would be an equivalent of *gaṇika*, meaning 'accountant' or 'astrologer,' compare for instance the *gaṇikas* who are mentioned as important functionaries in the *Mahāvastu*, III. 42, 9; 44, 5. It need hardly be added that this meaning is very hypothetical, because we have here a title, i.e. a consecrated form which does not well admit of variations.

The word *vihāra* occurs in l. 7, and this inscription is found in the court of a real *vihāra* which contains not less than sixteen separate cells. The restoration *Govadhanavistaryāsu* is hardly conjectural. As to the word which AS. writes *Sugatūgātāsu*, the stone certainly leaves sufficient space for one letter between *tā* and *gā*, and it seems even that traces of it are visible on the accompanying Plate; I therefore consider the transcription *āgatānūgātāsu* as certain. Bhagwanlal appears to have made out the meaning correctly, and I do not see why the expression seems to have puzzled him. A perpetual rent is intended, which will have to be paid by the guilds mentioned indefinitely, such as they actually are in virtue of their past constitution, and such as they will be under the modifications which may be brought about in future. Unfortunately the names of these guilds are not so clear as we should wish. For *kularika* at least I see nothing better than Bühler's conjecture, taking it to be = *kulāla*, 'a potter.' The same is not the case with *odayantrika*, which I take to be a derivative = *audayantrika*, from *udayantra* (compare *jalayantra*, *vāriyantra*, *tōyayantra*, etc.), 'workers fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others.'

After *chatāle* (l. 12) the traces of the inscription are too scarce to allow of any solid hypothesis. The part of a 'protector,' which the text, as proposed by AS. for l. 13, would attribute to Vishṇudattā, is in any case very unlikely.

No. 16, Plate vii. (N. 5).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 11, right of the doorway.

TEXT.

1 Sidham Sivamitalekhakaputasa

2 Rāmāṇakasa leṇam deyaḍhammaṇ (1).

REMARK.

(1) G. °dhamam.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of Rāmaṇaka, son of the writer Sivamita.”

No. 17, Plate viii. (N. 4).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 12.

TEXT.

- 1 Velidātaputasa (1) nekamasa Rāmaṇakasa
- 2 Chhākalepakiyasa lenam deyadhammam chatudi(2)-
- 3 sasa bhikkhusaṃghasa niyātitaṃ data cha
- 4 nena akhayanivi kâhâpanasata 100
- 5 saṃghasa hathe eto vasavuthasa pavaitasa chivari-
- 6 kam datavam bârasakam.

REMARKS.

(1) G. °data°; AS. *Velidata*°.—(2) G. and AS. *châtudi*°.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of the merchant Rāmaṇaka, son of Velidāta, from Chhākalepa, bestowed on the universal Saṃgha of monks generally; and by the same have been given as a perpetual endowment one-hundred—100—kâhâpanas in the hands of the Saṃgha. Out of this a cloth money of twelve kâhâpanas is to be given to the ascetic who keeps the *vassa* (here).”

Chhākalepa or Chhāgalepa, a village or a town, a region or a clan, has not yet been identified; on *chivarika* and the sum of twelve *kârshâpanas*, either as interest for an investment of one-hundred *kârshâpanas*, or as the amount of the *chivarika*, compare above, No. 12.

No. 18, Plate V. (N. 3).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 17.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham otarâhasa Dâtâmitiyakasa (1) Yonakasa Dhammadevaputasa
- īdrâgnidatasa (2) dhammâtmanâ (3)
- 2 imam (4) leṇam pavate Tiramṇhumhi khânitaṃ abhamtaram cha leṇasa
- chetiyaḥaro poḍhiyo (5) cha mâtâpi-
- 3 taro udisa ima leṇa (6) kâritaṃ sava-Budha-pujâya châtudiśasa
- bhikkhusaṃghasa (7) niyātitaṃ sa-
- 4 ha putena Dhammarakhitena.

REMARKS.

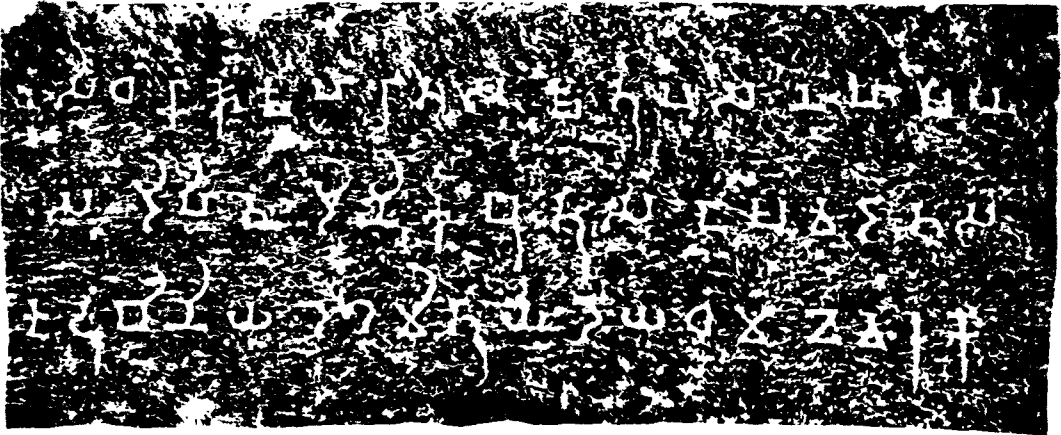
(1) G. and AS. *Damtâmi*°.—(2) G. *Imdrâgni*°; AS. *Idâ*°; but the Sanskrit *r* is perfectly clear.—(3) The stroke which, rising perpendicularly, makes the *â* look somewhat like *i*, is thinner and certainly accidental.—(4) G. and AS. *ima te*°.—(5) G. *poḍhiṃyo*; AS. *poṃdhiyo*.—(6) AS. *leṇam*.—(7) G. *bhikhu*°.

8



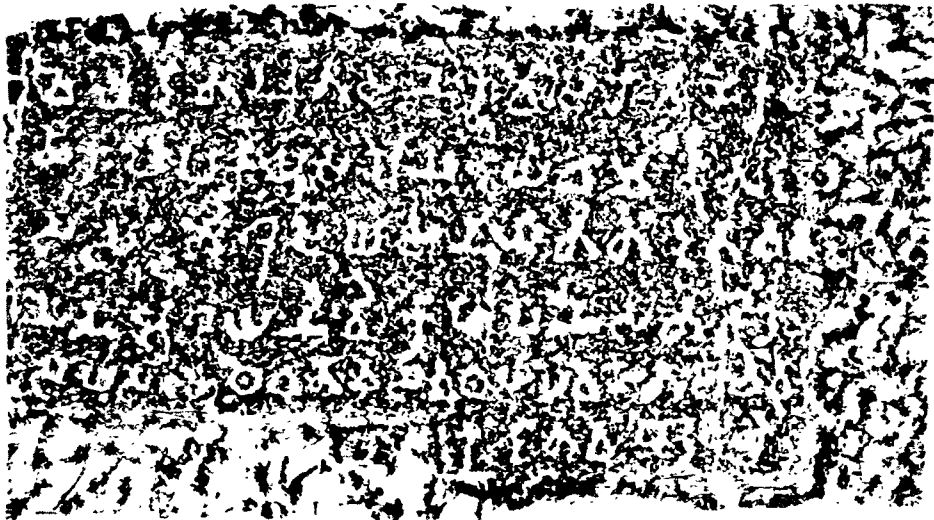
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13



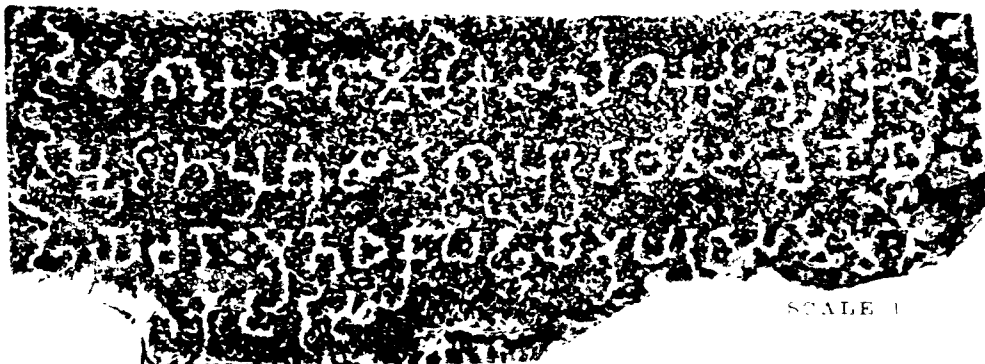
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17



SCALE 1

26



SCALE 1

TRANSLATION.

Success! (The gift) of **Indrāgnidatta**, son of **Dhammadeva**, the **Yavana**, a northerner from **Dattāmitri**. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount **Tiraṇhu**, and inside the cave a **Chaityagriha** and cisterns. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all **Buddhas**, bestowed on the universal **Śaṅgha** of monks, together with his son **Dhammarakhita**."

It is very fortunate indeed that a *vārttika* on Pāṇini (IV. 7, 104) has preserved the tradition of a word *auttarāha*, for which the etymology from *uttara* seems to indicate the meaning 'northern.' The derivation of the word would, otherwise, have been the more puzzling because, as far as I know, analogous formations are wanting.

Bühler (AS. p. 38) and before him Bhandarkar have already conjectured that **Dattāmitri** would be an Indian adaptation of the Arachosian **Demetrias**, a name mentioned by **Isidore** of **Kharax**. The reading *dhammātmanā* is sure. It may be an error of the engraver for *Demetrias*; but I cannot find this very admissible in an inscription so carefully written. On the other hand, it would be surprising if the participle *khāṇitāṃ* had to be construed with a genitive in the place of an instrumental. I prefer to take the first words as far as *Indrāgnidatta* as a complete clause, meaning 'a gift' or 'a cave of Indrāgnidatta . . .'. A new sentence would begin with *dhammātmanā*, and, as has been intimated before (N. 10), this construction would imply that the donor had undertaken the work and made that grant under the impression of his recent conversion to Buddhism.

Chaityagriha means an oratory at the end of which a *stūpa* is erected as the object or the centre of cult. Compare for instance the Kuṣā inscriptions 13 and 20.

No. 19, Plate iii. (Ksh. 4).

In Cave No. 18, on the fifth and sixth pillars of the right-hand row.

TEXT.

- 1 Rāyāmaḥa-Arahalayasa Chalisilapākasa (1) duhutuṣa Mahāhakusi-
- 2 r . . ya Bhaṭapālikāya (2) rāyāmaḥasa Agiyatapākasa bhāṇḍakārika-
- 3 ṣasa bhāriyāya (3) Kapaṇapakamātūya chetiyaḡharaiṃ pavate
- 4 Tiraṇhumi niṭhapāpita.

REMARKS.

(1) G. *cha Lisila*°, but the comparison of the *li* of *pālikāya* in the following line seems to prove that we have to read *li*; AS. °*lisilana*°.— (2) G. °*ririyaḡha*°; AS. °*ri[ya]yaya Bha*°, adding a note: "the first letter may also be read *rī*; the second which looks like *rī* is certainly mutilated." It seems indeed impossible to doubt that the first traces visible on the left express an *r*. The vowel is entirely uncertain, but what precedes necessitates the reading *rī* or *rī*. Between *r* and *ya* I can discern nothing; at the utmost would the back of the estampage point to the vowel *i* before the *y*, the consonant remaining undetermined. However this may be, the space between the initial *r* and the *ya* seems too large to be conveniently filled up only by **Bhagwanlal's** *rī*.— (3) G. °*ya Satāriyā*°.

TRANSLATION.

"By **Bhaṭapālikā**, [grand-daughter] of **Mahāhakusiri** and daughter of the royal officer **Arahalaya** from **Chalisilapa**, wife of the royal officer **Agiyatapaka**, of the treasure office, mother of **Kapaṇapaka**, this **Chaityagriha** has been caused to be perfected on this mount **Tiraṇhu**."

To judge from many analogous cases, it does not seem that **Chalisilapaka** can be anything but an adjective pointing to the origin or residence of **Arahalaya**. I have no means of

identifying that village or clan. Bhagwanlal and Bühler are certainly wrong in admitting, after the initial *rā* or *ri* of l. 2, the loss of one character only. That *ri* (the foregoing *si* does not allow any other reading) was undoubtedly separated by two letters from the *ya* which formed the end of the word. This being admitted, and no real and significant traces of the letters being preserved, we are left to fill up the lacuna entirely by conjecture. The direction in which we have to look, however, is quite clear. It is sure that **Bhaṭapālikā** is the name of the donor. The reading of Bhagwanlal, who sought for it in the beginning of l. 3, cannot be accounted for. The qualifications which the donor receives are therefore distributed into two groups: the second relates to her husband and her son, and the first must concern her descent. As the first link mentions her father's name, the second cannot well have pointed to anything but a brother or grandfather. There is no room for *ri[bhagini]ya*; I am therefore inclined to think that, when uninjured, the stone bore *ri[nati]ya*, from *naptri*. If this **Mahāhakusiri** is really the same as the **Kumāra Hakasiri** at **Nānāghāt**, two generations would not be too much to explain the difference in the forms of the letters which exists between our epigraph and the **Nānāghāt** inscription. Of course local peculiarities may have played their part too.

In whichever way *bhaṇḍākūrikayasa* be taken, either as a proper name as Bühler has done, or as the name of a function with Bhagwanlal, a regular form can only be obtained by reading °*kūrikīyasa*. Bhagwanlal escaped all difficulties by dividing the compound after *ya* and applying the epithet to the donor. But the word *bhūriyāya* which follows does not suit such an explanation. He is however certainly right in looking here for the name of some appointment, and I take *bhaṇḍākūrikīya* as a derivative of *bhaṇḍāyārīka*, pointing to a charge in the king's treasury.

Nishthāpeti evidently conveys, as in Pāli, the idea of finishing, bringing to perfection. It suits the fact that the inscription N. 20, which is engraved over the door and relates to its ornamentation, is cut in letters more archaic than this one. It is therefore certain that the cave had been begun and excavated to some extent before the present donor put the last hand to it.

No. 20, Plate vi. (Ksl. 2).

Under the arch over the doorway of Cave No. 18.

TEXT.

Nāsikskanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

TRANSLATION.

“The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nāsik people.”

Bhagwanlal understood: “gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of Nāsik,” and wondered, quite naturally, how such a community could have made the gift. Nothing of the kind is meant. It is clear that the gift consists of the ornated arcade which rises above the door, and at the base of which the inscription is engraved. This can be seen even from the care with which the architectural line is adhered to. I cannot make out how Bühler understood the inscription. His rendering: “the gift of Dhambhikagāma, of the inhabitants of Nāsika,” seems somewhat ambiguous. I do not think however that any doubt can really be entertained. We have met with more than one instance of a genitive joined to the name of a donor, to indicate the community, district or clan to which he happened to belong. I suppose the case is the same here, and the Dhambhika village, which had contrived at the common expense (nothing is more frequent than the paying of such religious expenses from the resources of the community) to decorate the entrance to the cave, must have belonged to the general population or to the township of Nāsik.

No. 21, Plate iii. (Ksh. 3).

Above the image of a *Yaksha* in Cave No. 18.

TEXT.

. bena cha (1) ni yâva (2) Nadâsiriyâva (3)
cha veikâ (4) yakho cha kârîtâ (5).

REMARKS.

(1) The traces preceding *be* make one think of a *ṭ*. Is it the rest of *kuṭumbena*? Above the traces of this hypothetical *ṭ*, the rest of *śidham*, which began the epigraph, are still discernible in the preceding line.—(2) AS. °ni. e yâ°; G. °yâcha.—(3) G. *Nadasi*°.—(4) G. *veyikâ*.—(5) G. *kârîto*.

TRANSLATION.

“ and by Nadâsiri the rail pattern and the *Yaksha* have been caused to be made.”

No. 22, Plate vi. (Ksh. 1).

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

TEXT.

- 1 Sâdavâhanakule (1) Kanhe rājini Nāsikakena
- 2 Samañena mahâmâteṇa leṇa kârîta (2).

REMARKS.

- (1) AS. °kula. — (2) G. *kârîtam*.

TRANSLATION.

“Under king *Kṛishṇa* of the *Sâtavâhana* family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the *Śramaṇas* at *Nāsik*.”

I can hardly believe that the apparent readings °*kakena*, °*maṇena*, °*teṇa* can all be correct. *Samaṇa* as a proper noun seems little likely, the more so as in our epigraphs the adjective expressing the origin or the town of the donor is generally placed after his name. I consider it easier to admit that, for instance, *samaṇena* ought really to be read *samaṇânam*, and that the functionary here meant—conformably to the precedent of *Aśoka*, of which *Bhagwanlal* reminds us in connection with this very text,—was entrusted with the inspection of the monks in the *Nāsik* district. Hence my proposed translation, which is of course hypothetical.

No. 23, Plate v. (N. 9).

Over the doorway of the last cell in Cave No. 20.

TEXT.

- 1 Deyadharṃmo yaṃ upâsi-
- 2 kâyâ Mammâyâ lajanam.

TRANSLATION.

“This gift, a cave, of the lay devotee *Mammâ*.”

No. 24, Plate i. (Ksh. 22).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 20.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Gotamiputasa sâmi-Siriyaña-Sâtakanisa samvachhare (1) sâtame
7 hematâna pakhe tatiye 3
2 divase pathame (2) Kosikasa mahâsenâpatisa Bhavagopasa bharijâya
mahâsenâpatiniya (3) Vâsuya lepa
3 Bopakiyatisujamâna apayavasitasamâne (4) bahukâpi varisâpi ukute payavasâna (5)
nito (6) châtudi-
4 sasa cha bhikkhusaghasa âvâso dato ti.

REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *savachha*°.—(2) G. *padhame*; AS. *pathame*. The central dot of *tha* seems certain on the back.—(3) AS. °*senipatinîya*.—(4) G. and AS. °*minasa pa*°; AS. °*yavesita*°.—(5) G. and AS. *payavasâna*.—(6) G. *nîte*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! On the first day of the third—3rd—fortnight of winter, in the seventh—7th—year of the king, the lord Śriyaña-Sâtakani, son of Gotami, the Mahâsenâpatni Vâsu, wife of the Mahâsenâpati Bhavagopa, of the Kauśika family, has completed and given, as an abode to the universal Saṃgha of monks, this cave which had been excavated for many years, but, after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki, had remained uncompleted.”

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the third line, and Bhagwanda's tentative translation was only arrived at by unaccountable devices. I think it absolutely necessary to co-ordinate the different links °*sujamâne*, °*samâne*, *ukute*, *nîto*, the combination of neuters (*e = am*) and masculines (supposing the readings to be certain) being here in no way surprising. The different epithets express with precision and in the most satisfactory manner the succession of events which concern the cave. The initial date cannot refer to anything but the finishing and consecration of the cave; it follows that the whole epigraph must be construed as a single sentence, which ends with the present donation after having enumerated the successive circumstances which explain it. The reading *apaya* instead of *supaya* is important for understanding the passage. It is well known how similar the initial *a* and the *s* are in this script. We have here one more instance in the fact that Bühler wavers so much between the transcriptions *tiṣṇja* and *tiṇja*. The necessary antithesis between *payavasâna nito* and *apayavasita*° seems to place my correction above all doubt. The reading °*jumâne* also appears to be better supported by the traces visible on the estampage. It is after all of little importance, as the function and meaning of the word would in either case be just the same. The function is stated by what has been said above. As to the meaning, the matter seems more perplexing; but it is clear in a general way. The work must have been begun by the *yati* Vopaki (compare Vôpadêva). But *srîjati* means ‘to create, to produce’ only in a half philosophical acceptance, and, it must be owned, such a use of the word here does not look very likely. As for *ukute*, I take it not = *utkrîta* which gives no good meaning, but = *utkrîta*, ‘cut, hewn,’ i.e. ‘excavated.’

No. 25, Plate vi. (Ksh. 15).

On the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond Cave No. 23.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Vâsiṭhiputasa sâmi-Siri-Pulu-
2 mâisa samvachhare 2 hematâ pakhe 4 divase ? (1)
3 etiya puṇḍriya kuṭumbikena Dhanameṇa ipa
4 kâritam saha m . . pituhi saha (2).

REMARKS.

(1) G. 6; AS. *divase* 8.—(2) After *saha* I think I can discern some traces of the syllables *bhagine*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! On the 6th (or 8th) day of the 4th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord **Siri-Pulumāi**, son of **Vāsiṭhi**, on the above, the husbandman **Dhanama** has caused this to be made, together with his father and mother, with”

Iṇa = *idaṇ*, as advocated by Bhagwanlal on the testimony of grammarians, is, as far as I remember, a lonely instance in the language of the caves. But the restoration *leṇa* seems to be out of the question.

No. 26, Plate viii. (N. 1).

On the ruined back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 24.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Śakasa Dāmachikasa (1) lekhakasa Vudhikasa
- 2 Vishṇudataputasa (2) Daśapuravāthavasa lepa po-
- 3 dhiyo cha do (3) 2 ato ekā poḍhi yā aparadha sa (4) me mâtâ
- 4 . taro udisa.

REMARKS.

(1) G. *Dama*°.—(2) G. °*putrasa*.—(3) G. *de*.—(4) G. *apara esa*; AS. *apara[dhâ]* *sa*. The *dh* at least seems rather distinct.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! (The gift) of the **Śaka Dāmachika Vudhika**, a writer, son of **Vishṇudata**, an inhabitant of **Daśapura**, the cave and the two—2—cisterns. Out of them the one cistern which has a small opening is on behalf of my father and mother.”

The bearing of **Dāmachika**, a clan or district, is entirely unsettled. Bhagwanlal asks if that **Śaka** could not be a Greek from Damascus. This idea is more ingenious than probable. What seems likely is that **Vudhika** is the personal name of the donor. In spite of its correct look it does not, as a professional name, answer to any known handicraft. I do not think that the man's name, supposing **Dāmachika** to express it, could have been separated by professional names from the epithets which relate to his descent: *Vishṇudataputasa*, *etc.* The reading *aparadha* or *aparadhâ* being most probable, Bhagwanlal's tentative translation, based on another reading and by itself little satisfactory, must be given up. As to Bühler's interpretation, who takes *aparadhâ* adverbially: ‘on the west,’ such a way of distinguishing two small cisterns excavated near one another seems in itself very unlikely; and to Bühler himself this use of *aparadhâ* appeared rather puzzling as he proposed the reading *aparato*. The idea which the final *dhâ* suggests is rather that of some adjective or participle connected with *yâ*. We obtain it by reading *aparamdhâ* (which is hardly a conjecture; for the *anuvâra* may be actually expressed by one of the dots which appear above the head of the *r*) and explaining the word by *alparandhrâ*, ‘with a small opening or cavity.’ Unfortunately the original state of things has been so altered that any actual verification of the fact is impossible, and we are unable to ascertain which of the two cisterns—the one which bears a special epigraph (N. 27) or the other, which has none,—was really characterised by more reduced dimensions.

No. 27, Plate vi. (N. 2).

On one of the two cisterns to the right of Cave No. 24.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Sakaśa Dāmachikasa (1)
2 leghakasa Vudhikasa poḍhi (2).

REMARKS.

(1) G. Dama°. — (2) G. poḍhi; AS. poḍhi.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! A cistern, (the gift) of the Śaka Dāmachika, the writer Vudhika.”

No. 9.—DHAR PRASASTI OF ARJUNAVARMAN :

PARIJATAMANJARI-NATIKA BY MADANA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was discovered recently at Dhâr (west of Mhow), the ancient capital of the Paramâra kings of Mâlava and the present chief town of a State in Central India. The news of the discovery reached me through Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education, Dhâr, who was good enough to send me a copy of his well written ‘Summary of the dramatic inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque), Dhar, C. I., in November 1903.’ According to Mr. Lele, “the slab of black stone (5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet) upon which this interesting Sanskrit inscription is engraved, was attached to the northern wall of the principal *mīhrâb* in the mosque, with the writing turned inside.” — “The slab was taken out in November 1903, and is kept framed at the mosque.” On receipt of Mr. Lele’s ‘Summary,’ I requested Mr. Marshall to send me mechanical copies of the inscription. In compliance with this request, Mr. Marshall kindly instructed Dr. Vogel to forward me an inked estampage. Subsequently Mr. Cousens sent me two excellent inked estampages,¹ one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.²

The inscription consists of 82 lines. On the whole it is well preserved; but the end of lines 70-80, the first few letters of ll. 63-68, and the first letter of some other lines are broken away.

The alphabet is an early variety of Nāgarī and exhibits several peculiarities. In the old Brāhmī alphabet the initial *i* consisted of three points. In the subjoined inscription the two upper points are represented by circles, and the lowermost one by a symbol which consists of a vertical line and of a flourish (see *e.g.* *iva* in l. 2); but in five instances (*kahai*, l. 56, *indranīla*, l. 62, *mandabhāṇinī*, l. 64, *ai*, l. 66, and *maṇḍabhāṇinī*, l. 80) there are two distinct flourishes instead of one, and in a single case (*itthīu*, l. 22) one of the two circles is omitted. The initial *i* occurs once (in *vaṇassaṇam*, l. 40). The initial *u* has two different shapes: The loop attached to it is turned either downwards or upwards; both forms may be seen together, *e.g.* in l. 22, where *chaūtthīe* shows the second and *itthīu* the first form. The initial *u* occurs four times (in *riū*, l. 19, *ṇamiūṇa*, l. 31, *nihariūṇa*, l. 35, and *kīlāūḍa*, l. 51), and the initial *ṛi* three

¹ The stone seems to have suffered additional damage since the first estampage had been prepared. The first letter of some lines is still partially visible in the latter, while it is missing in the two fresh estampages.

² As the three photographs overlap one another, line 26 appears both at the bottom of Plate I. and at the top of Plate II., and likewise l. 54 both on Plates II. and III. Through the carelessness of the Halle printer (not of Gebr. Plettner, who prepared only the collotypes), the figures on the left of the second and third Plates have been placed near the top of the corresponding lines, while they ought to stand opposite the centre of every second line.

times (in *riṣabha*, l. 22, and *riju*, ll. 34 and 81). The initial *e* resembles the letter *pa*; compare e.g. *mae*, l. 4, with *prapā* in the same line. The initial *o* ends with the same flourish as *i* and the first form of *u* (see e.g. *loo*, l. 6); it bears a little hook at the right top, which is omitted, perhaps accidentally, in two cases (*chūo*, l. 44, and *osaḥi*, l. 63). The initial *au* occurs once (in *autsukyam*, l. 57).

Among the consonants, *jha* closely resembles the initial *ri*. It occurs seven times singly and four times in combination with *j* (e.g. in *majjhanna-saṃjhā*, l. 30). The consonant *ṭha* either has its usual shape, or its vertical portion is crossed by a thin curved line (e.g. in *kaṃṭhirava*, l. 7). The primary form of *ṇa* consists of a horizontal line to which three vertical lines are attached, the middle one being slightly shorter; but the secondary form of *ṇa* resembles that of *la*. The doubling of *ṇa* is marked by a horizontal cross-line in four cases (*nishaṇṇa*, l. 26, *suṇṇaṃ*, l. 52, *kaṇṇāharana*, ll. 52 and 75); the primary and the secondary forms are combined in one instance (*āyaṇṇehi*, l. 21); and, if my reading is correct, the secondary form is improperly used twice in another (*theṇṇa*, l. 75). The last mode is generally adopted if the doubling takes place after *r* (e.g. in *'vatirṇṇasya*, l. 1); but the cross-line is then used in five cases (e.g. *nirvarṇṇayāmi*, l. 62), and the primary combined with the secondary form once (in *ākaraṇṇānta*, l. 1). The usual form of *tha* is not very different from *nva* (see e.g. *kathamchid*, l. 1).¹ The same form is employed four times after *t* (e.g. in *hattha*, l. 17); but in the majority of cases the secondary form of *tha* is identical with that of *chha*; compare e.g. *ittha* and *sthānē*, l. 6, with *uchchhavammī*, l. 16. If my readings are correct, there are three instances (*thakka-thakkida*, l. 5, and *theṇṇa*, l. 75) where even for the primary *tha* the same symbol is used as for the primary *chha* (see *chhachcharaṇa*, ll. 5 and 75, and *lāmchhanam*, l. 16). The group *kkha* is written in two ways: In *viyakkhana*, l. 45, the *kha* is regularly attached to the *k*; but in *parikkhalānta*, l. 42, the *kha* seems to be inserted between the two loops of the *k*.² The group *ddha* looks like *dva* in most cases (e.g. *yuddha*, l. 17); but in two places (= *Ddhārā*-, l. 32, and *muddhāo*, l. 47) its *dha* is distinguished from *va* by an additional horizontal line. Similarly, *ndh* looks like *nv* in *vandhuṃ*, l. 14, but not in *saṃvandh-ūchita*, l. 32.

The *virāma* is employed below *k* (ll. 10 and 61), *t* (e.g. l. 9) and *n* (e.g. l. 20). The *ava-graha* occurs five times—twice after *ō* and three times after *ā* (ll. 1, 2, 3). If at the end of a line there was no space left for the next *akshara*, the engraver filled up the line by a symbol which looks either somewhat like a reversed Nāgari *ta*, or like a narrow U;³ in the transcript these signs are denoted by a vertical line in round brackets. Finally it has to be noted that the upper portions of a few letters of the first line are ornamented with scrolls or flowers.

The engraver has done his work with considerable care and has committed comparatively few real mistakes, part of which he has corrected himself on second thoughts. As regards orthography, it must be stated that *b* is nowhere distinguished from *v*. The dental is used instead of the palatal sibilant in *Sūradā*, l. 3, *Hiranyakasipu*, l. 7, *kāsmīra*, l. 20, *aṃsa*, l. 21, and *svāsēna*, l. 33 f.; the *visarga* instead of the lingual sibilant in *chatuḥpatha*, l. 3, *niḥkrāmati*, l. 58, and *niḥkrānta*, ll. 15, 28, 31, 39, 58, 81 and 82; and *t* instead of *d* in *atbhuta*, l. 49. The spelling of *ujvala*, l. 13, *datvā*, ll. 13 and 21, and *patra*, ll. 25 and 61, is not correct, but frequent in inscriptions and manuscripts.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Prākṛit.⁴ There are 76 verses; the remainder is in prose.

¹ In four cases (e.g. *maṃtharam*, l. 54) the top-line of this form of *th* is indistinct.

² The *kkh* of *paṅchikkho*, l. 64, seems to be a modification of the same type.

³ The second variety occurs only in ll. 22 and 42.

⁴ I have added a Sanskrit translation of the Prākṛit passages at the end of the text on p. 117 ff.

The inscription contains the two first acts of a hitherto unknown *nāṭikā*, i.e. a drama of four acts,¹ entitled *Pārijātamāñjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* (l. 4). This drama had been composed by the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*) *Madana*, whose family hailed from *Gauḍa* (Bengal), and who was a descendant of *Gaṅgādharma*² (l. 3 f.). It was acted for the first time at the spring-festival³ in the city of *Dhārā* (l. 3)—the modern *Dhār*.

The opening verse (1) contains the following statement:—

“On this pair of blank slabs is being written with difficulty the power — to be absorbed by the ear— of the virtues of *Bhōja* himself, who has become incarnate in the form of *Arjuna*.”

Of the two slabs here mentioned, only the first is now available. The second must have borne the two remaining acts of the *nāṭikā*.

The last verse (76) on the preserved slab runs thus:—

“This panegyric (*praśasti*) was engraved by the artist (*śilpīn*) *Rāmadēva*, the son of the excellent sculptor (*rūpakāra*) *Sihāka*.”

Here the inscription is called a panegyric. Hence it is very probable that it was composed and engraved in the lifetime of the prince whom it celebrates. This was *Arjuna* (v. 1) or *Arjunavarman* (l. 7 and v. 19), king of *Dhārā* (l. 9 and v. 6). He belonged to the *Paramāra* family (l. 13) and was a descendant of the emperor (*sārvabhauma*) *Bhōjadēva* (l. 7). The poet represents him as the equal of his ancestor *Bhōjadēva* (v. 6), and even as an incarnation of *Bhōja* (v. 1). In verse 3, *Bhōjadēva* himself is compared to the god *Kṛishṇa* and to the epic hero *Arjuna*:—

“Victorious is *Kṛishṇa*; like *Kṛishṇa*, *Arjuna*; (and) like *Arjuna*, the glorious king *Bhōjadēva*, who was able to defeat (his enemies) by leaping arrows;⁴ who afforded protection to the whole earth; who assumed the *rādā*⁵ which distressed (his enemies) by wounds from roaring, terrible arrows;⁶ (and who) had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of *Gāṅgēya*.”

The last few words of this verse imply that king *Bhōjadēva* defeated a prince named *Gāṅgēya*, just as the epic hero *Arjuna* killed *Bhīshma*, whose metronymic was *Gāṅgēya*. As the well-known *Paramāra* king *Bhōjadēva* of *Dhārā* was reigning in the first half of the eleventh century,⁷ his enemy *Gāṅgēya* must be identical with the *Kalachuri* king *Gāṅgēya* of *Tripuri*, whose reign fell into the same period.⁸

Arjunavarman, the hero of the drama, is in one place (v. 10) styled ‘the son of king *Subhata*.’ This enables us to identify him with the *Paramāra* king *Arjunavarman*, who was the son of *Subhatavarman*, and whose copper-plate grants are dated in A.D. 1211, 1213 and 1215.⁹ The same three grants prove that the new drama was composed in the reign of this

¹ See the definitions in the *Daśarūpakam*, III. verse 40, and in the *Sāhityadarpana*, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, p. 345, where the *Ratnāvalī* and *Viddhaśīlabhāṇjikā* are quoted as examples. Others are the *Priyadarśikā*, *Karṇasundarī*, *Kamalinikalahansa* and *Vṛishabhānujā*. The prototype of all of them is *Kālidāsa*'s *Mālavikāgnimitram*, which has however five acts and is therefore styled a *nāṭakam*.

² On the formation of *Gaṅgādharāyaṇī* (without *eriddhi* of the first vowel) see *Pāṇini*, IV. 1.160.

³ *Vasantōtsava*, v. 8 and l. 27. As this festival takes place on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* *Chaitra* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 187), it is also called *Chaitrōtsava* (v. 9), *Madhūtsava* (l. 15) and *Chaitrapāṇvan* (l. 3).

⁴ The word *bāṇa*, ‘an arrow,’ may refer also to the *Bāṇa* king.

⁵ “A particular attitude in shooting (standing with the feet a span apart).”—*Monier-Williams*.

⁶ In the case of *Kṛishṇa* we have to translate:—“who was able to defeat the leaping (demon) *Bāṇa*; who afforded protection to all the cows (by lifting up the mountain *Gôvardhana*); who made *Rādā* distressed by being smitten with manifest love.” In the case of *Arjuna*, *Rādā* is the foster-mother of his opponent *Karṇa*.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 233 f.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 302.

⁹ *Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List*, Nos. 195, 197 and 193.

Arjunavarman; for they were composed (*rachita*) by the same *rājaguru* Madana,¹ who was the author of the drama (l. 4).

Arjunavarman's grants report that he defeated Jayasimha.² The same enemy is referred to in the drama (l. 7), with the additional information that he was a king of Gūrjara (l. 7, vv. 10 and 18) and belonged to the Chaulukya family (v. 7). Hence he seems to be identical with the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II. of Anahilapātaka,³ whose grants are dated between A.D. 1199 and 1238.⁴ Although these grants do not apply to Bhīmadēva II. the name Jayasimha, they call him 'the new Siddharāja,' and 'Siddharāja' had been the surname of his ancestor Jayasimha. Hence I believe that Bhīmadēva II. is meant both in the drama and in the grants of Arjunavarman. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that the Jayasimha whom Arjunavarman defeated was the temporary usurper Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddharāja, who ruled in the place of Bhīmadēva II. in A.D. 1223.⁵ At any rate, as noted by Bühler,⁶ Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* places both the conquest of Gujārāt by Arjunadēva of Mālava and an attempted invasion⁷ by his father Subhata in the lifetime of Bhīmadēva II. himself.

The drama locates the decisive battle between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha on the borders of the land at the foot of a mountain called Parvapārvata (l. 7). The name of Arjunavarman's minister is stated to have been Nārāyaṇa (v. 8). To Arjunavarman himself the drama applies the surname Trividhāvīrachūḍāmaṇi (l. 7 and v. 9). Even this detail is corroborated from two different sides. The same surname occurs as Trividhāvira in the grants,⁸ and as Virachūḍāmaṇi in the colophon of the *Rasikasaṃjivini*, a commentary on the *Amaruśatakam*.⁹ This commentary is attributed to king Arjunavarman, who at the beginning of it calls himself 'the son of king Subhatavarman' and 'the light of Bhōja's family.'¹⁰

In his commentary on the first verse of the *Amaruśatakam* (p. 2) Arjunavarman quotes a Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse of 'the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana whose other name was Bālasarasvatī.'¹¹ The same person seems to be meant by the '*upādhyāya*' who is quoted as the author of an Āryā (p. 15) and of two Anushtubh verses (pp. 16 and 44). The *upādhyāya* Madana is of course identical with the *rājaguru* Madana, the author of the *Pārijātamañjarī* and of Arjunavarman's grants.¹² The quotations in the *Rasikasaṃjivini* show that he produced other poetical works besides these,¹³ and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amaruśatakam*.

Finally the drama mentions a few localities within and near the city of Dhārā. According to the prologue, the first performance of the drama took place in a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī.¹⁴ The scene of the first act is the top of the royal palace (v. 8), and that of the

¹ *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. V. p. 379; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 26, verse 17.

³ This was already suggested by Dr. Hall, *ibid.* p. 39 f.

⁴ Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos. 188 and 216.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 205.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 187.

⁷ This invasion is alluded to in the grants of Arjunavarman; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, verse 15.

⁸ *Loc. cit.* verse 19.

⁹ *Kāvyamālā* edition, p. 69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1, verse 5. On p. 23 Arjunavarman quotes a verse of 'our ancestor Muñjadēva whose other name was Vākpatirāja.' Compare *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol. XLVII. p. 93.

¹¹ Bālasarasvatī-Madana was taught poetry by the Jaina Āśādhara, a contemporary of the Mālava king Arjuna and of his two successors Dēvapāla and Jaitugidēva (Jayasimha). See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 104 f.; Bühler in *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol. XLVII. p. 94; and Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V. App. p. 32, note 3.

¹² See the two first lines of this page.

¹³ Prof. Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts* mention three MSS. of the *Bālasarasvatīyam*, a *kāvyam* by Bālasarasvatī, which Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 425) assigns to the *upādhyāya* Madana.

¹⁴ Śāradādēvi, l. 3, or Bhārati, l. 6.

second act a pleasure-garden (*līlōdyānam* or *pramadōdyānam*) on the **Dhārāgiri**, a hill near the city (ll. 6, 12, 31, v. 30, ll. 36 and 75).

The *dramatis personæ* are : The stage-manager (*sūtradhāra*) ; the actress (*naṭī*) ; king Arjunavarman ; the jester Vidagdha ; queen Sarvakalā ; her maid Kanakalēkhā ; the royal gardener Kusumākara ; his wife Vasantalilā ; and the heroine Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī. The king and Kusumākara speak Sanskrit, the remaining persons Prākṛit—Śaurasēni in the prose passages, and Māhārāshṭrī in the verses. The pretty verses of the bards, which are recited behind the stage, are also in Prākṛit.¹

In the prologue (*āmukham*, l. 15) the stage-manager informs the actress that, when the army of **Jayasimha** took to flight and the victorious **Arjunavarman** was still seated on his war-elephant, a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree (*pārijāta-mañjarī*) fell on his breast and, on touching it, was transformed into a beautiful maiden, while a voice from heaven spoke thus :

“Enjoying this lovely, auspicious **Vijayaśrī**, thou, O lord of **Dhārā**, shalt become equal to **Bhōjadēva**” (v. 6).

The stage-manager further explains this miracle in a somewhat complicated verse (7), which has probably to be translated as follows :—

“The **Chaulukya** king’s daughter, (who was an incarnation of) the goddess **Jayaśrī** (i.e. the goddess of victory) herself, (and) who, having found her death in the defeat, caused to be irrigated the young forest of *tamāla*-trees, which was the grief of (her) father, through the waves of the tears of the harem,—she (is) this cluster of blossoms of the celestial tree (*svardruma-mañjarī*), which, after being hidden in a bud, developed into a lady.”

To shelter her from the public gaze, the king placed her under the care of his chamberlain Kusumākara, who was in charge of the royal gardens, and whose wife Vasantalilā waited on her in an emerald pavilion on the **Dhārāgiri** hill.

The first act bears the title ‘the spring-festival’ (*vasantōtsava*, l. 31). It describes the king viewing his sporting subjects from the top of his palace in the company of the jester, the queen and her maid.

In the introductory scene (*viśhkambhaka*, l. 39) of the second act, Kusumākara and Vasantalilā compare notes on the mutual passion of the heroine and the king.

The title of the second act is ‘the reflecting ear-ring’ (*tāḍaṅka-darpana*, l. 82). The king, accompanied by the jester, repairs to the pleasure-garden, in order to witness a ceremony performed by the queen : the marriage of a mango-tree to a spring-creeper. Vasantalilā and the heroine watch the proceedings from behind a tree. Bending aside the branches, the former reveals to the king the image of his beloved, reflected in the queen’s ear-ring. The king’s delight and confusion arouse the suspicions of the queen, who leaves abruptly together with her maid. The heroine and Vasantalilā also withdraw. At the advice of the jester, who reminds the king of the proverb that ‘killed and eaten comes to the same’ (l. 59), both follow them to the emerald pavilion. The king’s *tête-à-tête* is interrupted by the appearance of Kanakalēkhā, who is the bearer of the ear-jewel and of an ironical message from the queen. The king tries in vain to hide Pārijātamañjarī behind his back. At the end he leaves her in order to pacify his jealous queen. The heroine also departs, threatening to commit suicide, and Vasantalilā follows her.

The foregoing summary of the two preserved acts will remind the reader of another, well-known drama—the *Ratnāvalī*. The poet Madana, no doubt, derived the plot of his work from this or similar *nāṭikās*. But, as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions

¹ Vv. 17-19 and 28 ; but vv. 72-74 are in Sanskrit.

of the poet. It would have been a poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters. Hence I believe that, as stated in the drama, his chief queen was actually named Sarvakalā¹ and was the daughter of the king of Kuntala (v. 11),—who is perhaps identical with the then reigning Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II.,²—and that Pārijātamañjari³ or Vijayaśrī⁴ happened to be Arjunavarman's favourite at the time when the drama was composed. Her miraculous appearance and her fanciful connection with the vanquished king of Gujārāt may have been suggested to the poet by her real name. They could not fail to please the king and his mistress, and could perhaps be risked all the more easily because the lady was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms.

Another instance in which the wedding of the favourite queen of a reigning sovereign forms the subject of a romantic story is that of Chandaladēvi in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharitam*.⁵ In this case, contemporary inscriptions and Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* prove that the heroine's name was not invented by the poet Bilhana, but that she was actually one of the wives of Vikramāditya VI.⁶ Vidyānātha's *Pratīparudrīyam* deserves to be mentioned in the same connection, as it includes a drama that resembles the *Pārijātamañjari* in being the panegyric of a reigning king.⁷

TEXT.⁸

- 1 ओः⁹ ॥ ओं सरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अत्र कथंचिदलिखिते अतिलेखं लिख्यते
शिलायुगले । भोजस्यैव गुणोजितमर्जुनमूर्त्या ऽवतीर्णस्य ॥ १ ॥
तत्तादृक्कुमनोमनीहरतनुर्वामांगमृगारिणी सुष्टिस्त्रीकरणीयमध्यमधुरावष्टम्भन-
माकृतिः । आकर्णान्तनटत्कटाक्षविशिखव्यापारधन्या जयत्यन्या चापल-
तेव चंद्रसुहृदौ
- 2 देवस्य कान्ता रतिः ॥ २ ॥ अपि च । ¹⁰वलाहाणजयक्ष्मो विजयते
निःशेषगोत्राणकृष्णः कृष्ण इवार्जुनो ऽर्जुन इव श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।
विस्फूर्जद्विषमेषुवेधविधुरां राधां विधत्ते स्म यस्तूर्णं पूर्णमनोरथश्चिरमभू-
द्भाग्येभंगीत्सवे ॥ ३ ॥ नाद्यन्ते सूचधारः । आर्ये । इतस्तावत् ।
प्रविश्य नटी । आणवेदु¹¹ अज्जी । सूच । प्रिये । आ-
- 3 दिष्टो ऽस्मि तत्रभवत्या परिषदा (i) यथा ऽथ त्वया ऽस्मिन्नेव चैत्र-
पर्वणि [चतु]रशीतिचतुःपथ¹²सुरसदनप्रधाने धारापुरीयुवतिमृगारमुक्तासज्जो
जगज्जडतांधकारशतनशरश्चंद्रिकायाः ¹³सारदादेव्याः सप्तनि सकलदिगंतरो-
पागतानेकचैविद्यसहृदयकलाकोविदरसिकसुकविसंकुले गौडान्वयगंगापुलिनरा-

¹ Vv. 11, 37, 55, 62 and l. 76; Samastakalā in v. 30.

² See the Table of the Hoysalas in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 493.

³ Ll. 23, 29, 33, 35, 38, 43, 44, 48, 59, 64, 78, 80; Kusumaśrī in l. 12, and Kusumamañjari in l. 75.

⁴ Vv. 6, 15, 55 and l. 69; Javāśrī in v. 70.

⁵ Bühler's edition, p. 38 ff. of the Introduction.

⁶ Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 449 and note 4.

⁷ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 f.

⁸ From three inked estampages.

Cancel the *visarga*; the syllable *ḍ* is expressed by a symbol resembling the *ne* employed at the beginning of the Bhōpāl plates of Udayavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 254, Plate.

¹⁰ Read वलाहाण°.

¹¹ See p. 117 below A.

¹² Read चतुषप°.

¹³ Read सारदा°.

- 4 [जहं]सस्य [गंगाध]रायणे[मंदनस्य रा]जगुरोः कृतिरभिनवा समस्तसामाजिक-
मधुव्रतानंदमकरंदप्रपा पारिजातमंजरीत्यपराख्या विजयश्रीनाम नाटिका
नाटयितव्या । तदाविर्भाव्यतां रंगमंगलसंपदां संप्रदायः । नटी [1*]
सहर्ष । जं अज्जो आणवेदि । किं च मए वि सुणिदं (i) जध
मलयानिलमंदमंदंदोलणमहमहत-
- 5 मायंदमउलमयरंद[पिंडि]द[परायपुंजपिं]जरिज्जंतमंजरीकवलपरप्परीप्पणकेलिपज्जा-
उलकलयंठमिहुणमहुकलयलहेलावहत्थिदविहत्थमाणंसिणीमाणं पि (i)
परिमलतरंगचंगचंपयचसयमहु[थ]क[थ]किदक्खरणचारणरणभणक्कारमुहलं पि
(i) जंतकंजरकरसीयरासारसेयसरसविअसं-
- 6 [त]विविह्विडवकुडंगवहंधयारं पि (i) धारागिरिलीलोज्जाणं परिहरिय
कोदुहल्लपंपुल्ल^१लोयणो भारहीभवणहुतं सहस त्ति ^२परावडिदो ज्जेव लोओ
त्ति । ता कधेहि केरिसं इत्थ कधासंविहाणयं । सूत्र । आकाशे
। किमाचक्षते भवतः । स्थाने सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वं सृष्टीनामतिसुंदरं ।
याश्चैत्रं कांतमासाद्य विभ्रति स्मितमा-
- 7 धुरीं । [४ ॥*] तज्जो^४ साधूल्लं । नटीं प्रति च । आर्ये [1*] श्रुतं
त्वया । सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वमिति । नटी । अध^५ इं । सूत्र ।
प्रिये [1*] शृणु तर्हि । त्रिविधवीरचूडामणेः सार्वभौमश्रीभोजदेवान्वय-
मूर्धन्यस्य राज्ञः श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य गूर्जरपतिना जयसिंहेन सह पर्व-
पर्वतोपत्यकापरिसरेषु हिरण्यकसिपु^६कदनकुपितवैकुण्ठकंठीरवकंठ-
- 8 नादचकितदिग्वारणेन्द्रमुक्तविश्वंभरानिपतनोदेलसप्ताण्वलहरिसंफेटतुल्यतुमुलकीला-
हलः कलहो बभूव ॥ नटी । अज्ज^७ [1*] जहं चउरंगवलजुअलधूली-
कडप्पेहिं कवल्लिदम्मि मच्चंडमंडले सयंवरकोदुहल्लहल्लुप्फलमिलंतसुरसुंदरी-
मुहयंद^८चंदायवेण नियपरविहाओ संजादी सुणीयदि ॥
- 9 सूत्र । आर्ये [1*] एवमेवैतत् । नटी । तदो^९ २ [1*] सूत्र ।
ततश्च प्रतिवले पलायमाने जयसिंधुरस्कंधाधिरूढस्य धनुष्मतो धारापते-
स्तत्कालीपसंहृतनाराचदुर्दिनस्य पुरंदरपुरद्वारकवाटविकटे वक्षसि लोकोत्त-
रपरिमलामीदवासितदिगंतरा विस्मैरहंदारकहंदकुसुमवृष्टिमध्यादेका पारि-
जातमंजरी पपात ॥

^१ See p. 117 below, B.^२ Read °पफुल्ल°.^३ The engraver has left a blank space between the two aksharas प and रा.^४ The visarga had been omitted by the engraver and was inserted by him on revision.^५ See p. 117 below, C.^६ Read °कसिपु°.^७ See p. 117 below, D.^८ Read °मंद° (P).^९ See p. 117 below, E.

- 10 नटी । सञ्जीवक । तदो¹ २ [1*] सूत्र । ततश्च । अन्धोऽन्यं गल-
हस्तनोपनतयोर्द्वेन वक्षोजयोः कर्णोर्लघनजांघ्रिकेन नयनद्वयेन द्वेदा-
किनी । वक्त्रं विश्वविलोचनोत्पलवनीचंद्रोदयं विभ्रती साधूदाख्य-
जिगीषुयौवनसुरामाद्यत्तनुः कामिनी ॥ [५ ॥*] तदैव चाकाशवाक्
प्रादुरासीत् । मनोज्ञां निर्विशन्नेतां कल्या-
- 11 णीं विजयश्रियं । सदृशो भोजदेवेन धाराधिप भविष्यति ॥ [६ ॥*]
नटी । अज्ज² [1*] ता किं दिव्यमाणुसीए ता वाया । सूत्र ।
प्रिये । न खल्वेवं । किं तु । या चौलुक्खमहीमहेन्द्रदुहिता
देवी जयश्रीः स्वयं भंगे मल्लसुवाय्य³ वायसल्लिलैरंतः⁴ पुरस्सोर्म्मिलैः ।
वसुः शोकतमालवालविपिनं चक्रे नदीभाटकां (1)⁵ सेयं स्वर्द्धम-
मंजरी कि- (1)
- 12 सलये संक्रम्य जातांगना ॥ [७ ॥*] नटी । लकणाय्य⁶ । तदो⁷ २ ।
सूत्र । ततश्च (1) देवेन जयकुंजरकुंभल्लादाह्वय तस्याः कुचस्थले
दृष्टिं संचारितवता महाजनलज्जया सा कुसुमश्रीः [1*] कंचुकिनः
कुसुमाकरनाभधेयस्योद्यानाधिकारिणः समर्पिता । तेन चानीय धारा-
गिरिगर्भमरकतमंडपे वसंतलीलां स्मरति-
- 13 णीं योगक्षेमकारिणीं दत्ता⁸ स्थापिता । निष्ये⁹ । इत इती देवः ।
सूत्र । तत्रावलोकितकेन । प्रिये [1*] पश्य । नारायणिलाल्यश्चर्चै
निवेश्य सौराज्यभारं स्वयमारुह्य । देवी वसंतोत्पलकौतुकेन नदील-
रत्नोज्ज्वल¹⁰ इत्यमृगं ॥ [८ ॥*] अहो राजनीयकं परमारकुर्वन्त्यस्य ।
हयाननतरंगितत्रिविधवीरचूडामणि-
- 14 प्रगीतरसरंजितां रतिमवेक्ष्य सोदायिते । यदीयविहदं स्वरः परपुरंभ्रिवन्धुं
जगौ स एष नृपसुंदरी जयति जैवचोचोत्सवे¹¹ ॥ [९ ॥*] सविस्मयं ।
अंतःपुरवनिताश्च हिरददटाक्षाय शूर्जरैद्रस्य । मृगलिता यदनीकैः स
एष सुभटक्षितींद्रसुतः ॥ [१० ॥*] नटी । पासे¹² उण अंतैउरिया
विय कावि एसा । सूत्र । समुच्चयेन या
- 15 सृष्टा कलानां परमेष्ठिना । कुंतलेंद्रसुता सेयं राज्ञः सर्वकला प्रिया
॥ [११ ॥*] तदनया सहितो मानयतु मधूत्सवं देवः । आवामघ्यनंतर-

¹ See p. 117 below, F.² See p. 117 below, G.³ Read वाय^०.⁴ The *cisarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.⁵ This mark of punctuation seems to have been cancelled by the engraver himself.⁶ See p. 117 below, H.⁷ Read दत्ता.⁸ Read रत्नोज्ज्वल^०.⁹ Read जैवचोचोत्सवे.¹⁰ See p. 117 below, I.

- करणीयाय सज्जीभवाव[ः ।*] इति निःक्रांतावामुच्च^१ ॥ ततः प्रविशति
विदूषकेण सह वसंतवेषरमणीयो राजा (।) साख्या^२ सह राज्ञी च ।
राज्ञी । सहकारमंजरीं दर्शयित्वा (।) सलीलस्मितं । अज्जउ-
- 16 त्त^३ [।*] नोहलियं गेण्ह एदं । कीडलसरवाहुल्लेण मणहरा पढम-
मंजरी एसा । तुह उच्छवम्भि हु मए विणित्ता गायणीइ जहा
॥ [१२ ॥*] राजा । सहर्षादरं (।) हस्तद्वयं गृहीत्वा । देवि ।
त्वयोपनीयमानीयं सहकारांकुरो मया । आत्तः पुष्पायुधस्येपुराज्ञास्त्रीका-
रलाङ्कनं ॥ [१३ ॥*] अपि कुसुमे नवफलिकाव्यपदेशः पेशलांगि युक्तस्ते
- 17 । फलमेव कुसुममपि मे प्रसन्नया यत्नया दत्तं । [१४ ॥*] विदूषकः ।
साकूतं । अहो^४ अच्चरियं [।*] भायधेएण वयस्स^५ कुसुममंजरी
फलत्तणेण हत्थे चडिदा । राजा । सीत्कंठमात्मगतं । या मन्मथस्म^६
जयिनोभिनवास्त्रदेवी मूर्त्ता पपात हृदये मम युद्धभूमौ । भंग्या
मनीहरतनुं विजयश्रियं तां प्राणेश्वरीमयमुदाहरते वय-
- 18 स्यः ॥ [१५ ॥*] किं च । या शारदी शशिकलेव कलेवरं मे 'संघांम-
डामरसमुल्लसितप्रतापं । लावण्यकांतिसुधया स्नपयांचकार सा मे हृदि
स्खलति मन्मथविह्वलांगी ॥ [१६ ॥*] नेपथ्ये वैतालिकाः । सुपद्मायसि-
रीसहिदो^७ सूरौ वि तुहुच्छवेण कीलंती । बालायवसिंदूरं दियंगणाणं
मुहे खिवइ ॥ [१७ ॥*] जं सीमंताहिंती हियं तए गुज्जरिंदर-
- 19 मणीणं । मन्ने सिंदूरेणं तेण चिय रमइ तुह लोओ ॥ [१८ ॥*]
वाणेहिं अडनारी विसमसरेणावि नियरिऊ रइओ । अज्जुणवम्भ तए
उण अवल चिय विरइआ रिउणो ॥ [१९ ॥*] ❀ ॥ विदू ॥ कल-
कलमाकर्ण्य (।) नेपथ्य[।*]वलोकितकेन । वयस्स^८ [।*] पेच्छ २ पहरि-
सकीलिदं नायरजणस्स । राजा । सहकारमंजरीं विदूषकस्यार्प- (।)
- 20 यित्वा (।) सकौतुकं पश्यन् । सखे [।*] किमुच्यते । राज्ञीं प्रति च ।
देवि [।*] प[श्य] २ [।*] सिंदूरं क्वचिददृष्टासनिनदैरुदंडमुड्डीयते
कस्तूरीनिकरः क्वचित्क्वचिदपि श्रीखंडरेणूत्करः । 'कास्मीरद्रवशीकरैर्दृति-
मुखोन्मुक्तैरतिव्याकुलः पौरैः स्त्रैरमनेकधायमधुनारब्धो मधोरुत्सवः ॥
[२० ॥*] अपि च । पौष्यैराभरणैर्मनोज्ञतनवः
- 21 स्त्रैरं दधत्योधुना सिंदूरीमरुणीकृतालकलतां लेखां ललाटीतटे । नृत्यत्यो
मदविह्वलं लयविसंवादिषु पौरांगनाः क्रीडामौरजिकस्वकांतवदनान्या-

^१ Read निष्क्रांती । चामुख.^२ See p. 117 below, K.^३ See p. 115 below, A.^४ Read सख्या.^५ Read मन्मथस्य.^६ See p. 118 below, B.^७ See p. 117 below, J.^८ Read संघाम^०.^९ Read कास्मीर^०.

लोकयति स्मिताः ॥ [२१ ॥*] राज्ञी [१*] कर्णं दत्वा^१ (१)
सोत्तासं । अज्जउत्त^२ । एदं पि आयण्णेहि (१) समयसुहावयं हिंदी-
लयं । राजा । प्रिये [१*] किमुच्यते । ^३अंसन्यासग्रहकृतपदं
ता- (१)

22 डितं मद्रभूमौ षड्^४ तन्वन्^५ ऋषभरहितं धैवतेनापि हीनं । हिंदी-
लाख्यः सुखयति दधन्मध्यमं तारदेशे कपं विभ्रक्तिमपि रुचिरं
षड्भुके पंचमे च ॥ [२२ ॥*] विदू । वयस्स^६ [१*] जाणिदं मए
वि । एसो सो हिंदोलओ (१) जहिं हिंदीलयचउत्थीए इत्थीउ
कीलंति । राजा । स्मितमभिनीय (१) सोपहासं । नूनमभिन्नो
भवान् ग्राम- (१)

23 रागेषु । विदू । सदपि^७ । कधं^८ गेयं न जाणामि । जदा मे
वंभणी वडुवियड[दं]तसुंदरं सुहं पसारिय मंगलाइं गाएदि तदा
हं ^९गोरिगीयगहिहो हरिणी व्व पाणे दाउमिच्छामि ॥ इति विदू-
षकं विहाय सर्वे हसन्ति । राजा । स्मिता [१*] सखे ।
एतावता गीते सम्यगभिन्नो भवान् । कनकलेखा^{१०} अंचलपिहितां
सिंदूरमुष्टिं राज्ञी-

24 हस्तेर्पयति । राज्ञी गृहीत्वा स्मितमभिनीय च (१) राज्ञी मस्त-
कमुडूलयितुं मुष्टिसुत्तिपति । राजा । शिरो नमयन् सस्मितं ।
सिंदूरोडूलनायैष मूर्द्धा नमोक्तो मया । एष एव प्रणामश्च
तन्निषेधाय दर्शितः ॥ [२३ ॥*] राज्ञी (१) सलीलस्मितं (१) सख्याः
सिंदूरमर्पयति । कनकलेखाविदूषको परस्परं सिंदूरोडूलनं नाट-
यतः । विदू ॥

25 कस्तूरीचोदमर्पयन् । वयस्स^{१०} [१*] तुमं पि देविं भरेहि । [रा]ज्ञी (१)
विश्वंखलचरणारविंदमपसरति । राजा । देवि त्वन्मुखमुल्लसत्परिमलं
ओरा[र]विंदभ्रमाङ्गणासुपसेदुषां प्रतिमया स्निग्धेदनीलत्विषां । संजाते
मृगनाभिपत्र^{११}मकरीशृंगारलीलायिते चेतोहारि करोति कः पुनरिदं
कस्तूरिकापंकिलं ॥ [२४ ॥*] उपसृत्य (१) लला-

26 [ट*]स्वेदमुत्पंसयन् । अलं संभ्रमेण [१*] अपनीयतां श्रमः । इदानीं
हि । ^{१२}संभोगोत्कलिकामिलत्सहचरीशृंगावमर्शद्रवत्कस्तूरीमृगमीलितेक्षण-

^१ Read दत्ता.

^२ See p. 118 below, C.

^३ Read अंश°.

^४ Corrected by the engraver from षड्भु.

^५ Read तन्वन्नुषभ°.

^६ See p. 118 below, D.

^७ See p. 118 below, E.

^८ Read गोवी°.

^९ Read °लेखांचल°.

^{१०} See p. 118 below, F.

^{११} Read °पत्र°.

^{१२} °लिका° looks almost like °लिका°.

[illegible]

भरतीषाश्रुमिश्रोद्धमः । गीतैकांतनिषण्णकिन्नरवधूकदर्पकेलितमखेदच्छेद-
विचक्षणो विचरति श्रीखंडशैलानिलः । [२५ ॥*] विदू । वयस्स^१ ।

जदि तुमं एदाए दासीधूआए क-

27 [गु*][य]लेहाए सह मम पाणिगहणं करावेसि (।) तदा अहं पि
तुमं व नायरियनारीसहिदी वसन्तसर्व² माणेमि । राजा (।) राज्ञी
च स्मयेते । कनक । सनासासंकोचं विचिकित्सते । राज्ञी [।*]
स्मृतिमभिनीय । अज्जउत्त³ [।*] पाणिगहणवयणेण संभराविदं हि ।
मए माहवोलेदाए सहयारस्स पाणिगहो कारिदव्वो [।*] तुम्हे वि
तहिं (।)

23 [णि*]मंतिदा चिद्ध । ता दाणि उवसंभारसंपादणकज्जेण उज्जाणं गमिस्सं ।
 राजा । यदभिरुचितं देव्यै । इति सख्या सह राज्ञी निःक्रांता^१ ।
 राजा । सखे । क्व सा नवफ्लिका पारिजातमंजरी । न न [*]
 विस्मृतं [*] सहकारमंजरी । विदू । सस्मितं [*] वयस्स^२ ।
 ण खु एदं विंभरणं । संभरणं जेव एदं । इति सहकारमंजरीं
 मसपेयति । रा-

२० [ज*] । गृहीत्वा (१) सकरुणमात्मगतं । परिश्रानामिमां दृष्ट्वा नूतनां चृतमंजरीं । स्मरामि विरहक्लांतामंतः प्राणेश्वरीं नवां ॥ [२६ ॥*] इति तादात्म्यमभिनीय शून्यमवलोकते । विदू । वयस्स^० । मन्त्रे पारि-
त्रायमंजरीमण्डं पि दे सुत्रं ह्रिययं । राजा । सखे [१*]
किमुच्यते । रागं सांध्यमिवाहं हृत्यविरलं शून्यत्वमासेदुषि प्रोन्मोलन्नववि-
प्रयो- (१)

[illegible]

४१ शक्रना संविशद्भुवनं दिनेन समिदा विञ्चीयवियणा जाणं वसंतुगमे ।
 एहं ते गमिज्जण पायजुवलं दंडप्पणामेण दे पत्तिच्छत्तभरेण भूमिव-
 द्दुणा वच्चति वासालयं ॥ [२८ ॥*] ता किं इध द्विदेण । एहि [१*]

¹ See p. 118 below, G.

* Read निष्क्रान्ता.

* Read 'मित्री'.

⁹ The symbols \mathbb{Z} and \mathbb{Q} are used to denote the integers and the rational numbers, respectively.

² Read वसंतुत्तवं.

³ See p. 113 below, I.

⁶ See p. 118 below, K.

वय seem to be corrected from यस्व.

⁸ See p. 118 below, H.

⁶ See p. 118 below, J.

¹⁰ See p. 118 below, L.

धारागिरिलीलोच्चाणं जेव गच्छामो । राजा । सप्रत्याशं सोत्कण्ठं
च । यदभिरुचितं वयस्यायेति निःक्रांती¹ । वसंतीत्ववी नाम

32 प्रव्वमोद्धः² ॥ * ॥ श्री[*] ॥ प्रविश्य कुसुमाकरः । देव्या समस्तकलया
मलयानिलिन चूतातिसुक्तकलतामिथुनोत्सवेन । वारांगनामसृणमंगलगीत-
रंगैर्द्धारागिरिः कमपि सम्मदमातनोति ॥ [३० *] अद्यैव³ च ।
मत्तानां मलयानिलैर्विटपिनां यूनानां स्मितश्रीमतां संवन्धोचितनर्मणामिदं
वलादाकृष्टकेशांशुकान् । भ्रूभंगेन विवृ-

33 [त्य] पङ्कवकरान् रोमांचितान् कोरकैरस्यंत्या⁴कुलपाणिकंकणभणत्कारेण
वारांगनाः ॥ [३१ *] केवलं वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी राजदर्शनोत्कलिका-
परंपराभिरुत्ताम्यंती मर्मणि व्यथयति । सा हि ॥ सायं कीक-
वियोगदर्शनदलन्मर्मक्षणा पक्षिणः किं नोड्डीय मिलंत्यमी द्रुतमिति क्वांता
सुहुः पृच्छति ॥ सीतारामकथासु कंपितकुचा स्वा⁵

34 [से]न शून्योद्गमं हुंकारं ददती करोति करुणाविस्मारितार्थी सखीं
॥ [३२ *] किं बहुना । तन्वी तापातिरेकेण धत्ते यस्माद्विहस्ततां ।
प्रवालहस्तै [रुं]धन्ति तस्येदोरातपं लताः ॥ [३३ *] नेपथ्यावलोकित-
केन । कथं प्रिया मे वसंतलीला ॥ सप्रणयादरं । प्रिये [*]
अयमहमित इतो भवती । निर्वर्ण्य । नूनमियमिदानीं । ऋजुश्लथभु-
जेनाधोहस्तेनाकाशले-

35 [खि]नी । नतानना मंदगतिस्तुच्छिंतामेव गाहते ॥ [३४ *] ततः प्रवि-
शति यथानिर्दिष्टा वसंतलीला । कुसुमाकरः । उपसृत्य । प्रिये
[*] कथमास्ते वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । वसंत । उत्तुंगे⁶ थणमंडलस्स
सिहरे ओष्ठप्यवालप्यहापुंजं कुंजरगामिणी वहदि सा चिंतानमंता-
णणा । अंतो नीहरिज्जण सासलहरीसत्येण पञ्जूसुअं दूरारोहनिहालि-

36 [अ*][पि]ययमं रत्तं व चित्तं नियं ॥ [३५ *] कुसुमा । सकरुणचिंता-
वात्सल्यं⁷ । प्रिये [*] तत्किमर्थमागतासि तामेकाकिनीं वालां
विहाय । वसंत । रायागमणपउत्तिं उवलंभिदुं । कुसुमा । प्रिये [*]
साधूक्तं । कथितं हि मे राज्ञी नर्मसुहृदा विदग्धेन यव्वाद्य⁸
माधवीसहकारविवाहारंभदर्शनापदेशेन देवी धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमागत्य
युद्धांतयुद्धांतक्ष-¹⁰

¹ Read वयस्याय । इति निःक्रांती.

² Corrected by the engraver from अद्यैव.

³ See p. 119 below, A.

⁴ Read यथाय.

⁵ Read प्रव्वमोद्धः.

⁶ Read °रस्यंत्या°.

⁷ Read °वात्सल्यं°.

⁸ युद्धांत was corrected by the engraver from युद्धंत.

⁹ Read आसेन.

¹⁰ See p. 119 below, B.

- 37 [ण*]सहचारिणीं प्राणेश्वरीमवश्यमेकांति संभावयिष्यतीति । वसंत । आश्व-
सिति । कुसुमा । प्रिये । एवं च कथितं । देवः परिजनस्योक्ती-
रज्ञातार्थोपि चिंतया । अभ्युपैति¹ कथांताय शून्यं कंपितमस्तकः
॥ [३६ ॥*] किं तु । नो संभावयति प्रसादविभवैर्भृत्यांश्चकोरान्निजानु-
क्तासं निदधाति नो कुवलये नो वाहिनीभर्त्तरि । राजा सर्वकला-
- 38 [त्रि]तोपि दिवसप्राये वियोगे प्रियां तामेव क्षणदामभीप्सति नवामापांडि-
मानं गतः ॥ [३७ ॥*] तदमुना संविधानकेन त्वया सविशेषमाश्रास्य
परितोषणीया वक्ता पारिजातमंजरी । यतः । विरहे नूनमेकस्य
दुःखेन लभते सुखं । सुखेन चेतरो दुःखं प्रेम्णो हि कुटिला गतिः
॥ [३८ ॥*] वसंत । जं² आणवेदि पित्रयमो । कुसुमा । अह-
मपि³ एतत्का-
- 39 र्यांनुरूपस्वाभिप्रायज्ञापनाय विदग्धद्वितीयस्य राज्ञः सकाशमेव गच्छामीति⁴
निःक्रांती । विष्कंभकः ॥ ततः प्रविशति राजा विदूषकश्च । राजा ।
समंतादुद्यानमालीक्य । सखे । तस्या एव सुखेन निर्मलनिजज्योत्स्ना-
भिराप्याधिताः शंकेमी तरवो मनोज्ञमसृणच्छायाभिरायाभिनः । सौरभ्यं
कुसुमोत्करेण दधतस्तस्यैव सं- (1)
- 40 [स्ता]रजं भंपालंपट⁵माह्वयंति मधुलिट्संतानमुच्चैस्तरां । [३९ ॥*] विदू ।
वयस्⁶ [1*] क्षुत्तमणुमाणं ते । जदो वणस्सईणं चंदी राया ।
राजा (1) दक्षिणास्त्रिखंदनं सूचयित्वा (1) सप्रत्याशमुत्कंठते । नेपथ्ये (1)
मंगलध्वनिः । [रा]जा । आकर्णितकेन । सखे । मध्यादुद्रत्य तारं
सृशदलघुकुचाकंपकृष्टेन यासां श्वासेनैवावरूढं व्रजति यतिविदां सप्तकं
रक्ति-
- 41 [मे]व । ताभिर्ग्राम्योपि गीतध्वनिरयमधुना माधवीमंगलार्थं वारस्त्रीभिः
प्रयुक्तो गमयति गमकैर्नागरत्वं मनोज्ञैः ॥ [४० ॥*] तदेहि [1*]
देवीं प्रत्युपसर्पाव[1*] इति परिक्रामतः । विदू । वयस्⁷ ।
जधा एस समकालुकंठिदकेलिदीहिआकलहंसकूडदकरंविदो⁸ असमंजसमं-
जीरकलयलो जधा य धीउन्हायमाणकपूरपरिमलुम्मीसिदी किलं-
- 42 [त]कुसुमामोओ पञ्चासन्नी ह्वदि तधा (थणम)⁹ हंपढमियामिलंतीहिं
वियडनियंवीरुभरणरिक्वलंतचलणारविंदाहिं दाहिणनिलंदीलिरवसंतमाला-

¹ Read अभ्युपैति.² Read गच्छामि । इति निःक्रांती.³ See p. 119 below, D.⁴ These three *aksharas* are due to a mistake of the engraver; they occur again in their proper place as part of the compound द्योरणमंड⁹ in the same line⁵ See p. 119 below, C.⁶ Corrected by the engraver from लंपाट⁹.⁷ See p. 119 below, E.⁸ Read अहमप्येत⁹.⁹ Read असमंजस⁹.

मणहराहिं थोरथणमंडलुव्वहणपरिस्स[मस]सिदमंदपच्चायमाणतम्मोलरसाहिं
वारविलासिणीहिं सेविज्जंती अब्भुद्धिदा देवी । राजा । निर्वण्णं ।
सखे [1*] किमुच्यते । वारांगनामुख- (1)

43 [ज्यो]त्स्नालंघनोत्कंधरद्युतिः । देवी दुग्धाणवे लक्ष्मीरुल्लसंतीव लक्ष्यते ॥
[४१ ॥*] ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा राज्ञी । विद्रु । वयस्स^१ [1*]
इदी वि पेच्छ [1*] जधा एस कुसुमायरो मम समुहं सन्नं
करेदि तधा अ[संसयं] पारिआयमंजरिं वसंतलीलाए सच्च इध ज्जेव
संचारइस्सदि । राजा । निर्वण्णं (1) किंचिदाश्वस्य च । क्कांतो
विरहदावेन तामेव प्रति-

44 [धा]वति । अंतःकरणपत्नी मे लावण्यामृतवाहिनी । [४२ ॥*] ततः
प्रविशति विटपांतरिता पारिजातमंजरी वसंतलीला च । राज्ञी^२
उपसृत्य (1) राजानमवलोक्य स्मितेन संभावयति । विद्रु [1*]
ससंभ्रमं । अहो^३ अरिडमरिडं । चूओ चंपयकुसुमेहिं चंपओ पाडला-
पसूणेहिं । वडली सिरीसउप्फेहिं वियसिओ हंत अच्चरियं ॥ [४३ ॥*]
राजा । सस्मितं । धिप्पूखं [1*] नेदमरिडं किं तु देव्यायमस्माक-

45 [मा]चार्यकेण चित्रप्रयोगो नाम वृत्तायुर्वेदभेदः प्रदर्शितः । कनकलेखा ।
विहस्य [1*] भट्टा^४ [1*] ण सु एसो वियक्खणत्तणेण वियट्ठी किं
तु विसेसेण दट्टा^५ त्ति । इति सर्वे हसन्ति । नायिका । राजानं
ससृहमवलोक्य^६ (1) अपवारितकेन [1*] अज्जे^७ [1*] अन्नपायवे अन्न-
कुसुमेहिं वियसाविदुं अत्थि मे कीदुहल्लं । वसंत । वच्छे^८ [1*]
एसो ज्जेव राया तुह उवज्झाओ हविस्सदि । नायिका ॥

46 [ज]णं निश्चस्य (1) सवितर्कमात्मगतं । कत्तो^९ अम्हाणं तारिसा भायधेया ।
राज्ञी । अज्जउत्त^{१०} । एदं तं माहवीसहयारमिहुणं । [रा]जा । देवि
[1*] साधु दर्शितं । पूर्वामुखालंकृतयोर्माधवीसहकारयोः । कापि
वैवाहिकी लक्ष्मीरियमाह्लादतेतरां । [४४ ॥*] किं च । धन्योयं
सहकारसुंदरयुवा चैत्रानिलांदोलनैरुद्युक्तः परिरिप्सते प्रियतमां वामांग-
विश्रंभिणी । ^{११}एषाप्यर्हसुवासिनी नवलता

^१ See p. 119 below, F.

^२ See p. 119 below, H.

^३ See p. 119 below, I.

^४ See p. 119 below, L.

^५ Read राश्यप°.

^६ Read दट्टी.

^७ See p. 119 below, J.

^८ Read एषाप्यर्ह°.

^९ See p. 119 below, G.

^{१०} Read °लीक्याप°.

^{११} See p. 119 below, K.

- 47 [न]म्रीभवन्ती भृशं निर्वधेन ¹पराङ्मुखी न सहते वैयात्यवार्त्तामपि ।
 [४५ ॥*] वसन्त । नायिकां प्रति । अञ्जो² [1*] एवं जेव तुम्हारिसीओ
 सुद्धाओ दूरे गाढुकंठिरीओ पियसयासे परंमुहीओ हवन्ति । नायिका ।
 किञ्चिद्विहस्य (1) सासूयमिव । अञ्जो³ [1*] तं अन्नं जेव किंपि
 जंपन्ती चिह्मि । अहं उण एत्तिगं जेव भणामि जं अन्नपायवे
 अन्नकुसुमेहिं वियसाविदं अल्लि मे कोदुहल्लं । वसन्त । स्वगतं । देवी⁴
- 48 [जा]व उत्तरामुहड्डिदा माह्वीसह्यारमिहुणं अणुरायभिभला भत्तुणो पच्छि-
 मामुहड्डिदस्स दंसयन्ती चिह्मि (1) ता मुहुत्तं पारिजायमंजरिं पायडं
 करेमि (1) जधा देवीए कहिंपि आहरणे पडिविविदं पेच्छदि णं
 राया । इति विटपपल्लवानपसार्यं नायिकां प्रकटीकरोति । राजा ।
 राज्ञीताडंके प्रतिविवितां नायिकामवलोक्य (1) सहर्षावहित्यमात्मगतं ।
 अये जितं मनोरथैः ।
- 49 [य]दियं वलधूलिघोरांधकारदुःमं चरसमरसंकेतनवाभिमारिका मे प्राणेश्वरी
 प्रथमप्राणेश्वरीताडंकर्पणे लोचनगोचरं गता । सवितर्कात्भुतं⁵ च ।
 नूनमियमस्मान् पथिमेन विटपांतरे वसन्तलीलया केनचिदुल्लेखलंपाकेन
 वचसा नर्ममर्मणि स्पृष्टा सस्मितमसूयते । सद्यः ⁶साव्वसधूसरेण विक-
 सत्तैलच्चलच्छीस्पृष्टा कर्णोतालमदृष्टिनाधरपुटोद्भिन्नस्मि-
- 50 [त]थीमता । [अ]न्नेर्थाभिनयभुक्तुंमृकुटीसौभाग्यशृंगारिणा तन्वीयं वद-
 नेदुना मम दृशोर्दत्ते सुधाचवणां ॥ [४६ ॥*] सकरुणानुरागं च ।
 प्रतिविवमिषादेषा [स्व]यं दौत्यसुपागता । अत्यंतदुर्वलैरंगैर्वृते विरहदुर्दशां ॥
 [४७ ॥*] इति कोमलांगुलिग्रहेण कर्णं धृत्वा ⁷माविलासमवलोकयति ।
 राज्ञी (1) सरोमांचमवनतमुखी स्पर्शसुखानुभवं नाटयति । वसन्त ।
 ताडंके नायि-
- 51 [का]प्रतिविवं निर्वर्ण्यं राज्ञ्येष्टया चित्तोपलक्षितकेन⁸ (1) अपवार्यं साकूतं ।
 वच्छे⁹ [1*] पेच्छ देवीए ताडंकस्स रामणिज्जयं (1) जं राया माव-
 हित्यमेकदिष्टीए पेच्छन्ती चिह्मि । नायिका । राज्ञीताडंके स्वप्रतिविवं
 राजानं च निर्वर्ण्यं (1) सवितर्कप्रत्याशमात्मगतं । अम्महि¹⁰ [1*] किं
 एसो राया मे पडिविवं पेच्छदि (1) आदु देवीए ताडंकं जेव ।
 ता¹¹ दाव अमयकालऊडाण अंत-

¹ The two white lines across the प are due to a fault in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, and are absent in the two other copies of the inscription.

² See p. 119 below, M.

³ See p. 120 below, A.

⁴ See p. 120 below, B.

⁵ Read 'तर्काद्भुतं'.

⁶ Read 'साव्वस'.

⁷ Read 'सवि'.

⁸ Read 'केनाप'.

⁹ See p. 120 below, C.

¹⁰ See p. 120 below, D.

¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from त.

- 52 [रा]लि दोलाइद न्हि । इति चिंतां नाटयति । वसंत । नायिका-
याश्चित्तमुपलक्ष्य । वच्छे¹ [1*] मा अन्नहा मन्नेहि । देवीए ताडंके
कसाहरणाहिदेवयं व तुमं । संकाणुरायनिहुओ पेच्छइ पडिविवियं
राया ॥ [४८ ॥*] जइ उण न पत्तियसि ता खण्डं तुमं पल्लवं-
तरिदं करेमि (1) जधा पडिविवसुसं ताडंके पेच्छंतस्स केरिसी दिट्ठी
भत्तुणी भोदि त्ति जाणासि । इति नायिकां पुनः पल्लवंत-
- 53 [रि]तां करोति । राजा (1) सखेदावहित्यं शून्यदृष्टिरासोभते । वसंत ।
वच्छे² [1*] पेच्छ २ । ताडंके तुह पडिमं अणियंती भत्ति भत्तुणी
दिट्ठी । विभरियनिहाण्डाण³ व्व सुन्नपज्जाउला जाया ॥ [४९ ॥*]
राजा (1) सावेगं पृष्ठतोवलोकते । साह्लादमात्मगतं⁴ येनयोधनदसेनी-
त्सवज्जुषां वैमानिकीनां⁵ मुखान्यजानीव निशाकरेण गगने नीतानि
विच्छायतां । भूयो दृष्ट-
- 54 [मि*][दं] तदेव सुतनीः स्मरं किमप्याननं विच्छंदातपक्षोऽलोचनमुधा-
निथंदिचंद्रातपं ॥ [५० ॥*] नायिका (1) ससाध्वसं राजानमपांगिनावलोक्य (1)
लज्जयापसर्तुमिच्छंती परिक्रामति । वसंत । तां रुण्ढि । राजा ।
निर्वस्य ससृष्टमात्मगतं । उच्छ्वासि स्तनयोदयं तदपि दलोमाविवा-
दोल्लेखं लोलोल्लेखि गतं तदप्यनुप[मं] शोणित्तिद्या अपरं । दीर्घं
दृग्युगलं तद-
- 55 [प्य*][तु]गतं लास्येन किंचिद्भ्रुवोरेतस्यास्तनु मध्यमं विजयते मौलाप्यवीजं
वयः ॥ [५१ ॥*] सखीविदूषकौ विदितराजनायिकावृत्तांतौ परस्परं
साकूतमवलोकयतः । राजा स्मृतिमभिनीय (1) सातंके (1) पुनस्तथैव
ताडंकेमवलोकयति । सविमर्शपक्षपातमह[ह]⁶ । अज्ञातदोषा ताडंके
‘महृष्टालिंगितं प्रिया । धत्ते निश्चलमा[द्या]पि’ प्रीत्या मदनुवृत्तये
॥ [५२ ॥*] राज्ञी (1) द-
- 56 [त्ति]णात्तिस्संदितकेन⁷ (1) अधृतिमभिनीय सोद्वेगसुमुखी सखीमुखमीक्षते ।
तच्चेष्टां परिकलय्य (1) सासूयवितर्कमात्मगतं । अथो⁸ [1*] कुदो उण से
हदासाए अज्ज वियट्संसुही सवियारा दिट्ठी । सविमर्शमात्मगतं ।
पडिहाइ¹⁰ अज्जउत्तो स[व्भा]वसिणेहसुंदरसहावो । असुहं पि व कहइ
पुणो दाहिणनयणं फुरंतं मे ॥ [५३ ॥*] कनक । राज्ञी सवि-¹¹ (1)

¹ See p. 120 below, E.² See p. 120 below, F.³ Against the metre.⁴ Corrected by the engraver from सुखन्य⁹.⁵ Read °पातम् । अहइ.⁶ Read महृष्ट्या⁹.⁷ Read °मद्यापि.⁸ Read °केनापुत्ति⁹.⁹ See p. 120 below, G ; read अव्वी.¹⁰ See p. 120 below, H.¹¹ Read मदे⁹.

- 57 [ल]क्ष्मिन्तमीक्षते । राज्ञी । औलुक्खमभिनीय (i) साकूतं । [स]हि¹
 [i*] किं तए हसिदं । कनक । सविलक्ष्य² जोषमास्ते । राजा ।
 विदूषकं प्रति³ अपवारितकेन । सखे । नूनमनया दासीपुत्र्या दानसं-
 मानपूर्व्वं चिरनिवारितयाप्यद्य⁴ सर्वं प्रकाशिष्यते । विदू । अपवार्यं ।
 अध⁵ इ । राजा (i) दृष्टिसंज्ञया कनकलेखां प्रसादयति । राज्ञी (i)
 राजचेष्टां परिकलय्य तं भ्रूभङ्गेन त-
- 58 [र्ज]यन्ती कनकलेख[i व]ाहो⁶ धृत्वा सावहेलं परिक्रम्य निःक्रामति⁷ ।
 नायिका । सर्वेषां चेष्टाः परिकलय्य सदैव्यमात्मगतं (i) राजानं प्रति ।
 चंदस्स⁸ व तुह मेहंतरस्मि खणदंसणेण जा ससिया । सीयामि सा
 चओरि व पुण वि तइ अंतरिज्जंते ॥ [५४ ॥*] प्रकाशं । अज्जे⁹ [i*]
 नूणं देविं पसादिदं गमिस्सदि राया । ता एहि [i*] गच्छम्ह [i*]
 इति निःक्रांते¹⁰ । राजा । सप्रत्याशं पृष्ठतोवलोक्य
- 59 [ना*]यिकामदृष्ट्वा विदूषकं प्रति सवैलक्ष्यं [i*] सखे [i*] दृष्टं त्वया
 यन्ममापतितं । अपि सर्वकला देवी यदर्थंभूत्पराङ्मुखी । सापि जाता
 दृशोर्दूर¹¹ विजययोः प्रिया मम ॥ [५५ ॥*] तत्किमत्र कर्त्तव्यं ।
 विदू । व[य]स्स¹² [i*] मारिदस्स भुंजिदस्स य एकं जेव णामं । थोभो
 वज्ज वा अव[रा]हो अवराहो जेव । ता संभावेहि महाभाइणिं
 पारिआयमंजरिं । राजा । सीत्कंठं । सखे [i*] एवं करोमि । ५-
- 60 [ति] परिक्रामतः । विदू । वयस्स¹³ [i*] पेच्छ [i*] एदं तं रविरहत्तरंग-
 मकंतिसच्छायं मरगयमंडवं । राजा । दक्षिणभुजस्यंदनं सूचयित्वा (i)
 सप्रत्याशं । सखे [i*] साधु दर्शितं । एतच्चेतो हरति पुरतः
 पार्वतीकांतकंठच्छायाकांतं मरकतशिलामंडपं श्लक्ष्णमक्षोः । येनोष्ण-
 तैर्द्युतिकिसलयैर्निष्ठुतानामलीनां¹⁴ मालात्मानं खलु विवृणुते मञ्जुना
 गुंजितेन ॥ [५६ ॥*] इति परिक्रामतः ॥
- 61 [रा]जा । तस्या लोलदृशः स्तनौ सहृदयौ सम्यक् प्रमाणोद्धतावुक्षुर्तुं
 निजदोषमप्रतिहृतावाक्रांतकक्षांतरौ । संरक्षौ¹⁵ नवपत्रभंगिरचनारंभेण

¹ See p. 120 below, I.² Read सवैलक्ष्यं.³ Read प्रत्यप°.⁴ Read °याप्यद्य.⁵ See p. 120 below, J.⁶ Read वाहो.⁷ Read निःक्रामति.⁸ See p. 120 below, K. ; the स्स is spoiled in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, but is quite clear and regular in the two other copies.⁹ See p. 120 below, L.¹⁰ Read निःक्रांते.¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from दशेर्दूर.¹² See p. 121 below, A.¹³ See p. 121 below, B.¹⁴ The engraver has engraved an *anusvāra* above the ना of °ताना°.¹⁵ Read संरक्षौ नवपत्र°.

[illegible]

- वादस्थले [मा]ध्यस्थेपि ययोर्वलिचयमधस्तस्थौ तनुप्रातिभं ॥ [५७ ॥*]
 इति परिक्रम्योपसृत्य नायिकां पश्यन् सहर्षासं धृतिनिश्वासं विमुच्य ।
 उपधाय वयस्या[ङ्गं स्नानत]ल्योत्पलांकुरा । वियोगयोगनिद्रायामियमास्ते
- 62 [प्रि*][या] मम ॥ [५८ ॥*] तद्भवतु [।*] निर्वर्षयामि तावत् । ततः
 प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा नायिका सखी च । राजा [।*] स्वगतं ।
 अहह । मुखज्योत्स्नांकुरैरस्थाः पीते तमसि मांसले । इन्दनीलांश-
 [व]ः शेषाः परभागं दधत्यमी ॥ [५९ ॥*] सकरुणच[म]त्कारं ।
 मरकतमयमेदिन्यां भा[ति] प्रतिविंवित्ता कृशांगीयं । अंतर्जलशयनीयं
 तापेन निषेवमाणेव ॥ [६० ॥*] वसंत । सकरुणमाकाशे ॥ छ (।)
- 63 . . [वा] वलआइ^२ व मयरइय जयसि सन्हमज्झाए । तं चिय हंत
 कुणंतो णिज्जीवं होहिसि कहं व ॥ [६१ ॥*] नायिका । व[सं]त-
 लीलां वाष्पार्द्रमवलोक्य (।) सगद्[दं] । अज्जे^३ । तस्मिं^४ सहाव[सु]हए
 सव्वकलासंगयन्मि दिठ्ठे वि । धिप्पेमि ओसहो विय सो दूरं दुल्लहो
 राया । [६२ ॥*] राजा (।) कुसुमान्यवचित्य (।) च्छवं^५ च्छन्नमुपसृत्य
 तेर्नायिकामेकैकेन प्रहरति । नायिका । स- (।)
- 64 . . . विगं (।) राजानमवलोक्य । हृदी^६ । एस णिहओ पच्चखो ज्जेव
 कुसुमाउहो मं मन्दभाइणिं पहरदि । ता परित्तायदु २ अज्जा
 [।*] इति वसंतलीलामालिंगितुमिच्छंती मूर्च्छति । राजा [।*]
 सहसोप[सृ]त्य । हा प्रिये पारिजातमंजरि [।*] देहि मे प्रतिवचनं
 [।*] इति सकरुणं नायिकाहृदयस्पर्शं नाटयति । वसंत । राजा-
 नमवलोक्य (।) नायिकां वीजयंती साश्वासं
- 65 [सकरु*][णं] च । वच्छे^७ [।*] समस्सस २ [।*] ए खु एसो कुसु-
 माउहो [।*] तुह हिययवल्लहो खु भट्टा^८ एसो । नायिका (।) संज्ञां
 लभते । राजा । साश्वासं निर्वर्ष्य । यत्सद्यः पुटभेदसालसलसत्पद्मां-
 चले चक्षुषी शोक्लंपस्तनया प्रसोदति धृतिश्वासश्चिया यन्मुखं । यच्चायं
 पुलकः पुरा परिचितस्पर्शोपलंभात्तनौ तेनेयं सुतनुर्वभूव विधुरे जीवार्गला
 मे हृदि ॥ [६३ ॥*] नायिका (।) राजा-
- 66 [नसुप*]लभ्य (।) ससाध्वससुत्यायात्मानं पर्यवस्थापयति । धृतिनिःश्वास-
 सुत्सृज्य (।) वसंतलीलां प्रत्यपवा[रि]तकेन । अज्जे^९ [।*] अइ वल्लहे

*Read 'तस्थौ'.

*Read जस्मिं.

See p. 121 below, F.

* See p. 121 below, C.

* Read कृत्रं.

* Corrected by the engraver from भाटा.

* See p. 121 below, D.;

* See p. 121 below, E.

* See p. 121 below, G.

वि परव्वसे जणे केरिसो वारं वारमणुवंधनिव्वंधो । ता एहि [1*]
गच्छन्ह । इति राजानं सलज्जाभिमानमपांगिनावलोक्य पराङ्मुखी परि-
क्रमितुमिच्छति । राजा । सौत्सुक्यं (1) वाहो धृत्वा नायिकां
निर्वर्णयन् स्वगतं । उत्थानं क-

67 [थमप्य*]जायत गतिस्तंभस्तु मामीहते वैलच्यादनेदुनैव वलितं दृष्टिस्तु
सार्द्रा मयि । अंगान्वेव पराङ्मुखानि पुलको मत्पक्षपातो पुनर्मान-
प्राथम्यकल्पिकी मृगदृशश्चेष्टैव चित्रीयते ॥ [६४ **] अपि च ॥
तल्पेदीवरमुद्राभिरंकितानि मृगीदृशः । सुरभिस्वेदविंदूनि मदयंत्वंगकानि
मां ॥ [६५ **] ससृहातिरेकं । उत्थानं जघनेन विघ्नितमभूदस्याः क-

68 [क*]रो नीवोरक्षणसौविदल्लपदवीं वामः प्रकामं गतः । नीरंगी-
सिचयांचलं कुचतटे वध्नाति वामेतरस्तन्वंग्यास्त्रपयावगुंठितमिदं लीलायितं
जृम्भते ॥ [६६ **] प्रकाशं । अयि शशिमुखि^२ मानं मुंच दृष्टि-
प्रसादैरुपजनय सुभिचं स्मेरनीलोत्पलानां । अपि भवतु भवत्याः
कोमलालापभंग्या भगिति गलितगर्वी वल्लकीनां निनादः ॥ [६७ **]
इति प्र- (1)

69 [णमति] । नायिका (1) हस्ताभ्यां राजानं किरीटेन प्रेरयंती सस्मितम-
पसरति । विदू । मा^३ कहवि कोवि इह देवीए परिअणी संचरेदि ।
ता आसासंहि कंठगहेण तुरियं जेव महाभायं विअयसिदि । राजा
[1*] आलिंग्य (1) मुहूर्त्तमिवानंदमुद्रां नाटयित्वा (1) स्वगतं । शीघ्र-
मंतर्मुखैर्भूत्वा विलीनं नवनीतवत् । करणैः स्पर्शलाभाभ्यो सुखाद्वैते
मनः स्थितं । [६८ **]

70 [अ]पि च । उन्मीलत्पुलकांकुरस्तनतटस्त्रे^४दांजुजंवालितश्रीखंडप्रभविष्णुसौरभगुण-
ग्राही हठालिंगने । आनंदायुतरंगभंगमचमत्कारश्रिया शीतलो विच्छेद-
ज्वरभावयोर्दृतिभवः^५ श्वामानिलः पीतवान् ॥ [६९ **] ततः प्रविशति
ताडंकहस्ता कनकलिखा ॥ कनक । सचिंतासंभ्रमं । मए^६ महारा-
यस्स

71 [ल*]द्वा ण उण इत्थि त्ति अज्ज जाव भट्टिणी विप्पलडा । अज्ज उण
देवीए सयं जेव उल्लिहिय सव्वं उवलडं । अहं णिमित्तमेत्तं जाद
न्हि । अब्बो सामिणिअस्स अवस्संकरणिज्जदा [1*] जेण ज्जेव देवि

^१ Corrected by the engraver from पुनर्मन°.

^२ Corrected by the engraver from मुखी.

^३ See p. 121 below, H.

^४ Corrected by the engraver from स्त्रे.

^५ The engraver has struck out a secondary i before the भ, and another before the व, of भवः.

^६ See p. 121 below, I.

वंचिदं अभ्युदा तं जेव महारायं देवीए निओएण उळुठिस्सं ।
पुरोवलोक्ख । एदं¹ तं मरगयमंडवं । [इ]
.

72 . राजानमवलोक्य स्वगतं । अस्महे² [I*] कत्तो आसासो भट्टिणीए (i) जीए
वल्लही अन्नंगणवणवरंगसिणहवाउराणिवडिदहिअयहरिणी एवं हिडदि ।
उपसृत्य (i) वैल्लं³ नाटयंती प्रकाशं । जयदु⁴ २ भट्टा । सर्वे
शंकते । राजा । नायिकां पृष्ठतः कृत्वा (i) कनकलिखाहस्ते ताड-
कम[व]लो[क्य] (i) स्वगतं । अ[यि]

73 . त्या देव्या दोषोद्धनेन निपुणमुळुठिताः स्मः । प्रकाशं । भद्रे । अथ
खल्वकारणकुपितापि देवी प्रमादनीयेति त्वामेव प्रतिपालयतामस्माकमत्र
दिनमतिक्रांतं । त्वत्साहायकमापेक्ष्य⁵ ह्येतत्कार्यं । कनक । मनस-
स्मितं । भट्टा⁶ [I*] जा एसा अस्माणं दुदीया भट्टिणी तए पडिं
दितेण रोमाविदा चिड्ढिदि (i)

74 [रा*]जा । स्मिन्वा । कनकलिखे [I*] उभयमप्येतत्कार्यं त्वय्येवायतते ।
तत्किं प्रष्टव्यं भवत्या । कनक । ताडकमर्पयति । राजा । गृहीत्वा
स्वगतं । कर्णालंकरणं देव्या विवस्थानं जयश्रियः । संप्रत्युभयथाप्येप
ताडकः प्रतिभाति मे ॥ [७० ॥*] प्रकाशं । किं पुनः कारणं ताड-
कप्रेषणे । कनक । एदं³ कारणं । एए ताडंको अज्ज ग[रु]
.

75 . [वं] कणाहरणं देवीए धारिदं । अज्ज खु वसंतलीलाविअड्ढोड्ढीमहुसत्त-
सवणजुअल[स्स] अहिणव[मो]हग[सु]देरमणहरकुसुममंजरीरमस्मि [धरण]-
कच्चरणच[रि]दस्स भत्तुणो धारागिरिपमदुज्जाणे जेव सव्वो दिणो अदि-
कंतो । रयणी उण मए विणा कधं गमिस्सदि त्ति विर[ह]
.

76 [पि*]सिदो । वसंतलीलाविदग्धो (i) सभयमन्योन्यं पश्यतः । राजा ।
स्वगतं । अये वक्रोक्तिपरिपाटीपाटवज्ञापनं । यदि वा (i) देवीं
सर्वकलामधिकृत्य स्तोकमेतत् । किं तु [I*] देवी प्रमादनीयेत्येतां
मुंचामि कातरं विरहे । स्वहृदयमयोस्मि जातो वज्रं तु सुकोमलं
हृदयात् ॥ [७१ ॥*] नेपथ्ये । [अ]

¹ See p. 121 below, J.

⁴ See p. 121 below, L.

⁷ Read संप्रत्युभय².

² See p. 121 below, K.

⁵ Read सापेक्षं.

⁶ See p. 121 below, N.

³ Read वैल्लं.

⁶ See p. 121 below, M.

- 77 . णि प्राची कोकिलमचकेन तमसा मालिन्यमालंवते । या प्रातः परिरंभ-
निर्भरक[रं] दोषापलापचमं लब्ध्वा रागिणमेव¹ वक्ष्यति सुखं स्मरं
प्रसादश्चिया ॥ [७२ ॥*] अपि च । विस्फूर्जत्करदीपिकांकुरमरुद्धं धावधूतं
जगद्वाणप्राणमपक्कमं विदधतः कर्पूरभंगानिलैः । सिंहद्वारि नि[वा]
.
- 78 . [त]वदिपाठतुमुलं ताम्यंति शृंगारिणः ॥ [७३ ॥*] किं च । नासीरचंद्रात्तप-
दीपिकाभिः पूर्वाचलिनांतरितोनुमेयः । अपींदुत्ताम्यति राजभावाङ्गुमं-
डलाखंडल सेवितुं त्वां ॥ [७४ ॥*] नायिका । वसंतलीलां प्रति
सकरुणं । तए² वि देवीए भएण मंदभाइणी पारिआयमंजरी परिहरि-
दवा । अदो जे[व]
- 79 . [ज*]णे केरिसो वा[रं] वारमणुबंधणिवंधी³ । वसंतलीला नायिकां [सा]-
समालिंगति । राजा । अपवारितकेन नायिकां चिवुके सृष्ट्वा । प्रिये
[।*] अलमन्यथा संभावनया । मुहूर्त्तमास्थानमधिष्ठाय प्रतिनिवृत्त एवा-
स्मि । वसंतलीलां प्रति । आर्ये । भवत्यास्मद्दृढं गतया लालनीयं
तावद[स्म]
- 80 . [वि]दूषककनकलेखाभ्यां सह परिक्रामति । सकरुणं पृष्ठतोवलोक्य (।)
स्वगतं । आः प्रिये पारिजातमंजरी । उद्भिद्यमानचंद्रांशुदंष्ट्राकराले
निशाचरोमुखे मुच्यमानासि । नायिका । सासं । महाभाय⁴ [।*]
इत्तिगं दिट्ठो सि मए मंदभाइणीए । राजा । सव्यथमात्मगतं ।
किमपि मसृ
- 81 . हृदयशिलायां विश्वशृंगारशिल्पी । तव ऋजुगुणसूचन्यासरेखांकितायां
लिखति विशिखटकैः पुष्पकेतुः प्रशस्तिं ॥ [७५ ॥*] इति निःक्रांतः⁵ ।
नायिका । सानुतापमुद्धीविकावलोकितकेन । कधं⁶ लोयणपहं अदिक्कंतो
परव्वसो जणो । स्वगतं । ता⁷ दाणि जं देवीए कारिदव्वं तमहं
सयं जेव [करइस्सं मं]द[भाइणी ।]
- 82 [इ]ति सोद्वेगमुद्गांतहृदया परिक्रामति । वसंत । सौत्सुक्यं । नूणमे-
दाए⁸ किंपि अमंगलमज्जवसिदं । ता सव्वधा धारइस्सं ॥ इति
निःक्रांताः⁹ सर्वे [।*] ताडकदर्पणो नाम द्वितीयोद्धः ॥ श्रीः¹⁰ ॥ ✽ ॥

¹ Corrected by the engraver from 'णमेव'.

² See p. 122 below, A.

³ The same passage has occurred before in line 66.

⁴ See p. 122 below, B.

⁵ Read निःक्रांतः.

⁶ See p. 122 below, C.

⁷ See p. 122 below, D.

⁸ See p. 122 below, E.

⁹ Read निःक्रांताः.

¹⁰ The *visarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.

Collotype by Gehr Plettner, Halle.

रूपकारप्रकांडस्य सीहाकस्यांगजन्मना । प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा रामदेवेन
शिल्पिना ॥ [७६ ॥*] ❀ ॥

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF THE PRAKRIT PASSAGES.¹

A.—Text, line 2.—आज्ञापयत्वार्यः ।

B.—Text, l. 4.—यदार्यं आज्ञापयति । किं च मयापि श्रुतं यथा मलया-
निलमन्दमन्दान्दोलनप्रसरद्भन्व²माकन्दमकुलमकरन्दपिण्डितपरागपुञ्जपिञ्जर्यमाणमञ्जरीकवल-
परस्परार्पण³केलिपर्याकुलकलकण्ठमिथुनमधुरकलकलहेलापहस्तित⁴विहस्तमानवती⁵मानमपि
परिमलतरंगचारु⁶चम्पकचषकमध्ववसर⁷विलम्बित⁸षट्पराचारणरणभणत्कारमुखरमपि यन्त्र-
कुञ्जरकरशीकरासारसेकसरभविकसर्दिविधविटपकुडङ्गबद्धान्धकारमपि धारागिरिलीलीध्यानं
परिहृत्य कौतूहल⁹प्रफुल्लजीचनो भारती¹⁰भवनाभिमुख¹¹सहस्रेति परापतित एव लोक
इति । तत्कथय कीदृश¹²मत्र कथासंविधानकम् ।

C.—Text, l. 7.—अथ किम् ।

D.—Text, l. 8.—आर्य । यत्र चतुरङ्गबलयुगलधूलोनिकरैः¹³ कवलिते मार्तण्डमण्डले
स्वयंधरकौतूहलाकुलत्व¹⁴मिलत्पुरसुन्दरीमुखमन्दचन्द्रातपेन निजपरविभागः संजातः श्रूयते ।

E.—Text, l. 9.—ततस्ततः ।

F.—Text, l. 10.—ततस्ततः ।

G.—Text, l. 11.—आर्य । तत्किं दिव्यमानुष्याः सा कथा ।

H.—Text, l. 12.—ततस्ततः ।

I.—Text, l. 14.—पार्श्वे पुनरन्तःपुरिकेव काप्येषा ।

J.—Text, l. 15.—आर्यपुत्र । नवफलिकां गृह्णाणैताम् ।

कोकिलस्वरबाहुल्येन मनोहरा प्रथममञ्जर्येषा ।

तथोत्सवे खलु मया विनियुक्ता गायन्या यथा ॥ १२ ॥

K.—Text, l. 17.—अहो आश्चर्यम् । भागधेयेन वयस्यस्य कुसुममञ्जरी फलत्वेन
हस्ते चटिता ।

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes :—*Dés.* = Hémachandra's *Dśīndāmāḍā*, ed. by Prof. Pischel.—*Hāla* = Hāla's *Saptāśatakam*, ed. by Prof. Weber.—*Hēm* = Hémachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, ed. by Prof. Pischel.—*Jacobi* = Prof. Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhāvāśṭri*.—*Pā.* = Dhanaṇḍa's *Pāyāḷach-
chāṭ Nāmamāḍā*, ed. by Prof. Bühler.—Pischel = Prof. Pischel's *Prākṛit Grammar*

² *Hēm.* IV. 78.

³ *Hēm.* I. 63.

⁴ *Hāla*, p. 53¹, s. v. *avahatthia*.

⁵ For *mānamsint* = *mānavati* see *ibid.* p. 99.

⁶ *Dés.* III. 1.

⁷ *Dés.* V. 24.

⁸ *Hēm.* IV. 259.

⁹ *Hēm.* I. 117. and II. 99.

¹⁰ *Gāḍḍavaho*, verse 107

¹¹ *Dés.* VIII. 70.

¹² Pischel, § 121.

¹³ *Dés.* II. 13.

¹⁴ With *hallapphala* compare *hallapphalia*, *Dés.* VIII. 59; *hallaḥphala*, *Hāla*, p. 27 f.; and *hallohata*, *Jacobi*, p. 155.

A.—Text, l. 18.—

सुप्रभातश्रीसहितः सूर्योपि तवोत्सवेन क्रीडन् ।
बालातपसिन्दूरं दिगङ्गनानां मुखे क्षिपति ॥ १७ ॥
यत्कीमन्तादृतं त्वया गूर्जरैन्द्रमणीनाम् ।
मन्ये सिन्दूरेण तेनैव रमते तव लोकः ॥ १८ ॥
बाणैरर्धनारी विषमशरेणापि निजरिपू रचितः ।
अर्जुनवर्मस्त्वया पुनरबला एव विरचिता रिपवः ॥ १९ ॥

B.—Text, l. 19.—वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व प्रहर्षक्रीडितं नागरजनस्य ।

C.—Text, l. 21.—आर्यपुत्र । एतमप्याकर्णय समयसुखापकं¹ हिन्दोलकम् ।

D.—Text, l. 22.—वयस्य । ज्ञातं मयापि । एष स हिन्दोलको यत्र हिन्दोल-
कचतुर्थी स्त्रियः क्रीडन्ति ।

E.—Text, l. 23.—कथं गेयं न जानामि । यदा मे ब्राह्मणी बहुविकटदन्त-
सुन्दरं सुखं प्रसार्य मङ्गलानि गायति तदाहं गोपीगीयग्रहिलो² हरिण इव
प्राणान्दातुमिच्छामि ।

F.—Text, l. 25.—वयस्य । त्वमपि देवीं पूरय³ ।

G.—Text, l. 26.—वयस्य । यदि त्वमेतया दासीदुहित्रा कनकलेखया सह मम
पाणिग्रहणं कारयसि तदाहमपि त्वमिव नागरिकनारीसहितो वसन्तोत्सवं मान-
यामि ।

H.—Text, l. 27.—आर्यपुत्र । पाणिग्रहणवचनेन स्मारितास्मि । मया माधवी-
लतया सहकारस्य पाणिग्रहः कारयितव्यः । युवामपि तत्र निमन्त्रितौ तिष्ठथः ।
तदिदानीमुपसंभारसंपादनकार्येणोद्यानं गमिष्यामि ।

I.—Text, l. 28.—वयस्य । न खल्वेतद्विस्मरणम्⁴ । स्मरणमेवैतत् ।

J.—Text, l. 29.—वयस्य । मन्ये पारिजातमञ्जरीसनाथमपि ते शून्यं हृदयम् ।

K.—Text, l. 30.—सुखकारिणी भवतु मध्याह्नमध्या देवस्य ।

वृषितानां काननेऽ तव रिपुरमणीनां बिम्बननिभेन ।

वदनानि हारमुक्तासु सलिलकार्येणैव विशन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

L.—Text, l. 30.—वयस्य ।

देवेनाहवनिर्जितानां सहसा वन्दीकृतान्तःपुरं

ददता⁵ शमिता वियोगवेदना⁶ येषां वसन्तोद्गते ।

¹ Compare *suhāvei* = *sukhoyati* in Hāla and in the *Gaṇḍavaho*.

² With *gahalla* for *grahita* compare *ganthilla* for *granthila*; Pischel, § 535.

³ Compare *dhareu* in the *Gaṇḍavaho*, verse 231, and Jacobi, p. 133, s. v. *dhariṇya*.

⁴ Pischel, § 313, enl.

⁵ Hém. II 84.

⁶ For *dinta* = *dadat* see Jacobi, p. 117, s. v. *dev*.

⁷ *Pā* p. 96.

एते ते नत्वा पादयुगलं दण्डप्रणामेन ते
पात्रीद्वयभरणं भूमिपतयो व्रजन्ति¹ वासालयम् ॥ २८ ॥
तत्किमिह स्थितेन । एहि । धारागिरिलीलोलोद्यानमेव गच्छावः ।

A.—Text, l. 35.—

उत्तुङ्गे स्तनमण्डलस्य शिखर ओष्ठप्रवालप्रभा-
पुञ्जं कुञ्जरगामिनी वहति सा चिन्तानमदानना ।
अन्तर्निर्हृत्य श्वासलहरीसार्थेन पर्युत्सुकं
दूरारीहनिभालित²प्रियतमं रक्तमिव चित्तं निजम् ॥ ३५ ॥

B.—Text, l. 36.—राजागमनप्रवृत्तिमुपलब्धम् ।

C.—Text, l. 38.—यदाज्ञापयति प्रियतमः ।

D.—Text, l. 40.—वयस्य । युक्तमनुमानं ते । यतो वनस्पतीनां चन्द्रो राजा ।

E.—Text, l. 41.—वयस्य । यथैष समकालोत्कण्ठितकेलिदीर्घिकाकलहंसकूजितकर-
म्बितो ऽसमञ्जसमञ्जीरकलकलो यथा च ³स्तोकोष्पायमाणकर्पूरपरिमलोन्मिश्रितः
क्लान्तकुसुमामोदः प्रत्यासन्नो भवति तथाहंप्रथमिकामिलन्तीभिर्विकटनितम्बोरुभरपरि-
खलच्चरणारविन्दभिर्दक्षिणानिलान्दोलनशील⁴वसन्तमालामनोहराभिः स्थूल⁵स्तनमण्डलो-
हहनपरिश्रमश्चितमन्दप्रत्यायमानताम्बूल⁶रसाभिर्वारविलासिनीभिः सेव्यमानाभ्युत्थिता
देवी ।

F.—Text, l. 43.—वयस्य । इतोपि प्रेक्षस्व । यथैष कुसुमाकरो मम संमुखं
सञ्चा⁷ करोति तथासंशयं पारिजातमञ्जरीं वसन्तलीलया सहैव संचारयिष्यति ।

G.—Text, l. 44.—अहो अरिष्टमरिष्टम् ।

चूतश्चम्पककुसुमैश्चम्पकः पाटलाप्रसूनैः ।
बकुलः शिरीषपुष्पैर्विकसितो हन्ताश्चर्यम् ॥ ४३ ॥

H.—Text, l. 45.—भर्तः । न खल्वेष विचक्षणत्वेन विदग्धः⁸ किं तु विशे-
षेण दग्ध इति ।

I.—Text, l. 45.—आर्ये । अन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कीतूहलम् ।

J.—Text, l. 45.—वत्से । एष एव राजा तवोपाध्यायो भविष्यति ।

K.—Text, l. 46.—कुतो⁹ ऽस्माकं तादृशं भागधेयम् ।

L.—Text, l. 46.—आर्यपुत्र । एतत्तन्माधवीसहकारमिथुनम् ।

M.—Text, l. 47.—अव्वो¹⁰ । एवमेव युष्मादृश्यो मुग्धा दूरे गाढोत्कण्ठाशीलाः
प्रियसकाशे पराङ्मुख्यो भवन्ति ।

¹ Hém. IV. 225.

² Pischel, § 596.

³ With *tammōla* compare *tambōla*, Hém. I. 124.

⁴ Hém. II. 49.

⁵ Pā. p. 79.

⁶ Hém. I. 124 and 235.

⁷ Pischel, § 197.

⁸ Hém. II. 45.

⁹ Jacobi. p. 149.

¹⁰ Hém. II. 204.

A.—Text, l. 47.—आर्ये । त्वमन्यदेव किमपि जल्पन्ती¹ तिष्ठसि । अहं पुनरे-
तावदेव² भणामि यदन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

B.—Text, l. 47.—देवी यावदुत्तरामुखस्थिता माधवीसङ्कारमिथुनमनुरागविह्वला³
भर्तुः पश्चिमासुखस्थितस्य दर्शयन्ती तिष्ठति 'तावन्मुहूर्तं पारिजातमञ्चरीं प्रकटां'⁴
करोमि यथा देव्याः कुत्राप्याभरणे प्रतिबिम्बितां प्रेक्षत एनां राजा ।

C.—Text, l. 51.—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व देव्यास्ताडङ्गस्य रामणीयकं यद्राजा सावहि-
त्यमेकदृष्या प्रेक्षमाणस्तिष्ठति ।

D.—Text, l. 51.—अस्महे⁵ । किमेष राजा मे प्रतिबिम्बं प्रेक्षते ऽथ वा' देव्यास्ता-
डङ्गमेव । तत्तावदमृतकालकूटयोरन्तराले दोलायितास्मि ।

E.—Text, l. 52.—वत्से । मान्यथा मन्यस्व ।

देव्यास्ताडङ्गे कर्णाभरणाधिदेवतामिव त्वाम् ।

शङ्कानुरागनिभृतः⁶ प्रेक्षते प्रतिबिम्बितां राजा ॥ ४८ ॥

यदि पुनर्न प्रत्येषि⁷ तत्क्षणाध्वं त्वां पल्लवान्तरितां करोमि यथा प्रतिबि-
म्बशून्यं ताडङ्गं प्रेक्षमाणस्य कीदृशी दृष्टिर्भर्तुर्भवतीति जानामि ।

F.—Text, l. 53.—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व ।

ताडङ्गे तव प्रतिमामपश्यन्ती¹⁰ भटिति¹¹ भर्तुर्दृष्टिः ।

विस्मृतनिधानस्थानेव शून्यपर्याकुला जाता ॥ ४९ ॥

G.—Text, l. 56.—अव्वो । कुतः पुनरस्या हताशया अद्य विसंवाद¹²संमुखी
सविकारा दृष्टिः ।

H.—Text, l. 56.—

प्रतिभात्यार्यपुत्रः सद्भावस्नेहसुन्दरस्वभावः ।

असुखमपीव कथयति¹³ पुनर्दक्षिणनयनं स्फुरन्मे ॥ ५३ ॥

I.—Text, l. 57.—सखि । किं त्वया हसितम् ।

J.—Text, l. 57.—अथ किम् ।

K.—Text, l. 58.—

चन्द्रस्येव तव मेघान्तरे क्षणदर्शनेन या सञ्चिता ।

सीदामि सा चकीरीव पुनरपि त्वय्यन्तर्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

L.—Text, l. 58.—आर्ये । नूनं देवीं प्रसादयितुं गमिष्यति राजा । तदेहि ।
गच्छावः ।

¹ Pischel, § 296.

⁴ Hém. I. 271.

⁷ Pischel, § 555.

¹⁰ Hém. IV. 181.

¹³ Hém. IV. 2.

² Hém. II. 157.

⁵ Hém. I. 44.

⁸ Hém. I. 131.

¹¹ Hém. I. 42.

³ Pischel, § 209.

⁶ Hém. IV. 284.

⁹ Pischel, § 281.

¹² Pá. verse 246.

A.—Text, l. 59.—वयस्य । मारितस्य भुक्तस्य चैकमेव नाम । स्तोको बहुर्वापराधो
ऽपराध एव । तत्संभावय महाभागिनीं पारिजातमञ्जरीम् ।

B.—Text, l. 60.—वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व । एतत्तद्रविरथतुरंगमकान्तिसच्छायं मरकत-
मण्डपम् ।

C.—Text, l. 63.—

. . . . वसयानीव मकरध्वज जयसि श्लक्ष्ण¹मध्यया ।
तामेव हन्त कुर्वन्निर्जीवां भविष्यसि कथमिव ॥ ६१ ॥

D.—Text, l. 63.—आर्ये ।

यस्मिन्स्वभावसुखदे सर्वकलासंगते दृष्टेपि ।
दोष्य² ओषधिरिव स दूरं दुर्लभो राजा ॥ ६२ ॥

E.—Text, l. 64.—हा धिक्³ । एष निर्दयः प्रत्यक्ष एव कुसुमायुधो मां
मन्दभागिनीं प्रहरति । तत्परिचायतां परिचायतामार्या ।

F.—Text, l. 65.—वत्से । समाश्वसिहि समाश्वसिहि । न खल्वेष कुसुमायुधः ।
तव हृदयवल्गवः खलु भर्तेषः ।

G.—Text, l. 66.—आर्ये । अयि वल्लभेपि परवशी⁴ जने कीदृशो वार
वारमनुबन्धनिर्बन्धः । तदेहि । गच्छावः ।

H.—Text, l. 69.—मा कथमपि⁵ कोपीह देव्याः परिजनः संचरत् ।
तदाश्वासय कण्ठग्रहेण त्वरित⁶मेव महाभागां विजयश्रियम् ।

I.—Text, l. 70.—मया महाराजस्य लब्धा
न पुनः स्त्रीत्यद्य यावद्भट्टिनी विप्रलब्धा । अद्य पुनर्देव्या स्वयमेवोल्लिख्य सर्वमुप-
लब्धम् । अहं निमित्तमात्र⁷ जातास्मि । अब्बो स्वामिनियोगस्यावश्यंकरणीयता ।
येनैव देवीं वञ्चयितुमभ्यर्थिता तमेव महाराजं देव्या नियोगेनोत्तुङ्गिष्ठामि ।

J.—Text, l. 71.—एतत्तन्मरकतमण्डपम् ।

K.—Text, l. 72.—अस्महे । कुत आश्वासो भट्टिन्या यस्या वल्लभो ऽन्याङ्गनानव-
रङ्गस्त्रेह्वागुरानिपतितद्दयहरिण एवं हिण्डते ।

L.—Text, l. 72.—जयतु जयतु भर्ता ।

M.—Text, l. 73.—भर्तः । यैषास्माकं द्वितीया⁸ भट्टिनी त्वया पृष्ठ⁹ ददता
रोषिता तिष्ठति

N.—Text, l. 74.—एतत्कारणम् । एष ताडङ्को ऽद्य
कर्णाभरणं देव्या धारितम् । अद्य खलु वसन्तलीलाविदग्धगोष्ठीमधुमत्तश्रवणयुग-

¹ For *saṃhā* (which is here written with the dental *n*) see Pischel, § 315.

² Hém. I. 223.

³ Hém. II. 192.

⁴ Pischel, § 196.

⁵ Hém. I. 29.

⁶ Hém. IV. 172.

⁷ Hém. I. 81.

⁸ Hém. I. 94.

⁹ Hém. I. 35 and 129.

लस्याभिनवसौभाग्यसौन्दर्यममोहरकुसुममञ्जरीरसे स्तैव्यप्रद्वरणचरितस्य भर्तृधारागिरि-
प्रमदोद्यान एव सर्वं ^२दिनमतिक्रान्तम् । रजनो पुनर्मया विना कथं गमिष्य-
तीति विरह प्रेषितः ।

A.—Text, l. 78.—त्वयापि देव्या भयेन मन्दभागिनी पारिजातमञ्जरी परिहृतव्या ।
अत एव जने कीदृशो वारं वारमनुबन्धनिर्वन्धः ।

B.—Text, l. 80.—महाभाग । ^३एतावद्दृष्टोसि मया मन्दभागिन्या ।

C.—Text, l. 81.—कथं लोचनपथमतिक्रान्तः परवशो जनः ।

D.—Text, l. 81.—तदिदानीं यद्देव्या कारयितव्यं तदहं स्वयमेव करिष्यामि
मन्दभागिनी ।

E.—Text, l. 82.—नूनमेतया किमप्यमङ्गलमध्यवसितम् । तत्सर्वया धारयिष्यामि ।

No. 10.—KARKALA INSCRIPTION OF BHAIKAVA II. ;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1508.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The village of Karkala, which is mentioned as Karakala in this inscription (text line 14) and other connected ones, is 18 miles east-south-east of Udipi, the head-quarters of the taluka in which it is situated, and 10 miles north of Mûdabidure. It is the largest Jaina settlement in the South Canara district of the Madras presidency and contains, besides the colossal image of Gummaṭa,⁴ a number of Jaina temples which are ruined and out of repair with the single exception of the Chaturmukhabasti.⁵ This temple is situated opposite to the Jaina maṭha⁶ at Karkala, on a hillock⁷ half as high as the hill on which the colossus stands. Hiriyaṅgaḍi, i.e. 'the big hill', which is now a few furlongs distant from Karkala, but appears, from its very name, to have once formed the commercial quarter of the town,⁸ contains, besides some bastis, a beautifully

¹ Pischel, § 176

² Compare Pischel, § 357.

³ Hém. II. 156.

⁴ A photograph of this colossus is given above, Vol. VII. Plate facing p. 112.

⁵ For a detailed description of this temple by Mr. Walhouse see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 39 f; Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 89 f and the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 6.

⁶ The Jaina maṭha at Karkala is presided over by a pontiff, just as the maṭhas at Mûdabidure, Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and Humcha. He bears the title Lalitakirti and is reported to be the trustee of the Jaina temples at Karkala and in its neighbourhood. In the inscriptions at Hiriyaṅgaḍi near Karkala, the teachers to whose pontificate Karkala and the surrounding country belonged are generally called Lalitakirti-bhattrāṅkadēva, with the word *Maladhāri* prefixed to it in two of them, viz. Nos 66 and 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901. No. 67 of the same collection makes Lalitakirti the *vichārakartā* or 'supervisor' of the charity recorded therein; and No. 70 says that these teachers belonged to the Kundakunda division, were lords of the lineage of Panaśōkā and members of the Kāḷōgragaṇa. In v. 4 of the subjoined inscription, which does not mention their division (*avaya*), it is stated that the Lalitakirtis belonged to the Deśigaṇa. Perhaps Kāḷōgragaṇa was a local branch of the Deśigaṇa. Panaśōkā has been identified with Hanasōge in the Mysore State; see above, Vol. VII. p. 110, note 1.

⁷ The inscription gives this hill the name of Chikkabettā (i.e. 'the small hill') in order to distinguish it from the higher hill on which the colossus is set up.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 40.

preserved Jaina pillar¹ (*mānastambha*).² A lithograph of a similar pillar at Vēnūr is given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. Plate facing p. 39. Prof. Hultzsch, who has published³ three of the inscriptions at Kārkaḷa, asked me to edit the subjoined record.⁴ The black granite slab on which it is engraved is set up on the proper right of the western entrance into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Chaturmukhabasti. At the top of the slab are, in relief, the following sculptures. In the centre, within a *maṇḍapa* surmounted by a triple umbrella, is a Jaina figure squatting on a raised seat; the *maṇḍapa* is flanked on both sides by a lampstand, and beyond the lampstand is the disk of the sun on one side and the crescent of the moon on the other; below the moon is the figure of a cow suckling its calf. The inscribed surface of the slab, including the erased lines at the end measures roughly 4' 4½" by 3' 2".

The record is written in Kanarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs, between two margins which are marked out on both sides of the slab by two double lines with a space of ⅜" between them. These double lines are entered on either margin up to l. 42 where the main portion of the inscription ends. It contains eight Sanskrit verses (ll. 1 to 8, l. 15 f. and l. 49 f.) and four short sentences (ll. 1, 3 and 8) in the same language. The remainder of the inscription is in Kanarese prose. At the end is a diagram, consisting of a square bounded by a double line. Within this is another square, similarly bounded by a double line and sub-divided into 25 minor squares with single letters written in each. The diagram is inserted between ll. 42 and 49 just in the centre of the slab, thereby dividing ll. 43 to 48 into two equal halves. About a dozen syllables in l. 42, the second halves of ll. 43 to 46, the diagram itself and the remainder of the inscription are faintly engraved. A few lines at the end of the inscription are completely erased. Although comparatively modern, the Kanarese characters in which the inscription is written differ in many points from those of the present day. Aspirates are not generally distinguished by a vertical stroke added at the bottom of the letter, except in *pha* of *phala* (l. 33); *da* is distinguished from *dha*, as in old Kanarese, by a small opening at the right side of the letter; in *bha* the aspiration is marked by the *talekattu* and a small projecting stroke at the bottom of the left side, which seems to be the origin of the vertical stroke of the modern *bhu*; *kha*, *gha*, and *tha* are distinguished, by their very form, from the corresponding unaspirates. *Chha*, *dha* and *pha* do not occur in their primary form as independent letters, but only in their subscript secondary forms. *Cha* is differentiated from *ba* sometimes by the *talekattu* alone (e.g. *cha* of *aicharu*^o in l. 40), and in other cases by the *talekattu* and a slight indenture at the middle of the left side (e.g. *cha* of *°chamitra*, l. 13); in modern Kanarese this indenture is projected out into a horizontal stroke. In cases, however, where the *i*-curl is added to *cha*, this horizontal stroke is necessarily introduced. The same remarks hold good as regards the indenture in the middle of *ka*. The loop on the left side of *ga* is not fully developed. *Ta* and *ṭa* still preserve their older forms. *Sha* is, as in old Kanarese, written like *pa*, with a small slanting stroke cutting its left side in the middle. *Ra*, which is now altogether replaced by the common *ra*, occurs in ll. 12 (twice), 17, 25, 27, 28,

¹ *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 19.

² See above, Vol. V. p. 171, note 5. The *mānastambhas*, which are generally graceful, high and imposing, have to be distinguished from other Jaina pillars neither so tall as the former nor bearing any *maṇḍapas* on their tops. These latter are called Brahmadēva pillars and appear to be usually set up in front of colossal statues. The Tyāgada-Brahmadēva Pillar (figured on Plate facing p. 33 of the Introduction to Mr. Rice's *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*) is set up opposite to the colossal statue on the Doddabetta hill at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa; the Kūge-Brahmadēva pillar at the entrance into the *bastis* on the Chikkabetta hill of the same village, indicates perhaps the existence of the unfinished colossus on that hill (*ibid.* p. 29, note 1); and the colossi at Kārkaḷa and Vēnūr have similar pillars in front of them, bearing an image of Brahmadēva on their tops (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraphs 6 and 7).

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

⁴ A tentative transcript and translation of it was published by Mr. Walhouse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 40 ff.

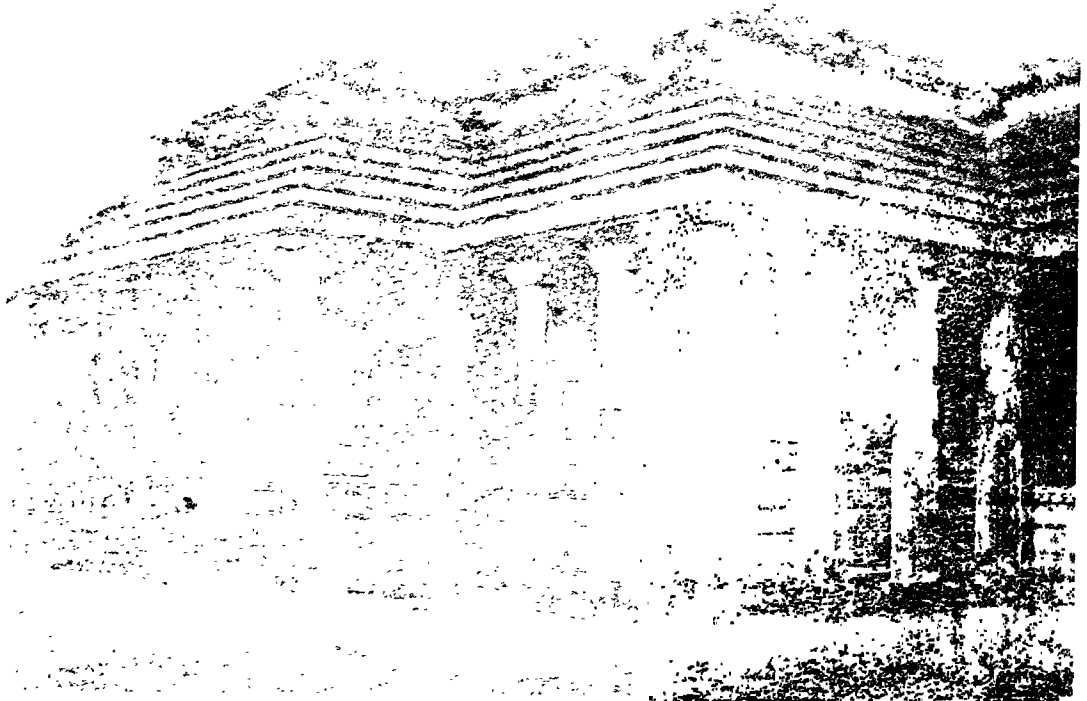
30, 32, 34, 37, and 43; *la* is written in its proper form but looks like a hook with the *talekaṭṭu* attached to it. Among vowels, initial *u* and *ū* which occur in ll. 37 and 9, respectively, are written exactly as in modern Telugu. The vowel-signs *i* and *ī* are not always distinguished; and where they are, *ī* is represented by a loop at the end of the *i*-curl; *e* resembles *i* in almost every respect, except that, before being added, it makes a small angle with the letter, which the *i*-curl does not. The angle perhaps is meant for the *talekaṭṭu* which represents the *a*-sign, and this with the *i*-curl attached to it gives the compound *e*-sign. *O* and *ō* (the latter being occasionally distinguished from the former by a loop at the end of the *o*-curl) are expressed, as in Telugu, by attaching to the top-stroke of the letter two small semi-circular curves, the second of which is bent down a little lower than the first. Exception is, however, made in the case of *ma*, *ya* and certain conjunct consonants where, as in modern Kanarese, *o* is denoted by *ē* + *ū*. Many of these remarks are found, on comparison, to be applicable also to the Harihar stone inscription of Achyutarāya of Śaka-Saṃvat 1460 (= A.D. 1538-39) which is photo-lithographed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. Plate facing p. 362. It may be remarked that to this day the Jainas use an older Kanarese script than other Kanarese people, and that their way of writing *bha*, *la* and *ka* and of affixing *i*, *e* and *o*-curls to consonants is not very different from what we find in this inscription. As regards orthography: The nasals preceding other letters of their class are invariably changed into an *anusvāra*; of double nasals of the same class, the first always becomes an *anusvāra*, provided it does not come after an *r*, the only exception being *nni* of °*pānni*° (l. 7); and the doubling of the consonant after an *r* is common. A hiatus between two vowels, which is not allowed by the rules of *saṃdhi*, occurs in °*traū* for °*travū* (l. 9), °*raṇe*° for °*raṇeyi*° (l. 18), and °*sthāi*° for °*sthāyi*° (l. 26). *Sāl*- for *śāl*- (l. 19) and *śita* for *śita* (l. 41), double dental *n* for the double lingual *n*, the aspirate for the unaspirated letter and *vice versā* are purely graphical errors. Among words deserving particular mention are certain special phrases of Jaina ritual (*hāladhāre*, *aṣṭāhnikā*, *siddhachakra*, etc.), some fiscal terms peculiar to the South Canara district (*mūḍe*, *hāne*, *kuḍute*, *hāḍa*, *beṭṭu*, *bālu*, etc.), and some expressions which are not intelligible to me (e.g. *aḍipina-mūliti*, *bajakaḷa*, *kambuḷa*, etc.). The use of the Kanarese word *āgara* instead of the Sanskrit *āgāra* in v. 7 is a mistake. The construction of the Kanarese passages is often complicated.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vitarāga and the verse *śrīmat-parama-gambhīra*, etc., with which almost all Jaina inscriptions begin. It then invokes (verses 2 and 3) the blessings of the Tirthakaras (Jina, Jinapa, Jinēndra or Tirtha), of Dōrbali, and of the goddess Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha on the donor Bhairava or Bhairavēndra, called also Bhairarasa-Voḍeya and Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya in the Kanarese passages (ll. 48 f and 13 f.). We may at once call this chief Bhairava II.¹ in order to distinguish him from his maternal uncle and namesake Bhairava I. referred to in the inscription as Bhairavarāja (l. 6) and Bhairarasa-Voḍeya (l. 12). The record goes on to state that, at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakīrti of the lineage of Panasōge and of the Dēśigaṇa (v. 4), Bhairava II. built (l. 19) the temple of 'the three jewels' (ll. 7, 8 and 17), by which evidently the Chaturmukhabasti is meant. Verse 6 and the Kanarese prose passage which follows it give the date of the foundation and consecration of the temple, viz. the Śāli-(or Śālivāhana-)Śaka year 1508, the Vyaya-saṃvatsara, the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, a Wednesday, when the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśīrṣha or Mrigaśīrā (ll. 8 and 9) and the *lagna* Vṛisha or Vṛishabha (*loc. cit.*). This date has been calculated² by Prof. Kielhorn and is found to be correct in all details for Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1586. The Kanarese passages in ll. 10 to 14 and 17 to 18 contain a string of

¹ The distinction applies only to this paper, because there have been in this family many chiefs bearing the same name prior to the donor of our inscription. The Jaina chiefs belonging to other families on the western coast also frequently called themselves Bhairava. Writers on the history of the northern portion of South Canara invariably refer to the Kārkaḷa chiefs as "Byrasu Wodears."

² *List of Southern Inscr.* No. 993.

The Chaturmukha - Basti at Karkala.



birudas of Bhairava II. and furnish the name *Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya*¹ (l. 17) for the temple, which is described as being auspicious on every side (*sarvatōbhādra*)² and as having four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).³ It was built on the *Chikkabēṭṭa* hill in the vicinity of the blessed *Gummatēśvara* at *Pāṇḍyanagari* in *Kārakaḷa* (l. 14 f.). *Pāṇḍyanagari*, just like the modern *Hiriyāṅgaḍi*, was apparently another suburb of *Kārakaḷa* and comprised within itself the *Chikkabēṭṭa* hill, on which the *Chaturmukhabasti* is built, the colossal statue, and the long narrow street that runs between them, containing a few Jaina houses and the *maṭha*. It probably received its name from *Pāṇḍyarāya* or *Vīra-Pāṇḍya*, who set up the famous colossus.⁴ In ll. 19 ff. we are told that Bhairava II. set up the images of the three *Tīrthakaras* *Ara*, *Mallī* and *Munisuvrata*⁵ on each of the four faces of the temple and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 *Tīrthakaras* and those of the *Jinas* together with *Brahma* and *Padmāvatī*.⁶

Ll. 22 to 42 record the grant of the village of *Teḷāra*, which yielded a revenue of 700 *mūḍe* of rice. Besides this, 238 pagodas (*gadyāna* or *varaha*, l. 28) from the *siddhāya* (i.e. the established revenue) of the villages *Raṅḡjāla* and *Nallūru* were also granted. The income was to be utilised for the requirements of worship in the four symmetrical central shrines of the temple⁷ and in the subordinate shrines, by fourteen families of *Sthānikas*⁸ appointed for that purpose. Provision was also made for temple servants and musicians. The four groups (*tanḍa*) of Jaina mendicants who had quarters in the temple were supplied annually with 8 blankets, to protect themselves from cold, and with 1 blanket to receive the daily doles of rice which they collected from door to door. They were also given the necessary requirements for oil-baths, viz. oil, soap-nut and fuel. Ll. 43 to 47 record two additional grants, perhaps by the same chief, for the daily offerings (1) to *Chandranātha* in the *basti* situated within the quadrangle of the *hiriya-aramane* (i.e. the big palace),⁹ and (2) to *Pārsvanātha* in the *basti* on the *Gōvardhanagiri* hill.¹⁰ The inscription ends with a puzzle (v. 8), which was composed by the author of the inscription in order to celebrate the power of the five syllables *Śrīvītarāga* (i.e. *Jina*), which the donor Bhairava II. is said to have affixed to the inscription with his own hand in token of his approval of the charities recorded therein. The four erased lines at the end of the inscription may have contained the clue for the right interpretation of the puzzle.

¹ Perhaps so named in imitation of the *Hosabasti* at *Mūḍabidure*, which according to the inscriptions of that temple was called *Tribhuvanachūdāmaṇi-Chaityālaya* and was built in *Saka-Saṃvat* 1351, i.e. 157 years prior to the construction of the *Chaturmukhabasti*.

² This attribute given to the temple appears to have suggested the insertion of the puzzle in the *sarvatōbhādra* verse at the end of the inscription.

³ *Chaturmukhabasti*, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).

⁴ Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 f.

⁵ Same as *Suvrata* mentioned in v. 3.

⁶ These two deities are different from the *Brāhmaṇical* gods of the same name. *Brahma* and *Padmāvatī* in Jaina mythology are two demigods (*yaksha* and *yakshīṇī*) who attend invariably upon the *Tīrthakaras*.

⁷ The allotments made for the worship at each gate are very carefully recorded, and from these it appears as if the western gate, which enjoyed the largest share of the gift in money, was the primary one, while the three other symmetrical gates were only of secondary importance. This is also proved by the fact that at this particular gate alone the images of the 24 *Tīrthakaras* were consecrated (ll. 20 and 39).

⁸ The Jaina priests are now generally known by the name *Indra* (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5). The name *Sthānika* given to them in the inscription appears to be used in imitation of the name given to a section of *Brāhmaṇas* in South Canara, whose sole profession is temple service.—See Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 154.

⁹ This might be the name of one of the palaces of Bhairava II. himself, which was probably situated either at *Pāṇḍyanagari* or *Hiriyāṅgaḍi*, both of which are still covered with ruins of buildings.

¹⁰ This is perhaps one of the many small hills that surround *Kārakaḷa*. I was informed while there, that one of these bears at its top a Jaina *basti* even now. It will be too fanciful to connect the name with *Gōvardhanagiri* in the *Shimoga* district, which 'is said to have been fortified by *Jinadatta*' (the mythical founder of a Jaina line of Kings in the south); (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 452).

The donor Bhairava II. belonged to the lunar race (v. 5 and l. 11), to the Kāśyapa-gôtra (l. 11) and to the family of Jinadatta or Jinadattarāya (ll. 6 and 12) and was the son of Gummaṭāmbā (ll. 6 and 13) and of Vira-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra (l. 13).¹ Gummaṭāmbā was the sister of Bhairava I. (v. 5), the son of Honnaināmbikā (l. 12). Some of the titles of Bhairava II. were: (1) *arirāya-ṣaṇḍara-śāvaṇi*, (2) 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities,' and (3) 'he who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Padmāvati of Pombuchcha.' The second and third of these, coupled with his professed descent from Jinadatta, connect Bhairava II. with the Śāntāra chiefs of Pombuchcha, who also traced their ancestry to Jinadatta and were worshippers of the goddess Padmāvati of Pombuchcha.² Mr. Rice in the Introduction to Vols. VI. and VII. of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* mentions a number of records which he assigns to 'the early members of the Śāntāra family,' most of whom, as stated therein, were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and were ruling the Śāntāḷige country.³ Pombuchcha, the capital of the Śāntāras, is spelt in early records as Pombuleha or Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura and is identical with the modern Humcha or Hombucha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district; it is mentioned in connection with the Śāntāras even in their earliest records. The alleged descent of the Śāntāras from Jinadattarāya, the mythical founder of the line of Jaina kings in the south, is not warranted by any of these earlier inscriptions. A long account of the Śāntāras which connects them with Jinadatta first appears in a record of A.D. 1077 at Humcha itself.⁴ The Baligāmi record of A.D. 1149⁵ makes no reference whatever to the mythical Śāntāras; the stone inscription from Punddahaḷḷi⁶ dated in A.D. 1287, connects Jinadatta with the Chāḷukya family. In any case the

¹ In No. 993 of Professor Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscri.*, which deals with the date of this record, Vaṅganarēndra has to be corrected into Vaṅganarēndra, and the title 'supreme lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura' there applied to Bhairava I. should, according to the present interpretation of the passage, be transferred to his son Bhairava II.

² See below, note 5.

³ The Śāntāras of Pombuchcha and the Kadambas of the western coast appear from these records to have been related to each other in some unexpected way. This fact is cleared up in one of the later Śāntāra inscriptions at Bidagum, which states that the Śāntāra chief Jagaddēva, who was a feudatory of the Western Chāḷukya Jagadekamalla II, and the Kadamba chief Jayakēśin, who was the son of Vijayādityadeva, were sons of two uterine sisters (Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2). The Ālupas of the western coast, some of whose early inscriptions are found at Udiyāvara near Udipi, may have had some connection with Pombuleha, since in two unpublished inscriptions from that village (Nos. 97 and 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904) Pombūḷcha and Udayapura (i.e. Udiyavara) are mentioned together with reference to certain tolls and *nakaras* (trading classes?) of the two places; another (No. 108 of the same collection states that Svētavahana, who was the lord of Paṭṭi (*Paṭṭi odevāna*), i.e. Paṭṭi-rājya, the province of which Humcha was the capital), fell in battle while entering (i.e. capturing) Udayapura; and Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 37 refers to the reign of Chitravahana, evidently an Ālupa king, over Pombuchcha.

⁴ The exact position of this territorial division is not fixed. Dr. Fleet places it somewhere west of the Mysore State (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 396), and Mr. Rice states that it corresponds with the present Tirthahallī taluka of the Shimoga district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 17). As however Humcha in the Nagar taluka was the capital of the Śāntāra chiefs who were ruling over the Śāntāḷige one-thousand country, as the earlier Śāntāra records found in the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district mention certain villages of this taluka as belonging to the Śāntāḷige country, and as Sētuvinaḍidu or Sētū, the capital of the Śāntāra chief Jagaddēva in A.D. 1149, 'would be located by Mr. Rice somewhere in Canara' (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458, note 1), it may be assumed that Śāntāḷige included the western portion of the Shimoga district, i.e. the Shikarpur, Nagar and Tirthahallī talukas, and probably also a portion of the South Canara district.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. No. 35. This record makes Jinadatta a member of the family of Ugra-varma and the hereditary lord of Uttara-Maḷnura. It gives also the story of the goddess Padmivati, who, being pleased with Jinadatta's prowess, built for him the city of Pomburcha or Kanakapura. One of his descendants, Vikrama-Santana, is stated to have fixed the boundaries of the Śāntāḷige thousand province (*J. R. A. S.* for April 1905, pp. 295 and 298).

⁶ No. 32 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Sk. 312.

claim which Bhairava II. puts forth to belong to the family of Jinadatta implies nothing more than his connection with the Śāntaras and the Jaina creed which he followed.

Vol. VI. of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* contains also a number of inscriptions of a family called by Mr. Rice **Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa**. He gives an account of these chiefs in his Introduction to the same volume, pp. 19 to 21. The texts published by him show that they had no connection whatever with the Śāntaras of Humcha, and that of the records prior to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II. only a single one may be assigned to the family, viz. Mg. 65 dated in A.D. 1209, where the chief **Vira-Balludēva** receives the title *maṇḍalika-gaṇḍara dāvaṇi*, which in the slightly altered form *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* was assumed by almost all the subsequent members of the family. From the time of Dēvarāya II. downwards the records are more definite and furnish a connected account of the chiefs, a list of whom is given by Mr. Rice on p. 20 of the Introduction. The donor of the subjoined grant figures as the last person in that list. We gather also from these records that the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa chiefs followed the *aliya-santāno* law of inheritance and were Jains in religion, though most of their inscriptions found at Kaṣasa and Koppa record grants to Śiva temples. As a rule they seem to have acknowledged the Vijayanagara kings as their overlords. But in Mg. 48, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1424 (= A.D. 1501-2), which was about the period of the overthrow of the Śaṣuva usurpers at Vijayanagara and of the acknowledgment of the Tuḷuva Narasa-Nāyaka as sovereign, the Kaṣasa chief **Vira-Bhairarsa-Oḍeya** seems to have been semi-independent, as no mention is made of any overlord in the inscription. The memorable battle of Talikōṭa dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara empire, and the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly, in a Koppa inscription (Kp. 57), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1510 (= A.D. 1588-89), **Bhayirarsa-Voḍeya**, son of **Vira-Gummaṭadēvi**, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (*sthira-simrājya*). The subjoined Chaturmukhabasti inscription of this chief, which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high-sounding *biruḍas*, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II. had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long; for in Śaka 1531 (= A.D. 1609-10), **Bhayirarsa-Voḍeya**, the son of **Vira-Bhayirarsa-Voḍeya**, was ruling the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Venkaṭa I. (Mg. 63). From the above records we further learn that the country over which these chiefs originally ruled was called the **Kaṣasa-rājya**, which included one thousand villages (see e.g. Mg. 88), and the chief town of which was evidently **Kaṣasa** above the ghauts. But in Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 (= A.D. 1516-17), **Kārkāṣa** seems to have been added to it; for **Yimmaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeya**, who in Mg. 39 is stated to have been ruling over **Kaṣasa-rājya** in the *dvitīya-Śrāvaṇa* of Śaka-Saṃvat 1438, was, according to Mg. 41,² ruling over the **Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa-rājya** in the (*nīja*)-Śrāvaṇa of the same year, and in Śaka-Saṃvat

¹ I have intentionally used the term 'Kaṣasa chief'; for, as will be seen in the sequel, the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa chiefs became rulers of both Kaṣasa and Kārkāṣa only in A.D. 1516-17. Prior to this their dominion was limited to the Kaṣasa country; and the name Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa applied to their family prior to A.D. 1516-17 is to be understood as being used only for the sake of uniformity.

² This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujaḍala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tuḷu-rājya and was encamped at the *bhuḍana-sāle* in Maṅgalūru. On this occasion the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeya, being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kaṣasa that the invading forces might leave the Tuḷu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa-rājya. Bhujaḍala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishnarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao,' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kaṣasa-Kārkāṣa chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also an idea of extending their dominions below the ghauts, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but, perhaps, on promise of submission were left unmolested.

1446 (= A.D. 1524-25) the same chief was ruling 'the kingdom below and above the ghauts' (Mg. 62). With the extension of the kingdom the capital also seems to have been removed to Kārkaḷa from Kaḷasa; for in an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31) **Vira-Bairarasa-Voḍeya** is said to have been ruling from his throne at **Kārakāḷa** (Kp. 47). It will be seen in the next paragraph how the Kaḷasa chiefs managed to add to their dominions the Kārkaḷa country below the ghauts; but for the present it may be enough to conclude from the Koppa and Mūdgere inscriptions published in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. that Bhairava II. of the subjoined inscription was a direct descendant of the Kaḷasa family, and that his hereditary ancestral dominion was the Kaḷasa country. His name, his title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi* and the existence of an inscription of his in the Koppa tāluka (Kp. 57) all point to the same conclusion.

Turning now to the inscriptions at Kārkaḷa itself, from which further information may be expected about the ancestors of Bhairava II., we find that the colossus there was set up by **Vira-Pāṇḍya** or **Pāṇḍyarāya**, the son of **Bhairavēndra** of the lunar race in Śaka 1353, and that in Śaka 1358 the same chief, who is here said to have been the son of Bhairava of the family of **Jinadatta**, set up the Brahma pillar in front of that colossus.¹ An unpublished inscription² at Hiriyaṅgaḍi near Kārkaḷa, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), records a grant to the temple of Nēmināthasvāmin, while the *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi*, the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who had obtained excellent gifts from (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi, and who was the uplifter of the ocean which was the family of Jinadattarāya—**Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya**, was ruling over **Paṭṭi-rājya**. A second inscription³ in the same village, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1514 (= A.D. 1593-94), records grants to Chandranāthasvāmin, while *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi* **Pāṇḍyappa-Voḍeya**, the son of **Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya**, was ruling his country undisturbed (*sthīra-rājya*). This chief is no doubt a son of Bhairava II. and apparently enjoyed the independence which his father also possessed. The earliest of the Kārkaḷa inscriptions,⁴ which is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1256 (= A.D. 1334-35), belongs to the time of **Lōkanātharasa**, who, though only a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* 'who had acquired the five great sounds,' bears the royal titles *samastabhuvanēśvara*, *prithivīvallabha* and *mahārājādhirāja*. He also calls himself 'the lord of Uttara-Madhurā,' 'the jewel of the great Ugra-vaṃsa,' 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura,' 'the worshipper of (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi' and 'the pupil of (the Jaina teacher) Chārūkirti-Paṇḍitadēva.' These titles make Lōkanātharasa decidedly a Śāntara chief.⁵ The existence of this record at Hiriyaṅgaḍi makes it certain that the descendants of Jinadatta 'removed the capital first to Sisila or Sisukali and then to Karkala, both in S. Kanara' (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 456). It will now be easy to see how the Kaḷasa chiefs, of whom Bhairava II. was one, came to be connected with the Śāntaras, traced their ancestry to Jinadatta, became more zealous Jains than their ancestors at Kaḷasa, and eventually stepped into the place of the Śāntaras in the Kārkaḷa country. From the fact that the hereditary title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi* of the Kaḷasa chiefs and the prominent Śāntara titles of Lōkanātharasa are found combined in the inscription of the chief Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya as early as Śaka 1379, I conclude that the Kaḷasa chiefs must have entered into close relationship of intermarriage with the descendants of the Śāntara Lōkanātharasa, about Śaka-Saṃvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), if not a little earlier. Further it may reasonably be assumed that it was by virtue of this relationship with the local Śāntaras that the Kaḷasa chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, mentioned in the previous paragraph, extended his rule to the territory below the ghauts in A.D. 1516-17.

As regards the territory ruled over by Bhairava II. and his ancestors, a rough idea of its extent may be formed from the name given to it—Kaḷasa-Kārakāḷa-rājya. To ascertain its exact

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

² No. 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

³ No. 68 of the same collection.

No. 71 of the same collection.

⁵ See above p. 120 note 5.

boundaries, further places below the ghauts and in the neighbourhood of Kārkaḷa will have to be examined. But an inscription in the Koppa tāḷuka (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 47), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31), states that, while Vira-Bairarasa-Voḍeya was ruling on the throne at Kārkaḷa, his younger sister Kāḷaladēvi was in charge of (the district) Baguñji-sime. Mg. 40, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1474 (= A.D. 1552-53), records that Pāṇḍya-Voḍeya was on the throne at Keravase while a certain Bhayirarsaṇṇāji was in charge of Kaḷasa. The same fact is mentioned also in Mg. 60, dated four years later. The district Baguñji-sime apparently derived its name from the modern village of Bagguñji in the Bāle-Honnūr tāḷuka, about 8 miles north-east of Śringēri; and Keravase is identical with Keravāse, 8 miles east of Kārkaḷa (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 232). Mūḍabidure and Vēṇūr, two other important centres of Jaina religion in the South Canara district which are not very far from Kārkaḷa, do not appear to have been included in the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya. The former of these two villages was in the possession of a family of local chiefs called Chauṭar, who were under the direct control of the Vijayanagara viceroys at Mangalore, while the second belonged to another petty Jaina principality, known as Puñjaḷi- or Puñjaḷike-rājya, and was ruled over by the Ajilar.¹ Besides, the villages Mūḍabidure and Vēṇūr were included within the religious sphere of the Jaina teacher Chārukirti, while Kārkaḷa and its chiefs were subordinate to Lalitakirti.² It may, therefore, be provisionally assumed that the territory of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs extended from Bagguñji above the ghauts to Kārkaḷa below the ghauts, including between them the towns of Keravase and Kaḷasa. This comprises almost the whole of the present Bāle-Honnūr tāḷuka³ of the Kaḍūr district in the Mysore State and the south-eastern portion of the Uḍipi tāḷuka in the South Canara district.

The village of Teḷāra, which was granted to the Chaturmukhabasti, is situated about 3 miles north-east of Kārkaḷa and is marked on the Madras Survey Map of the South Canara district as Tellār. The two other villages, Raññaḷa and Nallūru, which together contributed a sum of 238 *varaḥa*, are situated quite close to each other at a distance of about 4 miles due east of Kārkaḷa and are marked on the same map as Nallur and Renjāla. Several nameless streams are marked on the map round Tellār, and these may have to be identified with the four boundary streams mentioned in l. 24. Two other proper names which occur in ll. 43 and 47, *viz.* Ārūru and Keisvase, are identical with 'Arur' and 'Keravase' (Keravāse) on the same map, in the Uḍipi tāḷuka.

The requirements for the daily and annual worship in the temple, for which provision is made, call for a few remarks. The complicated calculations are very carefully worked out, and we are enabled to infer that, in measuring rice, 1 *mūḍe* was = 50 *hāne*,⁴ and 1 *hāne* = $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute*, and that, in counting money, 1 *ga* was = 10 *m*. Twelve *hāḍa*⁵ of oil cost 8 *ga* 4 *m*, and 1 *hāḍa* cost 7 *m*.

¹ See the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5, and above, Vol. VII. p. 114 and note 1. It may here be noted that in an unpublished inscription at Kārkaḷa (No. 69 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901), dated in the cyclic year Viṣambin, a certain Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, son of Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family, presided over the settlement of a dispute, in which the Chauṭaru, Ajilaru, Deśingarasaṇṇu and Siśiladarasaṇṇu (*i.e.* the chief of Siśila) acted as arbitrators (*madhyastha*).

² From the earliest inscription at Kārkaḷa referred to above, it appears as if the Jainas at that place were, about Śaka 1256, the lay-disciples of Kṛṇṇadachandra-Bhaṭṭārakadēva, a pupil of Bhānukirti-Maladhāridēva of the Kāpūrgaṇṇa and the Yūḷasaṅgha, while the ruling chief Lōkanātharasa himself was the adherent of Chārukirti-Pāṇḍya. Perhaps the Lalitakirtis of Hanasōge replaced the Bhānukirtis at Kārkaḷa subsequent to Śaka 1256.

³ The inscriptions of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs found in the Koppa and Mūḍgere tāḷukas are chiefly confined to three villages: Kaḷasa, Bagguñji and Nārve. The first two villages are now included in the newly formed Bāle-Honnūr tāḷuka, and the third is on its borders, but included in the Koppa tāḷuka.

⁴ In the inscriptions at Vēṇūr we find a *mūḍe* = 50 *baḷa* (No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) or sometimes 40 *baḷa* (No. 84 of the same collection).

⁵ Compare the Sanskrit grain measure *āḍhaka* which is equal to 4 *prastha* or 16 *kuḍuva*; and also the Tamil *āḍam* which is even now used in measuring oil and ghee in the Southern districts.

According to the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. II. p. 508, 1 *mūḍe* 'of corn in South Canara varies between 56, 50, 48, 45, 40 and 35 seers in different localities. The *hāne*, which at Kārkaḷa and in the surrounding country was equal to $\frac{1}{80}$ th of a *mūḍe*, may therefore be taken to be almost equal to our modern seer (i.e. 80 tolas). *Kuḍute* (coodtay), according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), is used only for measuring liquids and is equal to 12 rupees' weight. The late Dr. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* explains *kuḍute* as 'the palm of the hand hollowed or held as a cup.' This may have been the unit which the South Canara people used for measuring both liquids and grain in the latter half of the sixteenth century; for, 1 *kuḍute* in liquid measure being equal to 12 rupees' weight, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute* in grain measure being equal to 1 *hāne* (i.e. 80 tolas, as already pointed out), the above supposition will give us 1 *hāne* = $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute* = nearly 86 tolas, which is not a serious difference.

The abbreviated form *ga* used in the money calculations denotes a *varaḥa*, as stated in text line 28; and Mr. Brown in his *Telugu-English Dictionary* says that 'in arithmetic it stands for *gaṁḍu*, i.e. a pagoda; ' and under *gaṁḍu* he says that 'among tradesmen it is a cant word for *varaḥa*.' In the Kanarese inscriptions at Kārkaḷa it is used as an abbreviation of *gadyāṇa*¹ and its variants *varahagadyāṇa* or *gaḷyāṇaka*, which are all synonymous with *varaḥa*, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.' In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg. 48, *ga* is used to denote a *honnu*, which according to Dr. Kittel is 'a gold coin, the half of a *varaḥa*.' The next coin of lower denomination is always written in the inscription after *ga*, with a final *m* preceding it, but there is no indication anywhere as to what this *m* stands for. The expression *ga 7 6 5* (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg. 48) is explained in words as 7 *honnu* and 5 *haṇa*, the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations *honnu* and *haṇa*. This symbol (6) is used even now by village accountants and merchants of the Kanarese and Marāṭha countries in their business books to separate the money columns in calculation, even *annas* from *rupees*. Mr. Walhouse in his transcript of this inscription has throughout taken *m* for this symbol.² But I do not know whether the symbol 6, which is now used to separate different denominations of Indian and English money, and which was used in Śaka 1424 to separate *honnu* from *haṇa*, is also meant by the letter *m* inserted between the *varaḥa* (*ga*) and the tenths of *ga*. I have therefore retained the final *m* and not transcribed it by the symbol 6. The fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ is represented in the inscription by the symbol which, in older inscriptions, is used for '9.' The modern method of expressing the fraction one-half is by two vertical strokes (||), each of which represents $\frac{1}{4}$. One-eighth is represented by a horizontal stroke (—). In current hand, however, the two vertical strokes that represent $\frac{1}{2}$ are often merged into one. Consequently the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ used in the inscription must be a completely reversed variant of the modern form. In ll. 39, 40 and 42 the symbol = is used only as a mark of punctuation, and not as explained above to represent two-eighths, which would in this case be expressed by one vertical stroke, and not by two horizontal ones.

The puzzle contained in the *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre at the end of the inscription calls for a short remark. *Śiṣupālavadāha*, XIX. v. 27 is a verse of the same kind, but it is written in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. Mallinātha's commentary on the verse explains how the letters which form such verses are to be arranged so that, read from any direction in a given order, they may constitute the same verse. I have not found any other *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre.

¹ The Mūḍabidure inscriptions mention three different types of *gadyāṇas*, viz. the Barakandra-gadyāṇa, the Maṅgalūra-gadyāṇa and the Kathāri-ankusa-gadyāṇa (Nos. 52 and 55 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901).

² It is not impossible that the symbol 6 has been derived from the final *m*; for in old Kanarese inscriptions the formation of this letter is not far different from the symbol in question; compare above, Vol. III. l. 15 on the Plate facing p. 194.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Śrī-Vitarāgāya namaḥ || Śrīmat-parama-gaṁ[bh]īra-syā[dvād]-²āmōgha-lāmcchanam | jīyāt=[t]railōkyanāthasya śāsanam
- 2 Jina-śāsanam || [1*] Ā-chāṁdr-ārka[k]am sthiram bhūyād-āyuh-śrī-jaya-sāmpa-dah(dā) | Bhairavēndra-mahī-kāmta[h*] śrī-Jinēndra-prasādataḥ [||][2*]
- 3 Avighnam=astu³ || Bhadram=astu || Tirt[th]-aughah [s]ukham=akshayam cha kurutāch=chhrī-Pārśvanāthō balaṁ kirttiṁ Nēmi-Jinaḥ Suvira-Jinapa-
- 4 ś=ch=āyuh śriyam Dōrbbalih | kalyāṇāny=Ara-Malli-Suvrata-Jinā[h] Pombuchcha-Padmāvatī ch=ā-chāṁdr-ārkkam=abhīṣṭa-dā=stu suchiram śrī-Bhairava-kshma-
- 5 patēḥ || [3*] Śrīmad-Dēśi-gaṇē⁴ khyātē Panasōg-āval-iśvaraḥ | yō=bhūl=Lalitakirtty-ākhyas=tan-mun-īndr-ōpadēsataḥ ||[4*] Śrīmat-Sōma-kul-āmpit-āmbudhi-vidhuh
- 6 śrī-Jainadatt-ānvayah śrīmad-Bhairavarāja-tuṁga-bhagini-śrī-Guṁ[ma]tāmbā-sutah | śrīmad-bhōgi-Surēndra-Chakri-mahima-śrī-Bhairavēndra-prabhuh śrī-
- 7 ratna-traya-bhadra-dhāma-Jinapān=nirmāpya sāmsi[d]dhībhaḥ || [5*] Śrīmach-Chhāli-Śak-ābdakē cha galitē nāg-ābhra-bāṇ-ēmdubhiś=ch=ābdē sad-Vyaya-nāmi Chaitra-sita-shash[th]yā-
- 8 m Saumya-vārē Vṛishē | lagnē san-⁵Mṛigaśirsha-bhē chirataram śrī-Bhairavēndreṇa tē śrī-ratna-traya-bhadra-[dh]āma-Jinapā bhāmtu pratish[th]ā-pitāḥ || [6*] Jināya namaḥ⁶ ||[7*]
- 9 Svasti śrī [||*] Śālivāhana-Saka-varsha (I)⁷ 1508neya Vyaya-sāmvatsarada Chaitra-[ś]uddha-shashthiyū Budhavāra Mṛigaśirā-nakshatraū(vū) [V]ṛishabha-lagnadallū Kaliyug-ābhinava-
- 10 Bharatēvara-chakravartti Gutti-haṁnibbara-gaṁḍa [Pa]tṭi-Pombuchcha-puravar-ādi(dhī)śvara maṇe-⁸hokkara-kāva Mār-ānta-vairi māma(ne)ya-rāya-mastaka-sū(śū)la shad-darśana-s[th]ā-
- 11 pan-āchāryya Sōma-vamśa-sikhāmaṇi Kāśyapa-gōtra-pavitrikarāṇa-daksha Pombuchcha-Padmāvatī-labha-vara-prasāda samyaktv-ādy-anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛita Jina-gaṁdh-ōdaka-pa-
- 12 vitrikṛit-ōttamāṁga aruvattāru-⁹māṁdalikara-gaṁḍa Hom[na]māmbikā-priyakumāra-Bhairarasa-Voḍeyar-aliyar=enipa śrīmaj-Jinadattarāya-vamśa-sudhā-
- 13 mbudhi-pūrnna(rūpa)chāṁdra śrīmad-Vira-Narasimha-Vaṁ[ga]narēndra-śrī-Guṁmatāmbā-kula-dīpaka-priyasūnu arirāya-gaṁḍara-dāvaṇi śrīmadh(d)-Immadī-Bhairarasa-
- 14 Voḍeyaru tamage abhyu[d]aya-ni[h*]śrēyasa-lakshmī-sukha-saṁprā[p]ti-nimittav-āgi Kārakaḷada Pāṁḍyanagariyalli śrī-Guṁmatēśvarana saṁnidhānadalli Kailāsa-giri-sa-

¹ From two inked estampages prepared in 1901.

² The *d* of *syā* has an indenture at the top, which makes it look like the *o*-sign attached to *lō* of *trailōkyā* in the same line.

³ The whole of this line is engraved so close to the projecting top section of the slab as to make the letters on the estampage look faint and broken; but every syllable can be made out from the back of the impression.

⁴ The syllable *ṇē*, here and in the sequel, is written in a peculiar way. The *u*-sign is first affixed to *ṇ* and the *e*-curl then attached to the former.

⁵ The *ri* of *mṛi* is represented by *u* and *ri*.

⁶ The five syllables *Jināya namaḥ* are reversed and written from right to left.

⁷ Here and in what follows the enclosure of superfluous vertical strokes in round brackets does not, as elsewhere, represent a correction, but indicates that they have to be omitted.

⁸ The *e* of *re* is formed in the same way as in *ṇē*, note 4 above.

⁹ The syllables *tāḍru* are corrected from *tāṇḍiku*, the subscript *t*, a portion of *n* and the subscript *k* being still visible. A similar *biruda*, held by certain Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district, has *aruvattundiku*, perhaps correctly; see below, p. 135, note 8.

- 15 **m̄nibha-Chikkabettadallū** || Śrī-kāntā-kulavēśma kim vara-yaśaḥ-kāntā-pramōdh(d)-
āgarām bhū-kāntā-rati-sadma saj-jaya-vadhū-kṛd-āspadam kim punaḥ | syā-
- 16 **tkār-ōjva(jjva)la-sam-naya-dvayamayī** śrī-Bhāratī-raṅga-bhūḥ **sva[h*]-śrī-mukti-Ramā-**
svayamvara-griham śrī-Jaina-gēham vṛishē || [7*] **Int-appa sakala-jan-āna-**
m̄da-mam-
- 17 **dirav-āda** s̄r̄vvatōbbhadra-chaturmukha-ratna-tray. -rūpa-Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-
Chaityālayavanu ¹Rō[dda]da-gōva nikaḥmka-malla bam̄tara-bhāva para-nāri-
sahōdara
- 18 **nuḍidu-bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṁḍa** su[va]r̄na(r̄ṇṇa)-kalaśa sthāpan-²ā[cb]āryyar=
ādakāraṇa dharmma-sām̄rājya-nāyakar-āgi nija-puṇy-ānubam̄di(dhi)-puṇyada
prēraṇēi(yi)-
- 19 **m̄da tamagū** **taj-Jina-bhavana-prēkshakar-āda** sakala-sīla-guṇa-sampam̄nar-aha
chatus-saṁghakkū sākshāt=svar-mmōksha-lakshmi-svayamvara-sā(śā)l-ōpamav-āgi
nirm̄pisi anam̄ta-su-
- 20 **khada** sam̄prāpti-nimittav-āgi (i) ā nālku-dikkinallū **Ara-Malli-Munisuvrata-**
Tirtthakara-pratimegaḥanū s[th]āpisi | ā paśchima-digbhāgadalli **chaturvīmśati-**
Tirtthakara-pratimega-
- 21 **ḥanū** ā bahir-vvaḷayada gum̄ḍam̄gaḥ-olage **Jina-biṁbam̄gaḥanū** yeḍa-baḷadalli
Brahma-Padmāvatī-sahitav-āgi sam̄sthāpisi [i] sa-vidhānadim̄ pratishṭhāpisi ||
- 22 ā nālku-dikkinallū hadinālku vokkalu sthānikaru naḍasuva abhishēka-pūje-
mum̄tādavakkū (i) mēle naḍava aṁga-raṅga-vaibhav-ādikaṁgaḷigū ā **Bhairarasa-**
- 23 **Voḍeyaru** nija-sam̄tōshadim̄[da] rājyavan=āḷuv-āga ā **Tribhuvanatilaka-**
Jinachaityālayadalli ā pratishṭhā-samayada **punya-kāladalli** tamage
puṇyārtthav-āgi mū-
- 24 **ḍa Mukkaḍapina-ḥole** | tem̄ka **Yem̄neya-ḥole*** | paḍuva **Polḷakaliyada-ḥole** |
baḍaga **Balimeya-ḥole** | i nālku-ḥolegaḥanu mērey-āg-uḷḷa | nidi(dhi) nikshēpa |
akshipi āgā-
- 25 **mya** | **jala pāshāṇa** | **siddha sādhyam̄gaḥ-em̄ba** (i) **ashta-bhōgam̄gaḷig-olagāda**
Telāra-grāmavanū | **adaḥ-olage** **akki mūḍe** 700nū | **Ram̄jāḷa-Nallūra**
siddhāyadallū ga 238-
- 26 **nū dhārā-pūrvvakav-āgi** ā-cham̄dr-ārka-sthāi(yi)y-appaṁte **dēvargge** mā[ḍ]ji-kotṭa
dharmma-kshētradhā(da) **vivara** | **Ā** kshētrada **chatuḥ(s)-simey-olag-uḷḷa**
Haravar=i(i)-mum̄tādavara-
- 27 **lli** sa[l*]luva gēni-siddhāya **baḍḍiya-bhatta** **hurūḷiya-akki** **jōlakke-kattida-**
akki **hom̄na-baḍḍiy-akki** **saha** sa[l*]luva **akki hāne** 50ra **lekkada** **mūḍe**
700kkaṁ **Nallū-**
- 28 **ru-Ram̄jāḷadalli** **vokkalu-tārkkapey-āgi** **biṭṭa** **siddhāya** ga 238 **varahakkū** **sahav-āgi**
naḍava **dharmma** | **Paḍuvaṇa-bāgilalli** **vokkalu** 2kke **mūḥu-hotti-**
- 29 **na** **dēvapūje** **charu** **hāne** 9 **mēlu-charu** **hāne** 3 **akshate-akki** **hā[n]e** 1 **tōye** **pāyasa**
tuppa **kalasumēlōgara tāḷila** **mum̄tāda** **paṁcha-bhakshakke** **akki** **hāne** 2
- 30 **kuḍute** 2 **am̄tu** **akki** **hāne** 15 **kuḍute** 2ra **lekkadalli** **varsha** (i) **lke** **akki** **mūḍe** 110 [i*]
udayada **paṁchām̄ritad=abhishēkakke** ga 7 m 2 **paṁchakhajjāyakke** ga 7½ **siddha-**
- 31 **chakrada** **ārādhanege** ga 12 **pa(pba)la-vastuvige** ga 1 m 2 **baigina** **hāladhārege** ga ½
m 4 **gaṁḍha-dhūpakke** ga ½ m 3 **yerūne** **hāda** 12kke ga 8 m 4 **ashtaṁnika** 3kke ga 3
- 32 **varsh-ābhishēka** **lke** ga 6 **am̄tu** ga 47 || © || **Badagaṇa-bāgila** **vokkalu** 2kke **mūḥu-hottina**
dēvapūje **dina** **lke** **charuvige** **akki** **hāne** (i) 9 **mēlu-[cha]ruvig[e]**
- 33 **akki** **hāne** 3 **akshatege** **akki** **hāne** 1 **tōye** **pāyasa** **tuppa** **kalasumēlōgara tāḷila** **mum̄tāda**
paṁcha-bhakshakke **akki** **hāne** 2 **kuḍute** 2 **am̄tu** **akki**

¹ In *ra*, as in *re* of l. 10, the *u*-sign is first affixed to *r*, and the *o*-curl is then attached to the former.

² The *ā* of *sthā* looks like *ś* on account of an indenture in the middle.

- 34 dina 1kke hâne 15 kuṇṭe 2ṛa lekkadalli varsha (i) 1kke mûḍe 110 [*] udayada baigina
hâladhârege ga 1½ m 3 paṁchakhajjâyakke ga 7½ pa(pha)la-vastu-
- 35 vige ga 1 m 2 gaṁdha-dhûpakke m 8 yempe hâda 12kke ga 8 m 4 ashtâhnika 3kke ga 3
varsh-âbhishêkakke ga 6 aṁtu ga 28 m 7 || i lekkadalli mûḍa-bâgila vokka-
- 36 lu 2kke akki mûḍe 110 ga 28 m 7 || â temka-bâgila vokkalu 2kke akki(kki) mûḍe 110
ga [2]8 m 7 || aṁtu bâgila 4kke vokkalu 8kke varsha (i) 1kke akki mûḍe 440 ga 133
- 37 m 1 || © || Paḍuva-bâgila yeḍa-balada guṁḍa 2kke vokkalu 1kke charuvige akki hâne 5ṛa
lekkadalli mûḍe 36 akshatege akki mûḍe 4 ubhayaṁ mûḍe 40 hâla-
- 38 dhâre 4kke ga 3½ m 1 phala-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 gaṁdha-dhûpakke m 3 yempe hâda
5kke ga 3½ ashtâhnika 3kke m 5½ varsh-âbhishêkakke ga 1 aṁtu ga 10 m 1½ [*]
i lekkadalli
- 39 baḍaga (i) mûḍa temkaṇa guṁḍamgaḷigû | â paḍuvaṇa Tirtthakaru Brahma-
Padmâvatigaligû saha vokkalu 5kke akki mûḍe 200 ga 50 m 7½ =¹ ubhayaṁ
vokkalu
- 40 6kke akki mûḍe 240 ga 60 m 9 [*] Brahma-Padmâvatiya aicharuvige akki mûḍe
4= aṁtû vokkalu 14kke akki mûḍe 684 ga 194 || © || Dôlu-nâgasara-kombinavara
jana
- 41 6kke ga 36 âḍipina mûlitiyara jana 2kke akki mûḍe 16 bastiyall-iha tapasvigaḷa
taṁḍa 4kke s(śi)ta-nivâraṇeya-hachchaḍa 8kkam kaiyy-akkiya tumbava sūsuva ha-
- 42 chchaḍa 1kkam saha hachchaḍa 9kke ga 5 m 2 mamḍeya tōla-vare yempeya hâda 2kke
ga 2 aḍagabbu sigeya saha m 8 aṁtu ga 8 = aṁtu akki mûḍe 700 ga 238 [||*]
- 43 Hiriya-aramaneya nâlku-chaū(vu)kada volagaṇa bastiya Chamdranâthasvâmiya
amṛitapaḍige Ârûr=Al[ana]bajakaladalli Biliyara-
- 44 sara guttu Jimnappaniṁda akki mûḍe 20 Bâgilarasara guttu Mâṁdarppâ[di]yûḍa
akki mûḍe 10 ubhayaṁ mûḍe 30 Nallûra
- 45 Bikkirupâṁḍiya-bâlinalli ga 7½ Jattikôṭiya-bâlinalli ga 3 Paṁ[jâ]ladalli kambuva-
bâlinalli ga 7½ aṁtû ga 18 | Gôvarddhanagiriya-bastiya
- 46 Pârsvanâdha(tha)svâmiya amṛitapaḍige Mallilada-kambuladalli akkiya mûḍe 30
â mēlaṇa daḍḍi-marugalalli mûḍe 4 [Nallû]ra Nam[bi]beṭṭi-Nâraṇanalli
- 47 a[kki] mûḍe 6 aṁ[tu*] mû[ḍe*] 40 [Ke]lavaseya seṭi-beṭṭina hittila [pha]ladalli [ga]
8 m 2½ [||*] [I]du paṁcha-samsâra-kâl-ôraga-dashṭa-gâḍha-mûrchchhi[ta-nâ]nâ-samsâri-
jîva-prabôdhanaka-
- 48 ra-paṁcha-mahâ-kalyâṇa-[bi]j-ôpama[v-âda] Jina-mamtra-pût-âtmana | Śrīvitarâga | yemba
paṁchâkshariyanu paṁchavimśati-mala-vidûra-parama-sa[mya]g-drishtiga[â]ḍakârâṇa
â Bhairara-
- 49 sa-Vodeyarê sva-hastadiṁda vo[ppa koṭṭu]dadakke Imḍravajrâ-[vṛitta]diṁda [chatur-²
vimśaty]-akshara-likhita-paṁch-âkshara-rûpa-Sarvvatôbbhadra-chitra-prabamdhadiṁ[da]
rachisida chi[t]ra-slôka || Śrî-vi[ta-vir-â]gata-vîga-vitam śrî-râga-vitam ga-
- 50 ta-râga-râgam | śrî-[ga]ṁ tataṁ râgatar-âṁga-râ[ṁgam] śrî-Vitarâgam tata-vi[ra]-³gam
taṁ || © ||⁴ [8*]

¹ The two horizontal strokes here and in ll. 40 and 42 denote punctuations.

² The impression has clear but faint traces of the syllables *chatur-*. The verse contains 44 syllables, while the diagram inserted in the inscription has only 25. I am not sure if *chaturvimśaty*= has to be corrected into *chatur-*
chaturvimśaty= or *pañchavimśaty*=.

³ The reading *ra* is pretty certain; but as this curious verse is purely made up of the five syllables contained in the word *śrīvitarâga* by permutation or combination, I think the author has evidently committed a mistake in inserting the short *ra* (not found in *śrīvitarâga*) here; *ta* or *ga* might take the place of *ra* if either of them would give a better sense.

⁴ I cannot trace on my copy of the inscription the syllables *śrî* || *śrî* || given at the end of Mr. Walhouse's transcript (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 42), but find that the continuation of this line and the four following lines are completely erased, and that traces of the beginnings and ends of these lines are still visible on the estampage.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed **Vitarāga**.¹

(Verse 1.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 113.]

(V. 2.) May king **Bhairavēndra** live permanently as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), (*blessed*) with abundance of age, prosperity and victory, by the grace of the blessed **Jinēndras**!

(L. 3.) May there be no obstacles! May there be happiness!

(V. 3.) May all **Tirthas** (*i.e.* Tirthakaras) grant for a very long time endless happiness to the glorious king **Bhairava**: (*viz.*) the blessed **Pārśvanātha**,² strength; the Jina **Nēmi**, fame; the Jinapa **Suvira**, long life; **Dōrbali**, prosperity; (*and*) the Jinas **Ara**, **Malli** and **Suvrata**, fortune! And may (*the goddess*) **Padmāvati** of **Pombuchcha** grant (*his*) desires as long as the moon and the sun (*last*)!

(V. 4.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 110.]

(V. 5.) The moon in the ocean of nectar of the glorious race of the **Moon**, the glorious chief **Bhairavēndra**, (*who belonged to*) the prosperous family of **Jinadatta**, (*who was*) the son of the glorious **Gummatāmbā**, the renowned sister of the illustrious **Bhairavarāja**, (*and*) whose greatness (*was equal to that of*) the blessed and happy lord of gods (*i.e.* Indra) and **Chakrin** (**Vishṇu**), having set up the **Jinapas** in the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,³ fulfilled (*his*) object (*in life*).

(V. 6.) May those **Jinapas** of the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,—set up by the glorious **Bhairavēndra** while the prosperous year of the **Śāli-Śaka** (*counted*) by the elephants (8), the sky (0), the arrows (5) and the moon (1)—(*i.e.* 1508)—had dropped (*i.e.* passed away), and in the excellent year named **Vyaya**, on the *sixth tithi* of the *bright half* of **Chaitra**, on *Wednesday*, in the **Vṛisha-lagna**, (*while*) the *nakshatra* (*was*) the auspicious **Mṛigaśirsha**,—shine for a long time!

(L. 8.) Obeisance to **Jina**.

(L. 9 f.) Hail! Prosperity! In the **Śālivāhana-Śaka** year 1508 which corresponded to the **Vyaya-samvatsara**, on the *sixth tithi* of the *bright half* of **Chaitra**, on *Wednesday*, (*the day of*) the *nakshatra* **Mṛigaśirā**, the *lagna* (*being*) **Vṛishabha**,—the full-moon in the nectar-ocean of the prosperous family of **Jinadattarāja**, the dear son who illuminates (*both*) the families of the famous **Gummatāmbā** and of the glorious **Vira-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra**,⁴ the tying-rope of cattle (*viz.*) heretical hostile kings (*arirāya-gaṇḍara-dūṇṇi*), the glorious **Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya**, (*who is*) known as the nephew of **Bhairarasa-Voḍeya** the dear son of **Honnamāmbikā**, (*who is*) the fresh **Bharatēśvara-chakravartin**⁵ of the Kali age, the chastiser of the twelve (*chiefs*) of **Gutti**,⁶ the lord of **Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha** the best of cities, the protector

¹ Vitarāga is synonymous with Jinēndra which occurs in v. 2; see also above, Vol. VI. p. 165, note 4.

² [Pārśvanātha, Nēmi (Arishtanēmi) and Suvira (Mahāvira) are the 23rd, 22nd and 24th Tirthakaras. Dōrbali (Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin) is the same as Gummata; see above, Vol. VII. p. 108. Ara, Malli and Suvrata (Munisuvrata) are the 18th, 19th and 20th Tirthakaras; see *e.g.* Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, translated by Prof. Jacobi, p. 280.—E. H.]

³ The three jewels (*ratna-traya*) of the Jainas are: *samyag-darśana*, *samyag-jñāna* and *samyak-chāritra*; see above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3. The 'abode of the three renowned jewels' is the Chatarmukhabasti itself, which in l. 17 of the text is described as being the 'embodiment of the three jewels'; the Jinapas herein consecrated are Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata mentioned in l. 20.

⁴ I have taken this to be the name of Bhairava's father; but it may as well be a *brudā* of Bhairava himself.

⁵ This is the mythical emperor who, according to Jaina mythology, was the brother of the saint Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin or Gummata; see Mr. Rice's *Śravāṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 25.

⁶ It is impossible that either Bhairava II. or his ancestors could have had anything to do with the well known Gutti in the Anantapur district. The reference is perhaps to the 'Gutti thirty-four kāmṇa,' 'the Gōve-Gutti kingdom' or 'the Gōve-Chandragutti kingdom' mentioned by Mr. Rice on p. 39 f. of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Chaudragutti is a hill fortress in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district.

of those who seek refuge (*with him*), the deadly enemy of Māra (Cupid?), a spear on the heads of respectable kings, the teacher (*āchārya*) who has established the six *darśanas*,¹ the head-jewel of the race of the Moon, the powerful purifier of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (*he*) who has obtained excellent boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvati of Pombuchcha, who is adorned by numberless and various (*good*) qualities, *samyaktva*,² etc., whose head is purified by the sweet-scented water (*which has been used for washing the image*) of Jina,³ (*and who is*) the lord of sixty-six *maṇḍalikas*,—in order to obtain for himself prosperity, final emancipation, riches and happiness,⁴—at Pāṇḍyanagari (*a suburb*) of Kārakaḷa, in the presence⁵ of the blessed Gummatēśvara, and on the Chikkabēṭṭa (*hill*) resembling the Kailāsa mountain—

(V. 7.) Is this the noble abode of the lady Śrī (Lakshmi)? (*Is this*) the excellent pleasure-house⁶ of the lady Fame? (*Is this*) the house of amorous enjoyment of the lady Earth? (*Or*) again, is this the sporting-place of the virtuous woman Victory? (*This*) prosperous Jaina abode (*is indeed*) the stage consisting of the two excellent doctrines resplendent with the word *syāt*, (*whereupon*) the glorious (*goddess*) Bhārati (Sarasvatī) (*dances*), (*and is*) the house where (*the ladies*) Heavenly bliss, Salvation and Prosperity choose their husbands⁷

(L. 14 f.) (This Bhairarasa) Rōddada-gōva,⁸ Nikalaṅka-malla,⁹ the soul of warriors, the brother of the wives of others (*and*) the chastiser of kings who do not act up to the words which they utter,—because he was the foremost in setting up golden pinnacles (*in temples*), became (*as it were*) the ruler of the empire of charity, (*and*) actuated by merit (*which was*) the outcome of his good deeds (*in previous births*), caused to be made for (*the use of*) himself and the (*members of the*) four *saṅghas* who possessed all noble qualities and were (*habitual*) visitors of that abode of Jina, the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (*temple*), which is thus¹⁰ a mansion giving pleasure to all people (*who look at it*), (*which is*) auspicious on every side (*sarvātōbhadra*), has four faces (*chaturmukha*)¹¹ (*and*) is the embodime nt of the three jewels.¹²

¹ I cannot understand how a Jaina chief like Bhairava II. could claim to have established the six systems of philosophy, all foreign to his own. Perhaps he tolerated the study of these systems in his petty dominions.

² *Samyaktva* may refer to the possession of the three qualities (*ratna-traya*) referred to on p. 134, note 3, each of which begins with the word *samyak*.

³ The same epithet is applied to the *Dandandya* Baladēva in Nos. 52 and 53 of Mr. Rice's *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*.

⁴ The predicate of this sentence is the past participle *nirmāpisi* which occurs in l. 19.

⁵ The Chaturmukhabasti, though at a considerable distance from the colossus of Gummatēśvara, is here represented as being in its presence; for the latter was perhaps considered to be the presiding deity of Kārakaḷa and its suburbs. Besides, as the Chikkabēṭṭa hill is just opposite to the hill on which the colossus stands, it is literally true that the temple "stands in the gaze of the colossus;" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 39.

⁶ *Āgara* seems to be used here, as in Kanarese, for the Sanskrit *āgāra*, which would not suit the metre. A derivative from *ā + grā* is *āgara* which means 'hallooing.' This does not suit the sense of the verse.

⁷ I do not understand the meaning and the construction of the word *ṛishē* at the end of the verse. Some word like *nānam* or *dhruvam*, which characterises an *utprēkshālakṣaṇa*, is required. Or can it only be a mistake for *erisham* = excellent?—[Perhaps the word *ṛishē* is repeated by mistake from verse 6.—E. H.]

⁸ Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 39) translates this epithet by 'guardian of Rodda' or 'Gōva of Rodda' (*ibid.* Vol. XII. Translation, p. 91). Elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. III. Introduction, p. 16) he mentions Rodda among the conquests of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana and identifies it with 'Rodda on the northern Pennār in the Anantapur district, west of Penugonda.' If this is the correct explanation of the epithet *Rōddada-gōva*, Bhairava II., whose territory was far away from Penugonda, could only have borrowed the title from some other family. A local line of Chōḷa chiefs "in the country round Hēmāvatī and Nidugal" (in the Anantapur district) is described on p. 7 of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. These chiefs flourished about the 12th century A.D. and invariably bore the titles *Rōddada-gōva*, *nigalaṅkamalla*, *aruvaṭṭuṇḍiku-maṇḍalikara-tale-gōnda-gaṇḍa*, *baṇṭara-bāva* and *marevoḡe-kāva*, which are almost the same as those assumed by Bhairava II. Besides, the Chōḷa chiefs of the Anantapur district belonged to the same Kāśyapa *gōtra* as Bhairava.

⁹ *I.e.* *Nikkalaṅka-malla*, 'the spotless wrestler.'

¹⁰ *I.e.* as described in v. 7.

¹¹ The temple has four doors, each of which opens on three identical stone images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

¹² See above, p. 134, note 3.

just as if it verily were a hall wherein the glorious (*goddess of*) Heavenly emancipation was to choose her husband.

(L. 19 f.) And in order to acquire endless happiness, (*he*) set up on the four sides of that (*temple*) the images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata; on the western side of that (*temple*) (*he set up*) the images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras; and in the niches (*gumda*?) (at each entrance) of the outer enclosure of that (*temple*) (*he*) set up images of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati to the left and right (*respectively*); (*and*) consecrated (*them all*) according to rule.

(L. 22 f.) (*And*) for the bathing, worship, *etc.* (of the images) performed by fourteen families of Sthānikas (*living*) in the four directions of that (*temple*), and for the *aṅga-raṅga-vaibhava*,¹ *etc.* which follow after (*worship*), that Bhairarasa-Vodeya, while ruling (*his*) kingdom with true delight, on the auspicious occasion of the consecration in that Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (*temple*), conferred on (*that*) god² for his own merit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), with libations of water, 238 *ga*³ from the established revenue of Rañjāla and Nallūru, also the village of Telāra subject to the eight enjoyments known as deposits, hidden treasures, permanent profit, future profit, water, stone, established income and feasible income. (*and*) having for (*its*) boundaries four streams, *viz.* Mukkaḍapina-hole to the east, Yempeya-hole to the south, Polḷakaliyada-hole to the west (*and*) Balimeya-hole to the north, and 700 *mūḍe* of rice in that (*village*). The (*following are the*) details of the land (*thus*) granted.⁴

(L. 26 f.) From the 700 *mūḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *hāne* (for each *mūḍe*), accruing from the tribute on contracts due from the Haravar⁵ and such others that live within the four boundaries of that village, paddy (*in payment of*) interest, rice (*in lieu of*) gram, rice commuted from millet, and rice (*in lieu of*) the interest (*payable*) in money; and from the *ga* 238 *varaḥa* of established income granted (*subject to*) the personal observation⁶ of the tenants of Nallūru (*and*) Rañjāla together, the (*following*) charities are (*to be*) managed.

(L. 28 f.) To the 2 families (*who have*) to worship three times (*each day*) at the western gate, (*the following allotment has been made*):⁷ 9 *hāne* (for) the rice offering; 3 *hāne* (for) the superior rice offering;⁸ 1 *hāne* (for) consecrated rice; 2 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kuḍute* of rice for *tōye*,⁹ *pūyasa*,¹⁰ ghee, *kalasumēlōgara*,¹¹ *tāḷila*¹² and others (*together with*) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kuḍute* of rice (*altogether for one day*), the rice (*required*) for

¹ *I.e.* all kinds of enjoyments; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 70, note 5.

² This word is here used in the collective sense for the three gods Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

³ This is an abbreviation of *gadyāṇa*.

⁴ The details hereafter specified are not those of the 'land granted,' but of the 700 *mūḍe* of rice which was the revenue in grain realized from Telāra, and of *ga* 238 which was the income in coin from Rañjāla and Nallūru.

⁵ On this ethnic name, which is perhaps the same as Parava, see Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 179.

⁶ According to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *tārkaṇe* means 'personal observation.' The sense appears to be that the tenants of the two villages were held directly responsible for the regular payment of *ga* 238 assigned to the temple by the king from the revenue of those villages.

⁷ The grain allotments of this paragraph are to be taken as made at *daily* rates. This specification, which is omitted here, is inserted in its proper place in the next paragraph.

⁸ *Charu* means 'an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes;' see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

⁹ 'A dish prepared of boiled split pulse.'

¹⁰ 'A dish (or oblation) of milk, rice and sugar, *etc.*'

¹¹ 'A mixture of boiled vegetables to which pepper, salt, *etc.* are added.'

¹² This is perhaps the Jaina spelling of *tāḷada* or *tāḷida*, which means 'boiled and seasoned vegetables.'

1 year (is) 110 *mūḍe*. For bathing (the images) with *pañchāmṛita*¹ in the mornings, *ga* 7 *m* 2;² for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*),³ *ga* 7½; for the worship of the *Siddhachakra*,⁴ *ga* 12; for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2; for the evening *hālādhāre*,⁴ *ga* ½ *m* 4; for sandal (and) incense, *ga* ½ *m* 3; for 12 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4; for 3 *aṣṭāhnikas*,⁴ *ga* 3; for 1 annual bathing, *ga* 6; total (for one year) *ga* 47.

(L. 32 f.) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the northern gate, (the following allotment has been made): for 1 day 9 *hāne* of rice for the rice offering; 3 *hāne* of rice for the superior rice offering; 1 *hāne* of rice for consecrated rice; 2 *hāne* (and) 2 *kuḍṭe* of rice for *tōye*, *pāyasa*, ghee, *kalasumēlōgara*, *tālila* and others (together with) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (and) 2 *kuḍṭe* per 1 day, the rice (required) for 1 year (is) 110 *mūḍe*. For the morning and the evening *hālādhāre*,⁵ *ga* 1½ *m* 3; for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*), *ga* 7½; for fruits (and other similar) things, *ga* 1 *m* 2; for sandal (and) incense, *m* 8; for 12 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4; for 3 *aṣṭāhnikas*, *ga* 3; (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 6; total (for one year) *ga* 28 *m* 7.

(L. 35 f.) At this rate, 110 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the eastern gate; (and) 110 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the southern gate. Thus (altogether), for the 8 families at the 4 gates for 1 year, 440 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 133 *m* 1.

(L. 37 f.) For 1 family (worshipping) at the 2 niches to the left and right of the western gate (the allotment is as follows): at the rate of 5 *hāne* of rice (per day) for the rice offering, 36 *mūḍe* (for one year); 4 *mūḍe* of rice for consecrated rice; the two together (amount to) 40 *mūḍe*. For 4 *hālādhāres*, *ga* 3½ *m* 1; for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2; for sandal (and) incense, *m* 3; for 5 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 3½; for 3 *aṣṭāhnikas*, *m* 5½; (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 1; in all, *ga* 10 *m* 1½ (for one year).

(L. 38 f.) At this rate, for the 5 families in all,—(viz. those who worship) at the niches in the northern, eastern and southern (gates), (those who worship the images of) the *Tirthakaras* of that western (gate), and (those who worship the images of) *Brahma* and *Padmāvati*,—(the allotment comes to) 200 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 50 *m* 7½. (Thus) for the 6 families altogether (the total is) 240 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 60 *m* 9. 4 *mūḍe* of rice (have been also allotted) for the five rice offerings to *Brahma* and *Padmāvati*. Altogether, for the 14 families,⁶ 684 *mūḍe*⁷ of rice (and) *ga* 194.

(L. 40 f.) For 6 persons who have (to beat) the drum (and to blow) the pipe (and) the horn, *ga* 36 (have been allotted for one year); (and) for the 2 *mūḷiti*-women of the *adipu*,⁸ 16

¹ The five nectarious substances: 'milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar.'

² Here and in the subsequent money calculations of this paragraph, the allotments appear to have been made for the whole year, though the daily rate is not specified.

³ This word is more commonly spelt with the un-pirated *k*; it means 'the five pleasant articles of food (mixed together),' viz. *avalakki* (flattened rice), gingelly seeds, *kaḍḍe* (Bengal gram fried and spilt), dried kernel of coconut, and jaggery.

⁴ *Siddhachakra*, *hālādhāre* and *aṣṭāhnikā* are apparently technical terms of Jaina worship, which are unknown to me. *Aṣṭāhnikā* may perhaps correspond to *aṣṭavidh-ārchanā*, which occurs frequently in Mr. Rice's *Śravana-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*, e.g. in Nos. 80, 81, 86, 87.

⁵ It is strange that two *hālādhāres* both in the mornings and evenings are provided for at the northern, southern and eastern gates, while at the western gate, which was the most important one and received the largest allotment of money, provision was made for only one *hālādhāre*.

⁶ This number includes the 8 families at the four main gates and the 6 families mentioned in this paragraph.

⁷ The total 684 is arrived at by adding together 440 *mūḍe* allotted for the 4 gates; 240 *mūḍe* allotted for the niches, *Tirthakaras*, and *Brahma* and *Padmāvati*; and 4 *mūḍe* specially allotted for the five rice offerings to the two last-mentioned images.

⁸ I do not understand the meaning of *adipina mūḷitigarū*. This may perhaps refer to certain maid-servants of the temple, such as cooks, etc.

mūḍe of rice. For the 4 groups of ascetics who dwell in the *basti*, 8 blankets to ward off cold and 1 blanket for receiving (and) spreading (*i.e.* drying ?) hand-rice¹—altogether, for 9 blankets, *ga* 5 *m* 2; for 2 *hāḍa* of oil for the head and arms (*of the ascetics*), *ga* 2; and for fuel (and) soap-nut (*for the same*), *m* 8; altogether, *ga* 8. In all (*the allotments come to*) 700 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 238.

(L. 43 f.) For the rice offering² of Chandranāthasvāmin of the *basti* within the four squares (*i.e.* the quadrangle) of the big palace:—in the Allanabajakaḷa (field ?) at Ārūru, 20 *mūḍe* of rice from Jinnappa, the lessee³ (P) of Bīḷiyarasa, (and) 10 *mūḍe* of rice from Māṇḍarpāḍi, the lessee³ of Bāgilarasa; both (*together*), 30 *mūḍe*. From the land held (*bālu*)⁴ by Bikkirupāṇḍiya (*i.e.* Vikramapāṇḍya) of Nallūru, *ga* 7½, from the land held by Jattikōṭi, *ga* 3, (and) from the land held by Kambuva at Paṁjāḷa, *ga* 7½; altogether, *ga* 18.

(L. 45 f.) For the rice offering of Pārśvanāthasvāmin of the *basti* (ou) the Gōvardhanagiri (hill),—from the Kambuḷa (field ?) at Mallila, 30 *mūḍe* of rice, from the enclosing hills beyond, 4 *mūḍe*, from Nambibettī-Nāraṇa of Nallūru, 6 *mūḍe* of rice; altogether, 40 *mūḍe*. From the produce of the backyard of Seti-bettu⁵ at Kelavase, *ga* 8 *m* 2½.

(L. 47 f.) Inasmuch as that Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, possessed as he was of that excellent right perception which keeps aloof from the twenty-five impurities, himself with his own hand affixed in (*token of*) approval (*of the grant*) the five syllables (*pañcākshari*), *viz.* Śrīvītarāga—of Him whose soul is purified by (*the recitation of*) the Jina-mantra—which may be compared to a seed (*that can produce*) the five great virtues and can awaken the soul, (*passing through*) varied transmigration and heavily stupefied by the bite of the black viper, (*viz.*) the five-fold *saṁsāra*, this wonderful (*chitra*) verse (*was*) composed in the style of the Sarvatōbhadrā puzzle (*chitrāprabandha*), consisting of five letters combined as twenty-four (*different*) syllables, in the Indravajrā metre.

[Verse 8 contains the puzzle alluded to above and is not quite clear to me.]

NO. 11.—NAGPUR MUSEUM PLATES OF

MAHABHAVAGUPTA I. JANAMEJAYA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH. PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Mr. Venkayya sent me one set of ink-impressions of this unpublished inscription, with the following remarks:—

The Curator of the Nagpur Museum says, the locality from which the plates containing this inscription came is unknown. There are three copper-plates, of which only the second bears writing on *both* sides. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom.

¹ This probably refers to the rice collected by the Jaina mendicants in begging from door to door. It is customary even now in India to give a 'handful of rice' to beggars that call at the door. This seems to be the reason why such rice is called *kaṇṇi-akki*.

² *Amṛitapāḍi* in the sense of 'rice offering' is not given in Kittel's *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary*. It corresponds to the *amudupāḍi* of Tamil inscriptions.

³ *Guttu* appears to be used here in the sense of *guttigedāra*, 'a lessee.' Or, the meaning might be that Bīḷiyarasa's lessee, (*viz.*) 20 *mūḍe* of rice, was to be collected from (his tenant) Jinnappa.

⁴ Compare Dr. Fleet's remarks on *bālasidor* on p. 51 above.

⁵ *Seti-bettu*, or more correctly *setti-bettu*, means 'the bettu of the merchant.' According to Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 85, *bettu* means: 'a walled enclosure with a colossal statue.' The word here cannot be meant for the fiscal term *bett*—a land capable of producing one crop of rice annually—(*ibid.* p. 122); for, in this case the backyard (*hittilu*) mentioned in connection with it would not be intelligible.

At the broadest part they measure nearly 9 inches. Their height varies from $5\frac{3}{8}$ " to $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a ring, which has been cut by me with the permission of the Curator. The ring, which is not quite circular, measures about 3" in diameter. Its ends are secured in the base of a circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a counter-sunk surface, an image of Lakshmi, seated apparently on a lotus and flanked by two lampstands, of which the one on the left is not quite distinct. The lotus extends on both sides to the height of the shoulders of the goddess and is surmounted on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk. This is the usual representation of the goddess Gajalakshmi. The base of the seal is slightly damaged, and a nail seems to have been driven in to fix the seal to the ring."

The inscription records a grant of land, made by king Mahābhavagupta (I.) surnamed Janamējaya in the eighth year of his reign. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of the same prince which have been published by Dr. Fleet. Initial *o* and *au* occur in *Ōdra* (l. 16), *ojjhā* (l. 44) and *Autathya* (l. 15), and the rare letter *jh* occurs in *ojjhā* (l. 44). The letter *ṭ* of *paṭu* (l. 5) differs in shape from that of *kuṭumvi* (l. 10), etc. The group *ṭṭa* is throughout written as *ṭa*, except in *āṣphōṭṭayanti* (l. 28), where it is wrongly employed. A final form of *t* is used in *samvat* (l. 41), and the *virāma* in *dadyāt* (l. 27), *vrahman* in (l. 9), *étān* and *pārthivēndrān* (l. 35); elsewhere the *virāma* is omitted. The decimal figures 1, 2 and 8 occur in l. 41.

The language is Sanskrit. There is one verse in ll. 3-6, and 11 of the customary verses occur in ll. 23-38; the remainder of the record is in prose. The *visarga* is omitted in several cases. The rules of Sandhi are neglected in *śrīmān* (l. 4), *°chchhinnaḥ* and *°nigirasa* (l. 15), *°dhyāyīnē* (l. 16), *dadyāt* (l. 27) and *ashṭamē* (l. 40). The orthography is defective in many respects. The vowel *i* is mixed up with *ī*, and *u* with *ū*. In *nōpūra* (l. 1) for *nūpura* and *dyōtaku* (l. 41 f.) for *dūtaka*, *ō* is used instead of *ū*. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *samāhatri* (for *°hartri*) and *sannidhātri* (l. 11), *tridaśa* (l. 4) and *Trikalinga* (ll. 8 and 39). In *kriçhṇa* (l. 5) and *samvachchharē* (l. 40), *ts* is represented by *chh*. The dental *n* takes the place of the lingual *n* in *punya* (ll. 19 and 30), *hiranya* (l. 20), *grihnāti* (l. 29 f.) and *Samgrāmēna* (l. 44). Of sibilants, *s* is used for *sh* in *nisiddha* (l. 14), and *ś* for *s* in *śalila*, *purassara*, *śama* (l. 18) and *vaśīta* (for *vaśēt*, l. 26). A *y* is inserted in *śākhya* (l. 16) for *śākhā*, and *dyōtak* (l. 41 f.) for *dūtaka*. The consonant *b* is always represented by *v*, which must have been pronounced as *b* just as in Bengali. This may be concluded from the spellings *simura* (l. 14) for *sāmra*, *tāmura* (l. 19) for *tāmra*, *°dattām=va* (l. 32), *samvachchharē* (l. 40) and *samvat* (l. 41). Other irregularities are *vudhā* (l. 38) for *buddhvā*, *triyārishaya* (l. 15) for *tryārshēya*, *Kaivīlāsa* and *utkirita* (l. 44) for *Kailāsa* and *utkirṇa*.

The inscription opens with the words: "Ōm. Hail! From the prosperous Murasiman, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens. (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters." Another grant of Mahābhavagupta I. is dated from the same Murasiman, which is there spelt with a long *ū* in the first syllable,—apparently by mistake, as *Mura* is a well known word, and as *ū* is used erroneously for *u* in many other instances.¹ The next word of the same grant, *-samāvāsita*, may be meant for *-samāvāsitaḥ*. As, however, it would be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to correct *-samāvāsītāt* and to take the following word *kaṭaka* to mean 'a camp,' and not the city of Cuttack.² Thus the inscription of the sixth year is dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Murasiman." With the

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 341.

² Professor Kielhorn kindly refers me to three very similar instances in inscriptions from Northern India:—

1.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, text line 6 f.—*śrīmād-Vishnupur-dvāsita-śri-vijaya-kaṭakē*.

2.—*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 121, text line 23,—*śri-Tadavīha-grāma-samāvāsita-vijaya-kaṭakē*.

3.—*Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 309, text line 33, and Vol. V. App. p. 58, note 4,—*Prayāga-samāvāsita-śrīmād-vijaya-kaṭakat*.

same alteration, the three inscriptions of the 31st year¹ are dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at the prosperous Ârâma."

Lines 3-6 contain a verse which celebrates the king under his surname **Janamējaya**—contracted into 'Janmējaya' for the sake of the metre—and states that he claimed descent from the race of the Moon (*Sôma-vamśa*). The same verse occurs in the grant of the sixth year, where it is placed at the end of the whole document (ll. 43-45).

Then follows the preamble of the grant itself (l. 6 ff.) :—

"This *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the ornament of the race of the Moon (*Sôma-kula-tilaka*), the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, the glorious **Mahābhavaguptarājadēva**,—who meditates at the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Maṇāśivaguptarājadēva**,²—being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmaṇas in the village of **Satallamā** attached to the **Kaśalôḍā** district (*viśaya*), commands the ryots residing in that (village), the inhabitants of that district at the time, (and) all servants of the king, (*viz.*) collectors, attendants, irregular and regular soldiers, spies, staff-bearers, eunuchs, favourites of the king, *etc.*"

The king then states that he granted this village (*viz.* **Satallamā**, l. 9) by a copper-plate edict (*tāmra-sāsana*, l. 19) "to the *Bhaṭṭaputra Sānthakara*, son of *Dhṛitikara* (l. 17 f.), who belonged to the *Gautama gôtra*, who had the three *pravaras* of *Gautama*, *Âṅgīrasa* and *Autathya*, who studied the *Vājasaneyi-Mādhyaṇdina śākhā*, who had immigrated from the village of **Purushamaṇḍapa** in the *Ôḍra* country (*dēśa*), (and) who resided in the village of **Murujuṅga**." Of the proper names mentioned in this passage I can identify none besides *Ôḍra*, which is the Sanskrit form of **Oḍḍa**, *i.e.* Orissa.³

11 verses from the *Dharmaśāstra* are quoted in ll. 23-38. Then follows the date of the grant :—"In the victorious reign of the *P. M. P.*, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, the glorious **Janamējayadēva**,—in the eighth year, in the second half of the month of **Kārttika**, on the twelfth *tithi*.—and in figures : **Samvat 8**, **Kārttika sudi 12**." The *Dūtaka* was the *Mahāmāhattama Bhaṭṭa Sādhāraṇa*, son of **Śôbhana** (l. 41 f.). This person must be the same as the donee of three other grants of **Mahābhavagupta I.**, where he is called the *Bhaṭṭa Mahattama Sādhāraṇa*, son of *Bhaṭṭa Śôbhana*,⁴ and he seems to have been the prime-minister of the king.⁵

According to ll. 42-44, "this edict was written by the *Kāyastha Āllava*, son of **Kailāsa**, who was attached to the *Mahīsāndhivigrahi Rānaka Mallādatta, son of **Dhāradatta**." The same minister is referred to in the remaining published inscriptions of **Mahābhavagupta I.** In the three grants of the 31st year he is called **Mallādatta**,⁶ while the grant of the sixth year has *Mallādharādattasuta*,⁷ which, as the new grant suggests, is meant for **Mallā[datta]**, son of **Dhāradatta**.*

The inscription ends with the statement that it was engraved by **Samgrāma**, son of **Rayanā-ojjhā**.⁸

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 347, text line 1.

² The other grants of **Mahābhavagupta I.** omit the word *mahā* before *Śivagupta's* name.

³ *Ôḍra-dēśa* is mentioned also in an inscription of **Maṇāśivagupta II.**; above, Vol. III. p. 353, text line 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 348, text line 12 f.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 345 and 350.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 350.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 344, text line 42.

⁸ Compare *ibid.* p. 212, note 2. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *ôja* 'or *vdja*) means (1) 'a teacher,' and (2) 'an artificer.' In Tamil we have the forms *uviccha* and *ôccha*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 293, note 2. The word is evidently a *taibhava* of *upādhya*; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 393, note 23. A similar honorific term, also applied to artisans in Southern India, is *ôchārva*; see above, Vol. VII. p. 168, note 8.

i.

ॐ सुसुविकवराविलासिवीरराजोऽप्युपवाङ्मनः ॥ १ ॥
 २ कलाकृतसकलदशवर्षावागवद्विजयवर्षा ॥ २ ॥
 ३ अस्मिन्कालेऽप्युपवाङ्मनः ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ वृत्तान्तविशेषेन विद्विष्यन्त्या ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ यत्किञ्चिन्मङ्गलं कर्तव्यं ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॐ ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ ॐ ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॐ ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ ॐ ॥ ९ ॥
 १० ॐ ॥ १० ॥

ii.

ॐ ॥ ११ ॥
 १२ ॐ ॥ १२ ॥
 १३ ॐ ॥ १३ ॥
 १४ ॐ ॥ १४ ॥
 १५ ॐ ॥ १५ ॥
 १६ ॐ ॥ १६ ॥
 १७ ॐ ॥ १७ ॥
 १८ ॐ ॥ १८ ॥
 १९ ॐ ॥ १९ ॥
 २० ॐ ॥ २० ॥
 २१ ॐ ॥ २१ ॥
 २२ ॐ ॥ २२ ॥

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्यनेकवरविलासिनीचरणनीपूररवीन्द्रान्तमत्तपारावत-³
- 2 कुलात⁴ सकलदिगन्तरागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकीर्त्तः श्रीमतो मुरसिन्नः⁵ [i*]
- 3 अस्ति क्षोणीश्वराणाममलमणिरुचामन्वयात⁶ कौस्तुभाभः शौर्यत्वागा-
- 4 ⁷सुरा[शि]र्विरचितविधिवद्दान(1)शुभ्रीकृताभ्रः [i*] ⁸श्रीमान्जन्मेजयाख्यस्तृदश-⁹
- 5 पतिसम[:*] कृच्छ्रगां¹⁰ भोक्तकामः प्रख्यातद्वेषिवंशप्रविदलनपटुर्भूपति¹¹ सो-
- 6 मवंशे [ii*] सोयं ¹²परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहा-¹³
- 7 शिवगुप्तराजदेवपांदानुध्यात्परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-¹⁴
- 8 श्वरसोमकुलतिलकतुक्लिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः¹⁵ कु-
- 9 शली ¹⁶कशलोडाविषयप्रतिवदसत्तलमाग्रामे ¹⁷ब्राह्मणान् सम्पूज्य¹⁸ त-
- 10 अतिनिवासिकुटुम्बिजनपदान¹⁹ तद्विषयीययथाकालाध्यासिन[:*] सन्ना-
- 11 ²⁰हन्त्रिसन्निधात्रिचाटभटपिशुनवेत्रिकावरोधजनराजवक्त्रभादीन²¹ स-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 वान²² राजपादोपजिविन²³ समाज्ञापयति [i*] विदितमस्तु भवत[i] यथा-
- 13 आभिरयं ग्राम[:*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिः ²⁴सर्वेवाधाविर्जितः स्वोपरिकर-
- 14 करादानसहितः ²⁵साम्प्रमधुक[:*] सगर्तोषरः ²⁶प्रतिनिसिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश-²⁷
- 15 चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः²⁸ गौतमगोत्राय गौतमाङ्गिरसश्रीतथ्यत्रियारिपयप्र-²⁹
- 16 वराय ³⁰वाजसनेयेमाध्यन्दिनशाखाध्यायिने³¹ श्रीद्रुदेशे पुरुषमण्डपग्राम-
- 17 ³²विनीर्गताय सुरजुंगग्रामवास्तव्याय ³³भटपुत्रश्रीसान्यकरनाम्ने धृति-
- 18 करसुताय ³⁴शलिलधारापुरस्वरमाचन्द्रतारकार्कचितिशमकालाप-³⁵

¹ From a set of ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.² Expressed by a plain symbol.³ Read °नूपुर°.⁴ Read °कुलात्°.⁵ Read °सीन्नः°.⁶ Read °यात्°.⁷ Read °सुराशि°.⁸ Read °श्रीमान्°.⁹ Read °स्त्रिदश°.¹⁰ Read °कृच्छ्रगां भोक्तु°.¹¹ Read °भूपतिः°.¹² The र of भटारक is corrected by the engraver from क; read °भटारक°.¹³ The र of °श्वर was inserted subsequently.¹⁴ Read °पादानुध्यातपरमभटारक°.¹⁵ Read °त्रिकलिङ्गा°.¹⁶ Read °प्रतिवद°.¹⁷ Read °ब्राह्म°.¹⁸ Read सम्पूज्य.¹⁹ Read °कुटुम्बिजनपदान्°.²⁰ Read °हन्त्रिसन्निधातु°.²¹ The च of °वरोध is written on an erasure; read °दीन्°.²² Read °वान्°.²³ Read °पजीविनः°.²⁴ Read °बाधा°.²⁵ Read °साम°.²⁶ Read °निधिः°.²⁷ Read °प्रवेशस्तु°.²⁸ Read °च्छिन्नो°.²⁹ Read °रसौतथ्यव्याप्य°; compare above, Vol. III. p. 45, note 4.³⁰ Read °वाजसनेयि°.³¹ Read °शाखाध्यायिन°.³² Read °विनीर्ग°.³³ Read °भटपुत्र°.³⁴ Read °शलिल°; the ssa of °पुरस्वर° is written as ssa.³⁵ Read °चितिशमकालाप°.

- 19 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च ¹पुन्ययशोभिहृदये ²ताम्रशासनेनाकरिक्त्य³
 20 प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य ⁴समुचितभोगभागकरहिरन्यादिकमुपनय-⁵
 21 द्भिभवद्भिः⁶ सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति [I*] भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरियमस्म-
 22 द्या⁷ धर्मगौरवादस्मदनुरोधाच्च ⁸स्वदतिरिवानुपालनीया [I*] तथा चोक्तं ध-
 23 र्मशा[स्ते] [II*] ⁹वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य¹⁰ यस्य यदा
 भूमि-¹¹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 24 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [II*] मा भुदफलंशङ्का¹² वः परदत्तेति
 पार्थिवाः [I*]
 25 स्वदानात्फलमत्यन्तं परदानानुपालने [II*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं
 26 मोदति भूमिदः¹³ [I*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वशीत¹⁴
 [II*] अग्नेरप[त्यं] प्र-
 27 यमं स्ववर्ण¹⁵ भुवैष्णवी ¹⁶सुर्यसुताश्च गावः [I*] यः कौञ्चनं गां च महीं
 च दद्यात्¹⁷
 28 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लाकाः¹⁸ [II*] आस्फीटयन्ति¹⁹ पितरः प्रवला(य)न्ति
 पिताम-
 29 हाः [I*] भूमिदात्ता²⁰ कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति [II*] भूमि²¹
 यः प्रतिगृह्णा-²²
 30 ति यश्च भूमि²³ प्रयच्छति [I*] उभौ तौ ²⁴पुन्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामि-
 31 नौ [II*] तडागानां सहस्राणि²⁵ वाजपेयशतानि²⁶ च [I*] गवां कीटिप्र-
 दानेन भूमिहर्ता
 32 न शुध्यति [II*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा²⁷ यो ²⁸हरेदसुन्धरां [I*] स
 विष्टायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा प-
 33 च्यते पितृभिः सह [II*] आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुवद्वा²⁹ सोमो हुताशनः
 [I*] ³⁰शुलपा-
 34 णिस्तु³¹ भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं [II*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काल³²

¹ Read पुण्य°.

² Read ताम°.

³ Read °करौक्त्य.

⁴ The ग of भाग was inserted subsequently.

⁵ Read °हिरण्या°.

⁶ Read °द्भिर्भवद्भिः.

⁷ Read °दीया.

⁸ Read स्वदत्ति°.

⁹ Read बहुभि°.

¹⁰ Read °भिः । यस्य.

¹¹ Read भूमि°.

¹² Read भुदफलशङ्का.

¹³ Read भूमिदः.

¹⁴ Read वसेत्.

¹⁵ Read सुवर्णं भुवै°.

¹⁶ Read सुर्य°.

¹⁷ Read दद्याद्.

¹⁸ Read लाकाः.

¹⁹ Read आस्फीटयन्ति.

²⁰ Read भूमिदाता.

²¹ Read भूमिं.

²² Read °गृह्णाति.

²³ Read भूमिं.

²⁴ Read पुण्य°.

²⁵ Read सहस्रेण.

²⁶ Read °शतानि.

²⁷ Read °दत्तां वा.

²⁸ Read हरेत् वम्°.

²⁹ Read विष्णुवद्वा.

³⁰ Read शुल°.

³¹ Read °णिश्च.

³² Read कालं.

Third Plate.

- 35 काले पालनियो¹ भवद्भिः [I*] सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 36 भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः [II*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलो-²
 37 [लं]³ श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य⁴ मनुष्यजीवितञ्च⁵ [I*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं⁶
 38 बुद्धा⁷ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः [II*] परमभट्टरकमहा-⁸
 39 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुल[ति]लकतृकलिङ्गाधिपति-⁹
 40 श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्बच्छरे¹⁰ अष्टमे कार्तिकमा-
 41 सद्द्वितीयपक्ष¹¹ तिथौ द्वादश्यां यत्राङ्गतोपि सम्बत्¹² ८ कार्तिके शुद्धि १२
 [I*] द्यौ-¹³
 42 तत्कञ्च¹⁴ मङ्गलमहत्तमभट्टश्रीसाधारणः [I*] शोभनसुतः [I*] लिखितमिदं शासनं
 43 महासाम्बिविग्रहिराणकश्रीमल्लादत्तधारदत्तसुतप्रतिवर्द्धन¹⁵ का[य]स्थश्चा-
 44 क्ष्वेन कै(वि)लाससुतेन¹⁶ उत्किरितं¹⁷ संग्रामेन¹⁸ (॥) रयणाञ्जोक्तासुतेन¹⁹

No. 12.— BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF CHARUDEVĪ.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was first edited 25 years ago by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 100 ff. On account of its archaic alphabet and of its language, which is not only Sanskrit verse (plate iii. lines 12-15), but chiefly Prākṛit prose, it has attracted much attention. Bühler succeeded in deciphering some additional portions of it¹⁹ and a few corrections were suggested by M. Senart and myself.²⁰ At my request, Dr. Fleet was good enough to send me a set of ink-impressions of the plates, with the help of which it has been possible to make out with some probability those portions of lines 3 to 7 which Bühler considered 'utterly unintelligible.' The only item which appears to be irretrievably lost is the figure of the regnal year at the end of the first line.

The original copper-plates, which were secured by Sir Walter Elliot, are now in the British Museum. For their finding-place and for a detailed description of them see the prefatory

¹ Read पालनीयो.² Read °दलाम्बुविन्दु°.³ Read °लां श्रिय°.⁴ The two aksharas चिन्त्य are engraved over an erasure.⁵ Cancel the anusvāra.⁶ Read बुद्धा.⁷ Read °भट्टारक°.⁸ Read °त्रिकलिङ्गा°.⁹ Read संवत्सरे ऽष्टमे.¹⁰ Read °पक्षे.¹¹ Read संवत्.¹² Read दृतकञ्च.¹³ Read °भट्ट°.¹⁴ Read °प्रतिवर्द्धन.¹⁵ The visarga is meant for a sign of punctuation; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 111, note 1, and above, Vol. VII, p. 193, note 3.¹⁶ Read उत्कीर्ण.¹⁷ Read °मेण.¹⁸ See note 15 above.¹⁹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 2, note 2.²⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 88, note 10; Vol. VII, pp. 67 and 69.

remarks of Dr. Fleet's article, which was accompanied by photo-lithographs of the inscription (on the back of the Plate) and of the seal (on the front of the Plate). The present facsimile of the inscription has been prepared, under Dr. Fleet's superintendence, from fresh ink-impressions made for him, in 1903, in the British Museum. The seal has been reproduced from a plaster cast taken by Mr. Griggs from a sealing-wax impression which was made at the same time in the British Museum. The sealing-wax impression shows, in the centre of the seal, a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull,¹ the crest of the Pallavas, and over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Hīrahadagalli plates of Śiva-Skandavarman,² but are less ornamental and more irregular. This seems to be due to the fact that the engraver mechanically copied a draft which had been written in a pronounced running hand. Instances are the *vā* in line 14 and the *vām* of *gavām* (l. 15), the subscribed *v* of *satra*³ (l. 11) and the subscribed *ch* of *bahubhīśch[ā]*⁴ (l. 12), the vowel *i* of *gāmeyikā* (l. 10) and of *pibati* (l. 15).⁵ The group *tta*, while in most cases resembling *nna*,⁶ has two other shapes: in *uttare* (l. 6) the upper *t* has a fully developed loop, as in Tamil, and in *chhettaṁ* (l. 7) and *dattā* (l. 12) the lower *t* is fashioned in the same manner. The initial *ā* of *āyu* (l. 8) differs from that of *Ātukassa* (l. 6), *āyuttā* (l. 10) and *āṇatti* (l. 16). In the *nā* of *nivattanā* (l. 9) the *n* is placed in a slanting position, and the *ā* fills up the right upper corner. Another peculiar letter is the *tha* of *pariharatha* and *pariharāpe[tha]* (l. 11). A rude final form of *m* occurs at the end of ll. 13, 14, 15. Marks of punctuation are used after *siddha* on the left margin of plate i. and at the end of the inscription. In ll. 12-15 every odd *pāda* of the two *śloka*s is divided from the next by a blank space. Plates ii. *a* and ii. *b* are marked like the pages of a book by the numerical symbols '2' and '3' on the left margin. and the numerical symbol '4' occurs in l. 9.

While in the Andhra inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of Chārudēvi's grant is in accordance with that of the literary Prākṛit.⁷ In the word *saṁvachchhara* (l. 1), *v* is doubled after *anusūra*. As to the language of the inscription, noteworthy words are *Bhāradīya*⁸ (l. 2) for *Bhāradvāja*, *talūka*, *heṭ[th]a*, *pāṇiya* (l. 5) and *chhetta* (l. 7).⁹ Instances of the nom. plur. neutr. are the three words *nivattanā*, *chattāri*, *sampadattā* (l. 9 f.). The abl. sing. *[kū]pit* (l. 5 f.) is due to a relapse into Sanskrit. Pronominal forms are *amhaṁ* (l. 8) and *amhehiṁ* (l. 9), the genitive and instrumental of *asmad*, and *taṁ* (l. 10), the acc. sing. neutr. of *tad*. Verbal forms are the gerunds *kūtūna* (l. 9) and *nātūna* (l. 10) and the imperatives *pariharatha*, *pariharāpe[tha]* (l. 11).

The inscription is dated in some year of the reign of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman, the figure or figures of the date being illegible. It contains an order by the queen of the heir-apparent (*Yuvamahārāja*) Vijaya-Buddhavarman, who was one of the Pallavas and, as such, a Bhāradvāja or member of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. I read the queen's name as Chārudēvi, and that of the prince whose mother she claims to have been as *[Bu]ddhi[yaṁ]kura* or, in Sanskrit, *Buddhyaṅkura*. In favour of my restoration of this damaged word it may be stated that *āṅkura*, 'a sprout,' is synonymous with *pallava*, and that other Pallavas bore the similar surnames

¹ Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 319, note 5.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

³ These two words were already noted by Buhler, *ibid.* p. 2, note 2.

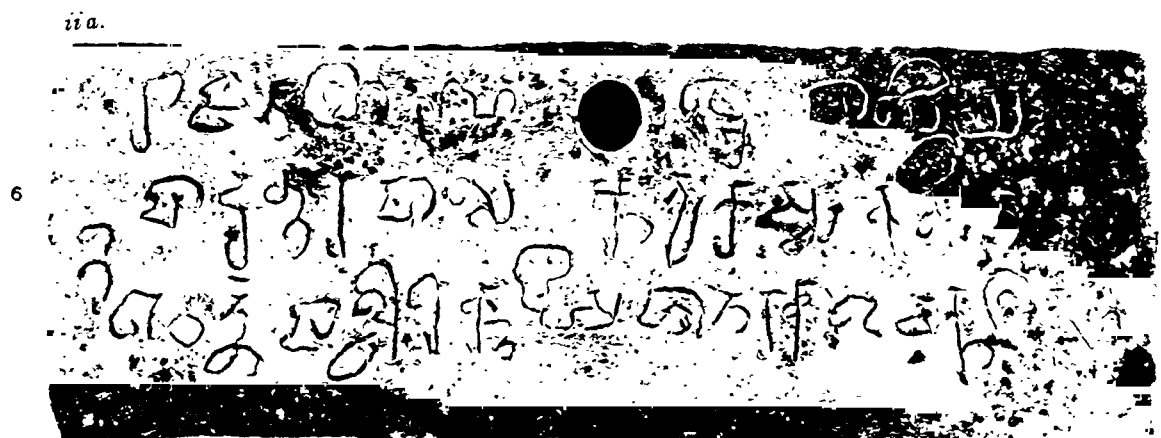
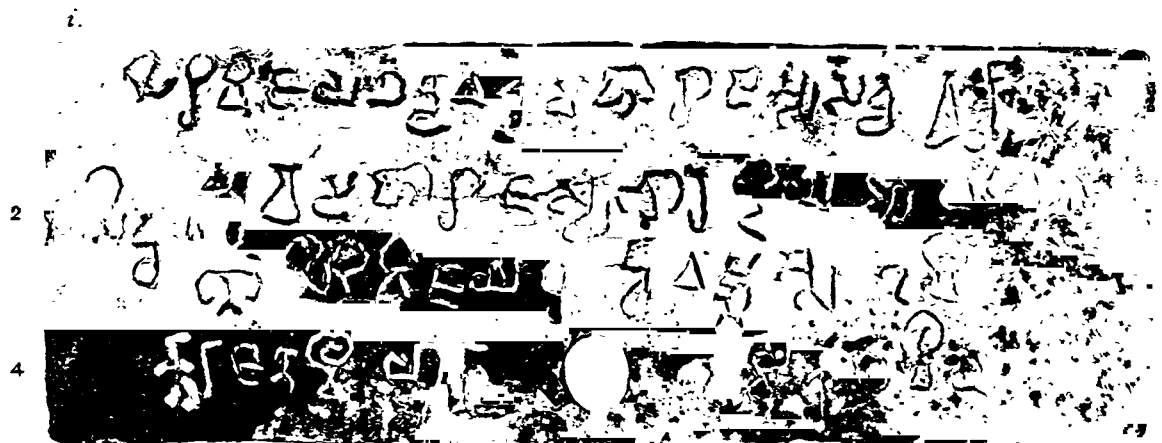
⁴ Compare e.g. *nivattanā* (l. 9) with *bhagavannā*⁵ (l. 8).

⁵ In this respect the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 4, and Vol. VI. p. 86) occupy an intermediate position.

⁶ The same form occurs in the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman.

⁷ On the four last words see Prof. Pischel's edition of Hémachandra's Prākṛit grammar, I. 202; II. 141; I. 101; II. 17.

Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman.



J. F. FLEET.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS MADE BY MR. HENRY OLDLAND.

ii.

8

10

சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்
அல்லாத சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்
அல்லாத சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்
அல்லாத சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்

iii.

12

14

16

சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்
அல்லாத சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்
அல்லாத சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்
அல்லாத சமநாயகம் அல்லாத சமநாயகம்

Nayānkura, Taruṇānkura and Lalitānkura.¹ Thus the first plate of the inscription supplies the following short Pallava genealogy :—

Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.
|
Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, married Chārudevī.
|
Buddhyānkura.

The syllables which follow the word *Chārudevī* at the end of the first plate can be read and restored with the help of the corresponding portions of four cognate inscriptions.

Nāsik, No. 3, l. 11 (p. 65 above), and No. 4, l. 2 (p. 71 above)—*ānapayati Govādhane amacha*[*m**].

Mayidavōlu plates, l. 3 f. (above, Vol. VI. p. 86)—*Dharmākade vāpatam ānapayati*.

Koṇḍamudi plates, l. 6 f. (*ibid.* p. 316 f.)—*ānapayati Kūdūre vāpatam*.

On the strength of these analogous cases I propose to read at the end of line 4—*Ka*[*ḍake*] *vīya* . . ., to correct the second word to *vīya* . . ., and to restore *viyāpatam*, which is another possible Prākṛit form of *vāpatam* in the Mayidavōlu and Koṇḍamudi plates. It is true that the verb *ānapayati* is missing in our inscription; but the same is the case in the first sentence of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates.² As in that document, we seem to have here a sort of official preamble, corresponding to the address of a modern letter—‘Chārudevī to the official at *Ka*[*ḍaka*].’ As regards this Prākṛit word, its Sanskrit equivalent is *Kaṭaka*, but the name cannot refer to the town of Cuttack in Orissa, which is far to the north of the Pallava territory. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the second and third syllables of *Ka*[*ḍake*] are injured, and that the true reading of the word may after all be a different one.

The remainder of the inscription refers to a gift of land made by Chārudevī. This land must have been situated in *Ka*[*ṭaka*], to the officer in charge of which place the order was addressed. The grant consisted of a field near the ‘King’s Tank.’ The recipient was a temple of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) at *Dālūra* (l. 7), a place which I am unable to trace. The *Ājñapti* (or *Dātaka*) was *Rōhinigupta* (l. 16).

TEXT.³

First Plate.

Siddha ||⁴

- 1 Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa samvachehhar[ā] . . . [*i**]
- 2 yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pal[*l*]avā-
- 3 nam si[r]i-Vijaya-Buddhavammassa devī [Bu]ddhi .⁵
- 4 kura-janavi⁶ Chārudevi Ka[ḍake] vīya . . .⁷ [*i**]

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 Rājatalāka-heṭ[th]e pāṇiya .⁸
- 6 pād=uttare pāse Ātukassa kasita .⁹
- 7 chhettaṁ Dālūre Kūli-Mahātaraka-¹⁰devakula[ssā]

¹ *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 3 and 5; Vol. II. p. 341; above, Vol. VI. p. 320.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, text lines 1-6.

³ From ink-impressions received from Dr. Fleet.

⁴ On the left margin of the plate.

⁵ The subscribed *l* of the second syllable of *Pallavā-* in line 2 has obliged the engraver to place the syllable *ddhi* too low, the top of the *i* being on a level with the top of the broken syllable *bu*.—Restore *Buddhiyamkura-*.

⁶ Read *-janani*.

⁷ Restore *pāṇiya-kūpād-*.

⁸ Read *viyāpatam*.

⁹ Restore *kasitartam*.

¹⁰ Read *-Mahātaraka-*; *Mahānaraka*, which is another possible reading, would be a very unusual name for a temple.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 8 bhagavan-Nârâyanaṣṣa amhaṁ āyu-bala-vaddhañi-
 9 yaṁ kâtûṇa bhûmî-nivattaṇa chattâri 4 amhehiṁ¹
 10 sampadattâ [i*] taṁ nâtûṇa gāmeṇi(ya)kâ āyuttā
 11 savva-parihārehi pariharatha pariharāpe[tha] [i*]

Third Plate.

- 12 Bahubhir-vva[s]udhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=[â]nupâlita [i*]
 13 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ² tasya tasya tadâ phalam [i*]
 14 Sva-dattam³ para-dattam³ vâ yê⁴ haratta vasu[n]dharām [i*]
 15 gavām śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ pibati dushkrītam [i*]
 16 Āṇatti Rohaṇ[i]gu[tt]â-tti⁵ ||

TRANSLATION.

Success ! (Line 1.) The years . . (of the reign) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

(L. 2.) Chârudêvi, the queen of the Yuvamahārāja, the Bhâradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas, (and) mother of [Buddhyaṅ]kura, (addresses the following order) [to the official at] Ka[ṭaka]:—

(L. 5.) “The field to be ploughed by Âtuka on the northern side of the drinking-well below the King’s Tank (*Rājatadāka*), (containing) four—4—*nivartanas* of land, has been given by Us, making (it) a means for increasing Our length of life and power,⁶ to the god Nârâyana of the Kûṭi-Mahât[â]raka temple at Dâlûra.

(L. 10.) “Knowing this, ye, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (this field) with all immunities, (and) cause (it) to be exempted !”⁷

[Lines 12-15 contain two of the customary verses]

(L. 16.) “The *Āṇapti*⁸ (is) Rôhinīgupta.”⁹

No. 13.—NILAMBUR PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. (MADRAS), AND G. VENKOTA RAO (Ootacamund).

This set of copper-plates was discovered by a Kurumban, while he was washing for gold, on the banks of the Châliyâr stream adjacent to Nilambûr.¹⁰ The exact spot where they were

¹ The *anusvāra* is distinctly visible after the *nī* at the end of the preceding line.

² Read *bhūmis=tasya*.

³ Read *-dattām*.

⁴ Read *yô harāta*.

⁵ Read *°gutto-tti*.—The *t* of *Rohaṇi*⁶ has an unusual shape; perhaps the *sva* of *-sahasrasya* in the preceding line interfered with its proper execution. The *ttā* of *°guttā* looks almost like *vā*.

⁶ The Sanskrit equivalent of the words *amhaṁ āyu-bala-vaddhaṅgāṁ* occurs in the Uruvupalli grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 52, text line 27 f. Instead of *vaddhaṅgāṁ*, the corresponding portions of the Hirahadagalli, Mayiladavûlu and Kondamudi plates have *vaddhanike*.

⁷ The corresponding Sanskrit phrase *sarva-parihāraiḥ pariharata parihārayata cha* occurs in the Maṅgalûr grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 156, text line 30.

⁸ On *āṇatti* see above, Vol. VII. p. 185 and notes 4 and 5.

⁹ In *Rohaṇīgutta*, *Rôhāṇi* is a vulgar form of *Rôhinī*, which occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 295, text line 5; the usual form in Tamil inscriptions is *Urôṣāni*.

¹⁰ [This picturesque place belongs to the Ernad (Ēranād, taluk of the Malabar district and is situated at the foot of the Kârkûr Ghât on the road from Ootacamund to Calicut. Near it are the teak plantations started by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, in 1840; see Mr. Logan’s *Malabar*, Vol. II. p. 368 ff.—E. H.]

found is popularly known as "Grāmam Kaḍavu." The plates were made over by the discoverer to the Raja of Nilambūr, Mr. Tachcharakkāvil Mānavikraman Tirumalpāḍ, who very kindly presented them to us for publication.

The plates are three in number; the first and last of them are engraved on one side only. The average length and breadth of the plates are $7\frac{1}{8}$ " and $2\frac{1}{8}$ " respectively; and each plate is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The edges of the plates are neither thickened nor raised into rims. The weight of these three plates is nearly $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., including the ring, which alone weighs $1\frac{3}{8}$ oz. The oval ring is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and $1\frac{3}{4}$ " for diameters. When the plates were discovered by the Kurumban, the ring bore a seal with distinct writing on it. He broke it open in the hope of finding gold encased in it, but threw it away in disgust when finding none. Thus the seal has been lost.

Though the letters are cut deeply and very distinctly, they do not show through on the back of the plates. The water of the stream, in which the plates had lain apparently for a long time, has corroded them on the margin and caused the loss of several inscribed portions, which are now broken away. The characters are similar to those of the Kūḍgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman (above, Vol. VI. p. 12), of the plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37), and also to those of the Halsi plates belonging to the reigns of Ravivarman and Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 25-32). On the first side of the second plate, between lines 7 and 8, there is an addition in somewhat more modern characters, which reads: *paśchimataś=cha Nū[nda]ra[sa]*. Probably this clause was added at a later period, when the existing specification was found insufficient for describing the spot; compare the *pa*, *ma*, *na* of this addition with the corresponding letters in the body of the inscription. As regards individual letters in the record itself, attention may be drawn to the Dravidian *r* and *l*. The former occurs once, in the word *Kirupāsāni* (l. 6), and the latter twice, in the words *Mūṭagi* (l. 7) and *Malkāvu* (l. 8). As noticed by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 13), the subscript *t* of the conjuncts *kta*, *tta* occurring in the words *uktañ=cha* (l. 14) and *Kārttika* (l. 6) has the common curvilinear form, whereas in *nta* and *stya* of the words *°kulābhyantara°* and *svasty=astu* (ll. 11 and 16 respectively) it is represented by a looped sign. The language of the record, excepting one benedictory verse in l. 14 f., is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription belongs to the fifth year of the reign of the *Dharmamahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. While at Vijayantī (i.e. Banavāsi), the king made a grant, on the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Kārttika, of two hamlets (*palli*) named *Mūṭagi* and *Malkāvu* to a Brāhmaṇa named Gōvindasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who had mastered the Yajurvēda. The two hamlets were situated on the east of the village named *Kirupāsāni* in the Mogalūr district (*vishaya*).

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, it may be noticed that *Mūṭagi* is represented in the Merkara plates of Kōṅgaṇi-mahādhirāja¹ as forming the eastern boundary of the village *Badaneguppe*, granted to the *Śrī-vijaya-Jinālaya* of *Talavanaganagara*. *Talavanaganagara* is the modern *Talakāḍ* on the Kāvêrī, and *Badaneguppe* is 5 or 6 miles south of *Talakāḍ* on the other side of the river. *Mogalūr* is perhaps identical with either *Mugūr* or *Mullūr*, also near *Talakāḍ*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 स्व[स्ति] श्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिमाहासे]नमातृगणानुध्या[ता].
- 2 भिषि[क्त]ानाम्मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां प्रतिवृत्तस्वा

¹ See Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 292.

² From the original copper-plates.

3 ध्यायचर्चापाराणामश्वमेधावभृत्यज्ञानपवित्रीकृता-

4 [न]घानामाश्रितजनांबानां कदंबानां श्रीरविवर्मधर्ममहा-

Second Plate; First Side.

5 [रा]ज[ः]¹ आत्मनः प्रवर्धमानविजयसंवत्सरे पंचमे

6 कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां मोगलूर्विषये कि००पासाणिनाम-

7 धेयग्रामस्य पूर्वदिग्विभागे मु०३ गिनामधेयप-

8 [स्त्री]स्म००वुसहितां काश्यपसगोत्राय यजुर्वेद[पा]-

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 [रगा]य गोविन्दस्वामिने स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये सहि[रण्य]

10 [स]पानीयपातं सर्वपरिहृतपरिहारं संप्र[दत्त]-

11 [वान्] [I*] तदवधार्य यः कदंबकुलाभ्यन्तरगतोऽन्यो वा [राग]-

12 [द्वेष]लोभादिभिरभिभूतो हरे[त स पञ्चमहापातक]-

Third Plate.

13 [सं]यु[क्तो] भवति [I*] योभिरक्षेत्स तत्पुण्यफलभागभ[वति] [I*]

14 उक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः[ः] [I*]

15 [य]स्य यस्य यदा भूमिः² तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [II*]

16 [स्व]स्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रजा[भ्यो मङ्गलं] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! The glorious Ravivarman, the virtuous (and) mighty king of the Kadambas,— who were anointed after meditating on the lord Mahāsena and the group of the Mothers,³ who belonged to the lineage of the Mānavyas, who were the sons of Hārītī, who were well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one,⁴ who were sinless (on account of) being purified by the bath after (the ceremony of) the horse-sacrifice, and who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them),— at the prosperous (and) victorious (city of) Vaijayanti, on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month of) Kārttika in the increasingly victorious fifth year of his (reign), gave to Govindasvāmin, belonging to the lineage of Kāśyapa (and) well versed in the Yajurveda, the hamlet named Muṭtagi along with Malkāvu, (situated) on the eastern side of the village named Kirupāsāni in the Mogalūr district, with all exemptions, with the pouring of water, (and) with (a present of) gold, towards the increase of his own merit.

¹ Cancel the *visarga*.

² Read भूमिस्तस्य.

³ This epithet, met with in almost all the Kadamba grants, has been adopted by all the kings of this dynasty from Mayūrasarman (i.e. Mayūravarmān), the founder of the dynasty. Compare above, p. 32, v. 22 :— *Shadānanah yam=abhisikṭavān=anvīhyāya sēnāpatim mātṛibhis=śaha*.

⁴ This passage has been translated in various ways. Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 15) translates it by 'studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text.' As the passage might as well apply to any student of the sacred writings, it is taken in its general sense thus :— *prati pratyakam kṛitā annshṭhitā yd soddhyasya charchā uktyamantaram ukṭih tām pārayanti iti*.

2 4

6 8

ii b.

10
12

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or philosophical passage. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. There are several large, dark, irregular shapes (possibly ink blotches or damage) obscuring parts of the text, particularly in the middle and lower sections.

10

12

iii.

14
16

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, continuing the passage from the previous page. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. There are several large, dark, irregular shapes (possibly ink blotches or damage) obscuring parts of the text, particularly in the middle and lower sections.

14

16

7

(L. 11.) He who,—whether he be a member of the **Kadamba** family or an alien,—knowing this, influenced by passion, hatred, greed, *etc.*, takes away (*this grant*), is saddled with (*the guilt of having committed*) the five great sins. He who protects (*it*), shares the reward of its merit.

(L. 14.) And it has been said :— “The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; to whomsoever, at any time, the earth belongs, to him for the time being belongs the reward (*of the grant*).” May blessings rest upon cows and Brâhmanas! (*And let*) prosperity (*rest*) upon the subjects!

NO. 14.—FIVE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

At Professor Hultzsch's request I shall give an account here of five more¹ copper-plate inscriptions of the Gâhāḍavāla king Gôvīndachandradêva of Kanauj, the originals of which are now² in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, and of which ink-impressions were supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Before doing so, I take the opportunity of submitting a few general remarks.

While only three stone-inscriptions, of very small importance, have been hitherto discovered of the Gâhāḍavāla kings of Kanauj, the number of their known copper-plates amounts to no less than fifty-five.³ The details are as follows :—

One plate of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Maḍanapāla**, recording a grant that was made by his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Chandradêva**.

One plate of **Maḍanapāla** and his queen **Prithvisrikā**(?).

Three plates of **Gôvīndachandra**, of the reign of his father **Maḍanapāla**.

Twenty-six plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Gôvīndachandra**.

Two plates of **Gôvīndachandra** and his mother **Râlhaṇa (Râlha)-dêvi**.

One plate of **Gôvīndachandra** and his queen **Nayanakêlidêvi**.

One plate of **Gôvīndachandra** and his queen **Gôsala-dêvi**.

One plate of **Gôvīndachandra** and his son, the *Yuvarāja* **Āsphêtachandra** (below, C.).

Two plates of **Gôvīndachandra** and his son **Râjyapāla** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 21, and below, D.).

One plate of the reign of **Gôvīndachandra**, recording a grant made by the Singara prince **Vatsarāja**.

Two plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vijayachandra** and his son, the *Yuvarāja* **Jayachandra**.

Fourteen plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Jayachandra**.

¹ See above, Vol. IV. p. 97 ff.; Vol. V. p. 112 ff.; and Vol. VII. p. 98 ff.

² The plates were “found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadaini temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface in the course of excavations for the water-works conducted on the spot in April 1892.” See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for the year ending with May 1905, p. 6.

³ There can hardly be any doubt that of a royal family of which we possess 55 copper-plates, there must have existed also a considerable number of stone-inscriptions. The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground. The same may be said regarding the records of e.g. the Maitrakas of Valabhi, of whom we have 40 plates and only a single, most insignificant stone-inscription; and of the E. Chalukyas of Vēṅgi, of whom 29 copper-plate inscriptions have been published, and not a single stone-inscription.

All these plates were issued during the ninety years from A.D. 1097 to A.D. 1187. Excepting the genealogy of the family and dates for each king from Chandradêva to Jayachandra, there is in them no historical information of any particular value.¹ But the plates are of great interest on account of the **very large number of districts and villages** mentioned in them. Nearly all these localities remain to be identified; and it is with the view of perhaps inducing others, especially residents of the United Provinces, to help in the work of identification, that I give here an alphabetical list of all names of districts that occur in the plates. So far as I can judge, most of these districts would have been called after larger villages or towns, some of which undoubtedly are still in existence.

List of districts mentioned in the plates.

Amvu(mbu)âlî-pattalâ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 138, line 20. (The inscription grants the village of Dêûpâlî on the banks of the D[ai]vahâ. Daivahâ apparently is the modern 'Deoha' which according to Thornton's *Gazetteer*, p. 333, is another name of the river Gogra.)

Antarâla-pattalâ; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXI. p. 123.

Asurêsa-pattalâ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 11, line 20.

Bhailavata-pattalâ(?); *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p. 787.

Bhîmamayûtâsa . . -pattalâ; above, Vol. V. p. 117, line 13.

Dayadâmi-pattalâ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140, line 18.

Dêva[ha]lî-pattalâ; *ibid.* Vol. XV. p. 7, line 14.

Dhânêsaramaua-pattalâ; *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 11, line 8.

Gôyara-pattalâ (in Ônavala-pathaka); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 15. (Gôyara perhaps is the 'Gowra' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 102, long. 83° 20', lat. 26° 47'.)

Haladôya-pattalâ; above, Vol. IV. p. 101, line 14; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

[Ha?]thanûda-pattalâ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 21.

Jârû[tha]-pattalâ; *ibid.* p. 141, line 18; and p. 142, line 16.

Jîavai-pattalâ; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 14; or, which is the same,—

Jîavati-pattalâ (in Pañchâla-dêsa); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 10; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 8.

Kachchhôha-pattalâ; above, Vol. IV. p. 116, line 12; and p. 129, line 19.

Kaṅgali-pattalâ; *ibid.* p. 127, line 17.

Kâti-pattalâ; *ibid.* p. 102, line 13.

[Kêsauré?]-pattalâ; *ibid.* p. 105, line 12.

Kôsarnva(mba)-pattalâ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137, line 18.

Kô[thô]takôtiâvarahôttâ[ra]; above, Vol. IV. p. 108, line 11.

Mahasô-pattalâ; *ibid.* p. 122, line 18; or, which is the same,—

Mahasôya-pattalâ; above, Vol. V. p. 115, line 12.

Mâ[ṇa]ra-pattalâ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 131, line 20.

Nandiñî-pattalâ; below, p. 155, line 13.

Nandivâra-pattalâ; below, p. 154, line 12.

Navagâma-pattalâ; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 109, line 14; and above, Vol. IV. p. 113, line 13.

Nêulasatâvisikâ;² above, Vol. IV. p. 110, line 9.

¹ The plates generally state that Yâsôvighraha, the reputed founder of the Gâhâdâvâla family, came when 'the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven.' The kings thus referred to are the Pratihâras of Kanauj who, as we now know, derived their descent from the Sun. The Gâhâdâvâla king who first took possession of Kanauj was Yâsôvighraha's grandson Chandradêva, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1097.

² The *satâvisikâ* of this name is derived from the Prâkrit *sattâvisam* or Sanskrit *saptaviṃśati*, 'twenty-seven.'—Compare, in other plates, names of districts like *Nakshisapura-chaturâṣṭikâ*, etc.

Pāndala-pattalā (in Gōvisālaka that belonged to Dudhāli in Saruvāra); above, Vol. VII. p. 99, line 15.

Paśchimachhapana-pattalā¹ (in Antarvêdi); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 135, line 20.

Purôha-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 120, line 11.

[Rāna ?]-pattalā; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 362, line 13.

Rûdamaunavayālisi-pattalā;² above, Vol. IV. p. 112, line 12.

Sigurôdha-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 12.

Sirasi-pattalā (in Ōpavala-pathaka in Saruvāra); above, Vol. V. p. 114, note 4; and Vol. VII. p. 99. (Sirasi probably is the 'Sirsi' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 87, S. E., long. 88° 9', lat. 26° 32'.)

Tēmishapachôttara-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 115, line 14.

Ughanatêrahôttara-pattalā;³ *ibid.* p. 106, line 12.

Umva(mba)rāla-pattalā; below, p. 159, line 11.

Unâvisa-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 124, line 20.

Vajaimhâchchhâsathi-pattalā;⁴ *ibid.* p. 125, line 17.

Valaura-pattalā; below, p. 157, line 13.

Vri(bri)hadgrihokamisâra-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 121, line 19.

Vri(bri)hagrihê[yê ?]varaṭha-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 104, line 13.

[Ya ?]vaala-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 115, line 13.

I may add that, besides the villages granted and the districts in which they were situated, the plates also mention a fair number of places where the donations recorded in the plates were made. In no less than 33 instances this was done after bathing in the Ganges at Benares. Other places on the Ganges, mentioned in a similar way, are :—

Īsapratishṭhâna (?); *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

Khayarâ; above, Vol. IV. p. 108, line 16.

Madapratihâra (?); *ibid.* p. 101, line 18.

Mudgagiri (i.e. Monghyr on the southern bank of the Ganges); above, Vol. VII. p. 99, line 21.

Râjyapâlapura; below, p. 158, line 18.

Raṇḍavai; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140, line 22; p. 141, line 22; and p. 143, line 20.

Vishnupura; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 6.

Two donations were made after bathing in the Yamunâ at—

Āsatikâ (or Asatikâ); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 9; and *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 17 (where the king is stated to have bathed at the Muraitha(?)-ghaṭṭa); and one was made after bathing in the Vênî (i.e. at the confluence of the rivers) at—

Prayâga (i.e. Allahâbâd); above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.

Other places where donations were made, not connected with any rivers, are :—

Dêvasthâna (?); above, Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15; and Vaḍaviha; *ibid.* p. 121, line 23.

And of rivers, in addition to those already given, in which the king had bathed when making a donation, the plates mention the Satî (with the Svapnêśvara-ghaṭṭa); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 23.

Of Benares the following specific localities are referred to in the plates :—

The Âdikêśava-ghaṭṭa; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p. 787; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 109, line 19; and (the) Âdikêśava (temple); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 252; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 18, and p. 124, line 24.

¹ Chhapana in this name probably is the Prâkrit *chhappannam* or Sanskrit *śatpañcāśat*, 'fifty-six.'

² Yavālist would be the Prâkrit *bhāyālistam* or Sanskrit *drāchātṛdrimīat*, 'forty-two.'

³ Têraha in this name probably is the Prâkrit *teraha* or Sanskrit *trayōdaśan*, 'thirteen.'

⁴ Chhâdsathi apparently is the Sanskrit *śatśasāṣṭi*, 'sixty-six.'—Prof. Hultzsch suggests that the *varaka* of Kô[thô]takô;îavaralôṭta[ra] may be the Prâkrit *bâraha* or Sanskrit *dvâdaśan*, 'twelve'; and *pacha* of Tēmishapachôttara the Sanskrit *pañchan*, 'five.'

The Kapālamôchana-ghaṭṭa; above, Vol. IV. p. 110, line 13.

The Trilôchana-ghaṭṭa; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 11, line 12.

The Vêdêśvara-ghaṭṭa; above, Vol. IV. p. 114, L.

The Avimukta-kshêtra; *ibid.* p. 114, L., and p. 113, line 13.

The Kôṭi-tîrtha; below, p. 159, line 15.

(The temples of) Aghôrêśvara, Indramâdhava, Lauḍêśvara and Pañchômkāra (below, p. 153, lines 18 and 19), Krittivâsas (above, Vol. IV. p. 126, line 22), and Lâlârka (above, Vol. V. p. 118, line 18).

Of **Prayāga** (the temple of) Gaṅgāditya is mentioned, above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.

* * *

Of the new inscriptions the most interesting is C., because it records a grant by Gôvindachandra's son, the *Yuvarāja Âsphôtachandra*, who was unknown to us before. And the inscription A. is peculiar in recording the gift of a house at Benares, not the grant of a village. The three grants recorded in C., D. and E. were made in favour of one and the same Brâhman, a sun-worshipper and student of the *Jyôtiṣśâstra*.—The taxes specified are the *bhûgabhōgakara* (mentioned in 50 plates of this family), the *pravāṇikara* (mentioned in 44 plates), the *turushkadanda* (mentioned in 23 plates, but not in any of the plates of Jayachandra), the *kumaragadiṇṇaka* (mentioned in 10 plates), the *hiranya* (mentioned in 9 plates), and the *jalakara* and *gôkara* (mentioned together in 4 plates only).

A.—PLATE OF GÔVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1171.

This is a **single plate**, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' ½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅜" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular **seal**, about 2⅜" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, the **legend** *śrīmad-Gôvinda[ma]dradêva[ka]*, in Nâgarī letters about ⅙" high; above the legend, the figure of a Garuḍa, squatting down and facing to the proper right; and below the legend, a conch-shell. The plate contains 21 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅔ and ⅓". The **characters** are Nâgarī, and the **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography**, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is often employed for the palatal, and the palatal occasionally (as in *raṣika*, l. 3) for the dental; and the words *vaṁṣa* and *tîmraka* are written *vansu* and *tîmraka*, ll. 2 and 21. I may also point out that the sign of *avagraha* is used in *snâtva śmâbhîr*, l. 15.

The inscription is one of the *Paramahattâracaka Mahâcâjâhîrāja Paramêśvara Govindachandradêva*, who records that, on **Monday**, the full-moon tithi of **Mâgha** of the year 1171 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the **Ganges** at **Benares**, he granted a dwelling-place (*ârâṣa*¹) to the *Mahattaka* Dâymîsarman,² son of the *Thakkura* Mahâkara and son's son of the *Thakkura* Kâkû, [a Brâhman] of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, whose three *pravara*s were Bhâradvâja, Âṅgîrasa and Bârhaspatya. The dwelling-place so granted was at **Benares** itself, and lay to the east of (the) **Aghôrêśvara** and **Pañchômkāra**, and to the west of (the) **Indramâdhava** and **Lauḍêśvara** (temples).—The grant (*tîmraka*) was written by the *Karanîka* Jalhana.³ It contains no imprecatory verses.

¹ The original has *arâṣa* and treats this word as a neuter noun. Compare *arâṣanîka* for *arâṣanîkâ*, frequently used in the Siyadôṇî inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 163.

² Compare the name *Dâyî* (*Dâyika*), above, Vol. IV. p. 171.

³ The same Jalhana wrote the grant of [Vikrama-]samvat 1172, published above, Vol. IV. p. 104, where he is described as *śrī-Vâstacyakul-ôdbhûta-kâyaṣṭha-thakkura*. The term *karanîka-ôdgaia* of the present grant describes him literally as 'descended from a *Karanîka*,' Chitrâgupta, with whom he is compared, is 'one of Yama's attendants (recorder of every man's good and evil deeds).'

The date appears to be slightly irregular. In Vikrama-samvat 1171 current the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended on Thursday, the 22nd January A.D. 1114, and in Vikrama-samvat 1171 expired the same *tithi* commenced 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January A.D. 1115. This Monday most probably is the day intended by the grant, but I should have expected it to be connected with the 14th *tithi* of the bright half, not with the full-moon *tithi*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 14 śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvō vijayī¹ śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām
nivāsi-
15 nō nikhīla-[janapa]dān-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-guvarāja-maṇtri-purama-
pratibhāra-senāpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapatalika-bhūsha-
16 g-naimitti[k-ā]ntaḥpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākaraasthānagōkulādhikāvi-purushān=ājñā-
payati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādisati cha yathā!
17 viditam=astu bhavatām=ēkasaptatyadhik-eikādaśa-² samvatsarē Māghē māsi
śukla-pakshē paurṇamāsyām=amkē=pi samvat 1171 Māgha-su-
18 di 15 Sōmē || śrī-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām snatvā smābhīr=gōkarṇṇa-kuśalatā-
pūta-karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvvām śrī-Vārāṇasyām=dv=Āghōrēśva-
19 ra-Parichōmākarayōḥ pūrvvā³ | tath=Ēmdremādhava-Laudēśvarayōḥ pāschimē
avāsam=idam⁴ Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-Vā(bā)-
20 rhaspatya-triḥpravarāya⁵ thā⁶ | śrī-Kākū-pantīya | tr(ṭha)⁷ | śrī-Mahākara-putrāya
mahattaka-śrī-Dāyīrśa(sa)ṇṇapē pradattam⁸ matrā sa[r]vvar=a-
21 pi paripēlayitavyam=iti || * || ⁹ Kāranik-ōdgatō vidvānś=Chitrāgupt-ōpamo
guṇaiḥ | yāsasē Jalhāṇa[h*] śrīmān=ali[kha*]t=tānivrakam⁹ mud[ā] ||

B.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1187.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' 1" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ¼" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 24 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅜ and ⅞. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *c*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvīndachandradēva*, who records that, on Sunday, the *Agrahāyanī* or full-moon *tithi* of *Mārgaśīra* of the year 1187 (given in figures only), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of *Palasaundi* in the *Nandivāra pattalā* to the *Prāpicharya Bhāṭṭa Paṇḍita Khōṇasārman*, son of the *P. Bh. P. Ravidhara*, son's son of the *P. Bh. P. Gōhaja* and son of the son's son of the *P. Bh. P. Maṅgala*, a *Brāhmaṇ* of the *Pārāvasa*¹⁰ *gītra* whose

¹ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvīndachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f. The main differences are that the present plate adds the words *sa cha* before the word *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of line 11, and omits the passage *asvapati* *Vāchaspati* in lines 13 and 14 of the Kamauli plate.

² This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 15-20 are superfluous.

³ Read *-aikādaśasata*.

⁴ Read *pāschima āvāsam=idam* (or, correctly, *pāschima āvāsō=yaṁ*). The construction of *rūrē* and *pāschimē* with the genitive case is contrary to the rules of grammar.

⁵ Read *-triḥpravarāya*.

⁶ Read *pradattam=iti* (or, correctly, *pradatta iti*).

⁷ Metre: *Ślōka* (*Anushtubh*); the first *Pāda* is faulty.

⁸ So the name is given in the plate, but I am not sure that it is correct.

⁹ I.e. *thakkura*.

¹⁰ Read *tāmrakam*.

three *pravaras* were Kāṅkāyana, Kauśika and Dhaumya, and student of the Śāṅkhāyana-¹ Bahvricha² śākhā.—The taxes specified (in line 20) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *hiranya*, *pravaṇikara* and *turushkadāṇḍa*. The writer's name is not given.

The title *prāṇāchārya* which, with *bhaṭṭa* and *paṇḍita*, is prefixed to the names of the donee and his ancestors, I have not met elsewhere, and I cannot give its exact meaning.

The date, for Vikrama-saṃvat 1187 expired, corresponds to Sunday, the 16th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra commenced 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.³

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 4-śrīmad-Gōvindachandrādēvō vijayī ||⁵ Nāṇdivāra-pattalāyām¹⁵
Palasaumṇi-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān=a[pi] [cha*] rāja-rājñi-yuva-
13 [rā]ja-mantri-purōhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishaka(g)-na i m i-
ttik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragaṭṭanākarasthāna[g]ōkulādhikāri-puru-
14 [shā]n samājūpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādisa(sa)ti va(cha) yathā viditam=astu
bhavatām yath-ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavan ākaraḥ sa-matsy-
ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-ma-
15 [dhū]ka-chūta-vana-vātikā-viṭapa-triṇa-pū(yū)ti-gōchāra-paryantāś=va(cha)turāghāta-visu-
(śū)ddhaḥ s[v*]a-simā-paryantaḥ s-ōrddh[v*]-ādhaḥ saṃvat 1187
Mārggasi(śi)ra-mā[sē]⁶ Āgrahāṇi-pūrṇamā-
16 [sy]ām Ravi-dinē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāpī(yām) snātva vidhivān=
māmtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāms=tarpayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-
pa[t]u-mahasam=Ushnarōchisham=upasthā-
17 y=Aushadhipati-sa(sa)kala-sō(śē)kharām samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=
Vāsudēvasya pūjām=vidhāya⁷ prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā
mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-
18 [bhi]vṛiddhayē Pārāvasa-⁸gōtrāya⁹ Kāṅkāyana-¹⁰Kauśi(śi)ka-Dhaumya-tripravarāya |
Sikhyāyanavashthacha-sākhinō¹¹ prāṇāchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Maṅgala-
prapautrāya | prāṇāchā-
19 rya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Gōhaḍa-pautrāya | prāṇāchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Ravidhara-
putrāya | prāṇāchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Khōnasa(sa)rmmaṇḍē vrā(brā)hmaṇy=
āsmābhiḥ¹² gōkarṇa-kuśala-
20 tā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvam=ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvat¹³ sāsanikṛitya pradattah¹⁴ |
iti matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-hiranya-pravaṇikara-turushkadāṇḍa-
prabhṛiti-samast-ā-

¹ The plate has *Sikhyāyana*, apparently for *Sāṅkhāyana* which occurs (for *Sāṅkhāyana*) also in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 17, line 19.

² I.e. of the Rīgveda.

³ Compare the date of Rajwān plate of Gōvindachandra (in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 372, No. 193), which apparently corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f. In verse 6, *vijayatē* has been erroneously engraved between *vijayatē* and *nija*, in verse 8 we have *-vaddh-* instead of *-vandh-*; and in the prose passage that follows the verses, *sa cha* was engraved before the first *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, but seems to have been struck out again.

⁵ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁶ Read *-māsa Āgrahāṇi-pūrṇamāsyām*.

⁷ Read *pūjām vidhāya*.

⁸ The reading is certain, but I am not sure that it is correct.

⁹ The signs of punctuation in lines 18-20 are superfluous.

¹⁰ This name is quite clear in the impression.

¹¹ Read *Sāṅkhāyana-bahvricha-sākhinō*.

¹² Read *°bhīr*.

¹³ Read *yāvat=chhāsa°*.

¹⁴ Read *°datta iti*.

21 dāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || ❀ || Bhavanti ch=ātra slō(ślō)kāḥ ||

**C.— PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA AND THE YUVARĀJA MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA
 ĀSPHŌTACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1190.**

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

*mahārājaputra-śrīma-
 d-Asph[ō]tachu[m]drad[ē]rah ||*

in Nāgarī letters between $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ " high; above the legend, a conch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right. The plate contains 28 lines of well preserved writing. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *baḥramur*; and occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Paramabhāṭīraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Āsphōtachandradēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives and anointed as *Yuvarāja* (or heir-apparent), records that, on Friday, the third tithi, the *Akshaya-tṛtīyā* and *Yugādi*, of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* of the year 1190 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of *Kaṇāuta* in the *Nandīni pattalā* to the *Paṇḍita Dāmōdaraśarma*—son of the *Paṇḍita Madanapāla*, son's son of *Lōkapāla* and son of the son's son of *Gunapāla*—a *Brāhman* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, whose three *pravara*s were *Kāśyapa*, *Āvatsāra* and *Naidhruva*, who was a student of the *Vājasaneyā sikhā* (of the *Yajur-vēda*) and a sun-worshipper (*saura*), and who knew the five *siddhāntas* of the *Jyōtiḥśāstra*.—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *pravaṇkara*, *turushkadunḍa* and *kumara-gadiṇaka*. The grant was written by the *Thakkura Gāgēka*.²

The date, for the *Kārttikādi* *Vikrama-samvat* 1190 expired, corresponds to Friday, the 30th March A.D. 1134, which was the proper day of the *Akshaya-tṛtīyā* and the (*Trētā*-) *yugādi*, because the third tithi of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* ended on it 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.³

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12-śrīmad-Gōvinda-
 13 chaṁdradēvō vijayī || Tad-ētat-sammatyā samastarājaparakriyōpēta-yauvarājyā-
 bhishikta-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōtachaṁdradēvō vijayī ||⁴ Nandīni-pattalā-
 14 yām Kaṇāuta-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-jaṇapadān-upagatān=apī cha rāja-rājñi-
 na[n*]tri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-

¹ Here follow the six verses commencing *Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti, Śāṅkhum bhadr-ānam, Sarvān=ētan= bhāṇimāḥ, Bahubhir=varudhā, Svayam=ekam*, and *Tadāgānām sahasrēna*.

² Gāgēka most probably is identical with the Gāgūka who wrote the grants F., G. and H., treated of above, Vol. IV. p. 107 ff.

³ The proper time for the *Akshaya-tṛtīyā* and the *Trētāyugādi* is the forenoon; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 179.

⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the *Kamauli* plate of *Gōvindachandra*, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f.

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

- 15 bhishan-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākaraśtānagōkulādlikāri-puruṣhān
samājñāpāṭeti vō(16)dhayatṣ-ādisati cha [1*] Veditam=astu bhavata[m]
yath=ō-
- 16 parilikhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-parṇ-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-
ō-haraḥ sa-madhōka-chūta-vaṇa-viṭapa-vāṇik-ō-tṛina-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ā-
- 17 dhaś=[cha]turāghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ sv-simā-paryantaḥ [1 navatyadbhik-aikādaśśata-
samvatsarēshu Vaiśākhe māsi śukla-pakṣe² akshaya-tṛitīyāyām yugādau
śukra-dinē
- 18 ³ aṅkatō=pi samvat 1190 Vaiśākha-śud 3 Śukrē ||⁴ śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām
Gaṅgēyām snatva timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=
[Au]chadhi-
- 19 pati-śakala-śekharaṁ samabhyarohaya tribhuvana-trātur=Vvāsudēvasya pūjām
vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujar hutvā mātāpitṛr-ātmanas=
cha punya-yasō(śō)-
- 20 dhi(bhi)vriddhayē gōka[rṇa]-kuśalatā-pūta-karakamal-ōdaka-pūrvvam=asmābhiḥ
Kāśyapa-sagotrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Nē(nai)dhruva-tripavarāya Vājasanēya-sā(śā)khi-
- 21 nō Guṇapāla-prapaurāya Lōkapāla-paurāya paṇḍita-trī(śrī)-Madanapāla-putrāya
paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmmaṣē saura-vrā(brā)hmapāya jyōtiḥ[śā]stra-siddhānta-
pañchaka-vidē(ā)
- 22 ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvach-ohhāsa(sa)nīkṛitya pradattō⁴ matvā yathādiyamāna-
bhāgabhōgakara-pravaṇikara-turushkēdamāda-kumragadiāpaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān=
ājñāvidhē-
- 23 jibhūya dāsyathe || Bhavanti ch=āṭa paurāṇikāḥ ślokaḥ ||⁵
- 24 [1] [1] Trī(śrī)ḥ [11*] Likhitaṁ bhakkura-trī(śrī)-
Gāgēkēn=ēti⁶ śubham ||

D.— PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA AND THE MAHARAJAPUTRA
RĀJYAPĀLA OF VIKRAMA-ŚAKĀVAT 1203.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 2½" broad by 11¼" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ¾" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

महाराजपुत्रस्य
गोविन्दचन्द्राय नमः

in Nāgarī letters about ¼" high, above the legend, a conch-shell, and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right, with below it some device that looks like another conch-shell. The plate contains 30 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is occasionally employed for the palatal. Besides it may be noted that the words *prakṣālita*, *śikhara*, *punya* and *tāmra* are spelt *prakṣālita*, l. 6, *śikhara*, l. 19, *punya*, ll. 20 and 23, and *tāmra*, l. 30, respectively.

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous; read -paryantō nava².

² Read -pakṣe=akshaya.

³ Read -dinē=aṅkatō.

⁴ Read -pradatta iti matvā.

⁵ Here follow the seven verses commencing *Phāṇim yā pratigrihṣṭi*, *Śaṅkham bhadr-dānam*, *Sarvān-
ātman-bhāṇināḥ*, *Bahubhir=vasudhā*, *Gaṇ=śaktim*, *Sva-dattān para-dattān vā*, and *Vāt-ākhra-vibhramam*.

⁶ Between *nē* and *ti* there is a letter which has apparently been erased by the engraver.

This inscription also is of the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvīndachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Rājyapālādēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives, records that, on Wednesday, the 5th of the dark half of Māgha of the year 1203 (given in words and figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Rājyapālapura, he granted the village of Chamaravāmi— with Harichandapāli and two or three other *pāṭakas* the names of which are doubtful— in the *Vaisura pāṭalā*, to the *Paṇḍita* Dāmōdaraśarma who has been already mentioned as donee of the grant C.— The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *pravaṇikara*, *jalakara*,¹ *gōkara* and *turushkadanda*. The grant (*tāmra-paṭṭaka*) was written by the *Karaṇika*, the *Thakkura Vivika*.²

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1203 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha, corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1146, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, and the donation undoubtedly was made on account of that Samkrānti, even though this is not actually stated in the grant.

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 3-srīmad-Gōvīndachandradēva-³ pādapadma-saṁmatyā
 samastarājapriakri-
 13 yōpēta-mahārājaputra-srīmad-Rājyapālādēvō vijayā¹ 5 • Vaisura-pāṭalāyām |
 Kha[i P]lap[samdi P]naya[apāli P]² | Cha[ḍhuha P]pāli | Harichandapāli |
 ēstu pāṭakēshu sāha³ Chamaravāmi-grā-
 14 ma-nivāsīnō śkhila-janapadān-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvaraja-mantri-purōhita-
 pratibhāsa-sē[nāpati-bhāṇḍ]āgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpu-
 15 rika-dūta-karituragapattanākeraśtānagō kuladhikāra-purushān=ājāpayati
 vō(bō)dhayat=ādisati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath=oparili[khi*]ta-
 grāmāḥ sa-[ja]-
 16 la-sihala[h*] sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara[h*] sa-masy-ākara[h*]⁴ bha(=a)-gatt-ōshara[h*]
 sa-madhūka-chūta-vana-vitapa-vāṭikā-ṭripa-yūti-gōchara-pu[r*]yantaḥ s-ōrddhv-
 ādhaś=chaturaghāṭa-vi[ś]uddhaḥ eva-[sima]-
 17 paryantaḥ⁵ varsharavādhika-dvācēśuśata-samvatsarē Māghē māsi kṛishṇa-
 pakshē pameṇamyām tithō(ṭhau) Vu(bu)dha-dinē yatr=ānkē-pi samvata(t) ||
 1203 Māgha-vadi 5 Vu(bu)dh[ē] ||⁶ 2[dy]=ēha śrī[-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 120, l. 22, I have wrongly altered *jalakara* to *jāṭakara*. *Jalakara* is the proper reading also in the Gaghā plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 20, and most probably *ibid.* Vol. XV, p. 8, l. 22.

² The *Karaṇika Thakkura Vivika* also wrote the grant of [Vikrama]-samvat 1199, recorded in the Gaghā plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 20. He is possibly identical also with the *Ākshapaṭalika Thakkura Vivika* who wrote the grants of [Vikrama]-samvat 1231 and 1232, treated of above, Vol. IV, pp. 124 and 126 ff.

³ Up to this text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvīndachandra, published above, Vol. IV, p. 100 f., the main differences being that in the present plate the words *sa caa* have been inserted before the word *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of line 11 of the Kamauli plate, and that the phrase *nijabhuṇjōpārjita* of the same line has by mistake been omitted here.

⁴ The *ś*-stroke of *dēva* is corrected from *va* which originally had been engraved after *chanara*.—As regards the construction, one would have expected something like *Gōvīndachandradēvō vijayā | 2ad-ētat-pādapadma-saṁmatyā*, as in the plate C., above, p. 155.

⁵ This and the other signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.

⁶ The reading is very doubtful; possibly two names (*Khāṭapāl* and *Nayanapāl*?) may be intended.

⁷ Read *ēbhīḥ pāṭakāḥ sāha*.

⁸ The sign of *anusāra* has been engraved over the *akshara* *ṭayō*, over the *rtiō* of the following *-gattōshara[h*]*, and over the *kā* of the following *-vāṭikā*.

⁹ This and the other signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous; read *-paryantō*.

¹⁰ Read *Buddh=dy=ēha*.

- 18 mad-Rājyapālapurē Gaṃgāyām snātvā vidhivan=mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-
pitri-gaṇāms=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasa[m=U]shṇarōchisha[m=
u]psthā-
- 19 y=Aushadhipati-sākala-sēsha(kha)raṃ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya
pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātāpi[tr]ōr=
ātmanas=cha
- 20 punya(ṇya)-yaśo-bhivṛddhayē |¹ Kāśyapa-sagotrāya | Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva-
tripavarāya | Vājasaneyā-sākhinē | paṃdita-sri-Guṇapāla-p[r]apautrāya |
pa[m*]dita-sri-Lōkapāla-[pautrāya | paṃdita-sri]-
- 21 Madanapāla-putrāya | paṃdita-sri-Dāmodaraśa[r*]mmaṇē² vrā(brā)hmaṇāy=āsmābhir=
ggōkarnṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdva(da)ka-pūṇṇa(rvva)m = ā - c h a m d r - ā r k k a m
yāvach=chhāsanikṛitya prada[tt]ō³ [matvā]
- 22 yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-pravanika[ra*]-jalakara-gōkara-turushkadandā-prabhṛiti-
sa[m]ast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyarth=ēti⁴ || Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm-
ānu[sam(sā)]sinah
- 23 ślōkāḥ ||⁵
- 30 || ☸ || Likhitaṃ ch=ēdam⁶ tāmra-pattakam karāṇika-ṭhakkura-
sri-Vivikēn=ēti || || ||

E.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAṬ 1207.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 26 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *babhrumur*=; occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental (as in *sakusra*, twice); and the word *hamsō* is written *hansō*, in line 25.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhṭṭiraka Mahārājavidhirāja Paramśvara Gōvindhachandradēva*, who records that, on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Pausa of the year 1207 (given in words and figures), on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkranti, after bathing at the Kōṭi-tirtha at Benares, he granted the village of Lōlirupādā,⁷ together with Tivāyi-kshētra,⁸ in the Umbarāla pattalū, to the Paṇḍita Dāmodaraśarmaṇ, known to us already as the donee of the grants C. and D.—The taxes specified (in lines 17) are the bhāgabhogakara, pravanika and turushkadandā. The grant (*śūnra*) was written by Vidyādharma, the son of (the Karāṇika) Dhandhūka.⁹

The date, for Vikrama-sāmvat 1207 expired, corresponds to Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1150, when the 5th tithi of the bright half commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the Uttarāyana-samkranti took place 3 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.

¹ This and the other signs of punctuation in lines 20 and 21 are superfluous.

² The *akshara vrā* is engraved over *śrī* which had been originally engraved.

³ Read *pradatta its matvā*.

⁴ Read *dāsyarth=ēti*.

⁵ Here follow the eleven verses commencing *Bhūmim yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti, Śankham bhadr-āsanam, Bahubhir=rasudhā, Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinah, Shashṭim varsha-sahasraṇi, Gām=ekām, Taddāṇām suhasrēṇa, Śva-dattām para-dattām vā, Vāri-khēshv=aranyēshu, Yān=śha dattāni* and *Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam*.

⁶ Read *tāmra*.

⁷ This was perhaps a *pātaka* of Lōlirupādā.

⁸ Or, perhaps, Lōlikapādā; see the note on the text.

⁹ Dhandhūka wrote the grant of Vikrama-sāmvat 1201, treated of above, Vol. V. p. 115, and is most probably identical with the *Ṭhakkura* Dhādhūka who wrote the grant of Vikrama-sāmvat 1197, noticed above, Vol. VI. p. 114.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 11 ¹śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijayī ||² Umvarāla-pattalāyām |³
Tivāyī-kshêtrēṇa saha ³Lōli[ru]pādā-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān=
api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvārā-
- 12 ja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥ-
purika-dūta-karituragapattanākara[sth]ānagōkulādhikāri-purayā(shā)n = ājñāpayatī
vō(bō)-
- 13 dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā |⁴ viditam=astu bhavatām |⁴ yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-
sthalāḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharāḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-
vāṭikā-viṭapa-tri-
- 14 ṇa-[yū]ti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhy-ādhas=chaturāghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ
samvatsarāṇām saptādhika-dvādaśasatēshu Paushē māsi śukla-pakshē
pamchamyām ti[th]au Sōma-dinē jñkē-pi samvata(t) 1207
- 15 Paushā-sudi 5 Sōmē(ma) uttarāyana-samkrāntāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām
Kōṭi-ti[rthē] snjātvā mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha pu[ṇya]-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē=smabhir=
ggā(ggō)karṇṇa-kusalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdāla-pū-⁵
- 16 rrvam Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtrāya |⁶ Kāsya(śya)p-Āvatsāra-Naidhri(dhru)va-triḥpravarāya⁷ |
Vājasanēya-sā[kh]inē paṇḍita-śrī-Lōkapāla-pautrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Madanapāla-
putrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmma-
- 17 nē vrā(brā)[hma]ṇāy=[ā*]-chandr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō⁸ matvā
yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-pravaṇikara-turushkadanḍa-prabhṛiti-sarv - ā d ā y ā n =
ā[jñ]āvidhēyibhūya dāsyaṭh=ēti || chha || Bhavanti ch=ātra
- 18 ślōkāḥ ||⁹ || chha || ¹⁰Bhū-bharttur=asya karanē
- 24 || chha || ¹⁰Bhū-bharttur=asya karanē
- 25 saras=īva hamsō¹¹ Dhandhūka ity=aritamisra-divākaro=bhūt | tasy=ātmanjēna guṇin=ēdam=
alēkhi tā[m]ram Vidyādharaṇa dharanītala-bhūshayēna || Yāvad=girau Dhanapatēr=
vvasati Smarārīr=yāvan=niśāpati-
- 26 r=amushya lalāṭa-pattē | krōḍē karāṅga-śisur=asya cha yāvad=ētat=tāvat=sthinibhavatu
śāsanam=asta-vighnam || ❀ ||

No. 15.—PIKIRA GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of ink-impressions of this copper-plate grant were sent to me by Mr. Venkayya, who had received the original on loan from the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras, to whom it had been despatched by the Collector of Nellore. It was originally sent by

¹ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f.

² These two signs of punctuation are superfluous; read *vijayya=Umbarāla*.

³ This name may possibly have to be read *Lōlikapādā*.

⁴ These two signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Read *-ōdaka-pū-*.

⁶ The signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.

⁷ Read *-triḥpravarāya*.

⁸ Read *pradatta iti matvā*.

⁹ Here follow the twelve verses commencing *Bhūmīn yāḥ pratigṛhṇāti, Śāntikāḥ bhadr-dānam, Svīdān-
ślān=bhāṭvānāḥ, Bahubhīr=rasudhā, Gām=ekām, Taddāṇām sahasrēna, Sva-dattām para-dattām vā, Shashṭim
varsha-sahasrāni, Vāri-hinēshv=aranyēshu, Na risham, Yān=īha dattāni and Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam.*

¹⁰ Metre here and below: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Read *hamsō*.

the village Munsiff of Nelatur, Ongole taluka, now part of the Guntur district, to the Deputy Tahsildar of Addanki and formed part of the unclaimed property of a dead Bairāgi."

Mr. Venkayya furnished me with the following description:—"There are five copper-plates on a ring, weighing together 70 tolas. The outer sides of the first and the last plates, which bear no letters, as well as the edges of the plates, are smooth. The plates measure almost 7" in length and $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. Plates ii. to iv. are a little thicker than i. and v. Part of the writing on plate i. shows through on the blank side of it. The ring was cut by me and riveted subsequently. The diameter of the ring is $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and its thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the average. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal is very much worn, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, an animal with mouth open and facing the proper left. It is represented sitting on a horizontal line which is in relief. and it resembles very closely the animal represented on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50). The tail of the animal is not seen, neither are its forelegs."

The engraving of the inscription is on the whole carefully done and well preserved. The language is Sanskrit prose, and three Sanskrit verses of the *Rishi* (Vyāsa) are quoted at the end of the inscription. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli and Māṅgalūr grants.¹ But there is one point in which the three grants differ. In the Uruvupalli grant *ta* has a loop on the left, as in Tamil, and *na* has none. In the Māṅgalūr grant both the form with the loop and the one without it are used in the case of *ta*, while *na* has no loop except in *kratunām* (l. 16). In the new inscription the forms with and without loop are used for both *ta* and *na*, though in the majority of cases *ta* has a loop and *na* has none. A final form of *m* occurs five times (ll. 13, 18, 23, and twice in l. 24). Plates i. ii. b and iv. b are marked on the left margin with the numerical symbols 1, 2 and 4, while plates iii. b and v. are not numbered.

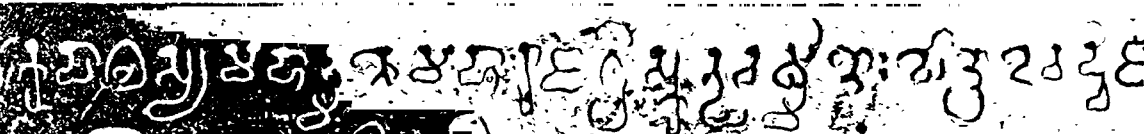
The inscription opens with the same invocation of Bhagavat (Vishṇu) as the Uruvupalli and Māṅgalūr grants. It records the grant of the village of Pīkīra in the district named Muṇḍa-rāṣṭra (l. 14) in the fifth year of the reign (l. 18) of the Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman (l. 14), who was the son of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa (l. 9 f.), the grandson of the Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.) (l. 7), and the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Viravarman (l. 3). To the name of each of these four princes are prefixed a number of laudatory epithets which resemble those used in the Uruvupalli grant, where, however, they are differently arranged and applied to the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman, his father Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.), his grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman, and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (I.). In the Māṅgalūr grant the epithets differ, but the kings are, as in the Pīkīra grant, the Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman, his father Yuvarāja Viṣṇugōpa, his grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.), and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman.

The date of the Pīkīra grant is the fifth year, and that of the Māṅgalūr grant the eighth year, of Simhavarman's reign. The Uruvupalli grant was made by the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman, but is dated in the eleventh year of the Mahārāja Simhavarman, whose relation to the donor is not stated. Dr. Fleet concluded from this that the Simhavarman of the Uruvupalli plates was an otherwise unknown elder brother of Viṣṇugōpa. I would propose another solution of the difficulty. The term Yuvarāja or Yuvamahārāja, which is prefixed to Viṣṇugōpa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Simhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II. to his son Simhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Viṣṇugōpa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown, he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Simha-

¹ Edited with photo-lithographs by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50 ff. and p. 154 ff.

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[illegible]

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varman, to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher would say—the Uruvupalli grant.

The Pikira grant was issued from the camp at *Mēnmātura* (l. 1), the *Māngaḷūr* grant from *Daśanapura*,¹ and the Uruvupalli grant from the residence (*sthāna*) *Palakkāḍa*. I am unable to identify *Mēnmātura*. As regards the two other names, I have shown that Dr. Burnell's identification of *Palakkāḍa* with the modern Pulicat is untenable.² Dr. Burnell was further inclined to consider *Palakkāḍa* the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit name *Daśanapura*.³ As stated by Dr. Fleet,⁴ this derivation is equally unsound. For the Telugu word for 'a tooth' is not *pala*, but *pallu* (genitive *panṭi*), and *kaḍa* does not mean 'a town,' but 'a place, a side.' Nor is it safe to connect *Daśanapura* with its synonym *Dantapura* which, according to the *Jātaka*⁵ and the *Dāṭhāvamsa*,⁶ was the capital of *Kaliṅga* and may be meant for *Kaliṅganagara*, the modern *Mukhalingam* in the *Gaṇjām* district,⁷—far to the north of the *Pallava* territory. Thus the three ancient local names *Mēnmātura*, *Daśanapura* and *Palakkāḍa* are still awaiting identification. In his *Annual Report* for 1904-05, p. 47, Mr. Venkayya has shown that they may have to be looked for in the present *Nellore* district.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁹ [1*] Jitam=bhagavatā [1*] Svasti [1*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārān=
Mēnmātura-āvāsakāt=parama-brahmaṇya-
- 2 sya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjjit-ōrjita-kshātra-tapō-nidh[ē*]r=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-
maryyādasya
- 3 sthiti-sthitasy=ām[i]tātmanō mahārājasya prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-
Viravarmmaṇaḥ praputrō=

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 bhyuchchita-¹⁰śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-¹¹rāja-maṇḍalasya
bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhā-
- 5 va-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradāna i ḥ
pravṛi-
- 6 ddha-dharmma-saṇchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām pañchamasya

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 lōkapālasya mahātmanō mahārāja-śr[i]-Skandavarmanmaṇaḥ pautrō dēva-dvi-
8 guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyīnō¹² vivṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-saṅgrāma-sāhas-āva-
9 mardd-ōpalabdhā-¹³vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya satyātmanō yuvamahārāja-

¹ In the Darśi fragment, *Daśanapura* is called a residence (*adhishṭhāna*); *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 398.

² *Loc. cit.* note 4.

³ *South-Ind. Pal.* sec. ed. p. 38, note.

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 318, note 12.

⁵ Vol. VII. p. 66, s. v. *Dantapura*.

⁶ Edited by Prof. Rhys Davids (*Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1884), II. 57, 98, 100; III. 2.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 ff.

⁸ From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

⁹ Expressed by the same symbol as in the *Māngaḷūr* grant.

¹⁰ The photo-lithograph of the Uruvupalli grant (l. 4) reads *prapautrasya-dāchchita*, which may be meant for *ōchchita*.

¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from *-ōpanata*.

¹² Read *-āpachāyīnō*, as in l. 6 of the Uruvupalli grant.

¹³ A superfluous hook is attached to the right of the *ma* and of the *rdā*.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 10 śr[i]-V[i]śhṇugôpasya putraḥ kaliyuga-dôsh-âvasanna-dharmm-ôddharana-
n[i]tya-sannaddhasya
11 sprīhaṇīya-parâkramô râjarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandôha-vijigīshur-ddharma-
vijigīshuh¹
12 bhagavat-pād-ânuddhyâtô bappa-bhâtṭâraka-²pâda-bhaktaḥ parama bhâgavatô
Bhâradvâjah

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 13 sva-vikram-âkrânt-ânya-nripa-śrī-nilayânâm yathâvad-âhṛit-ânêk-âśvamêdhânâm
14 Pallavânân=dharmmamahârâja-śrī-Simhavarmmâ Muṇḍa-râshṭrê Pikirê
grâmê grâ-
15 mēyakân=atr=âdhikṛitân=sarvvâdhyaksha-vallava-³śâsanasañchârīpaś=ch=â j n â -
payaty=Ayam grâmaḥ

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 16 Kâśyapâya Taittirīyâya Vilâśasarmmanê sarvva-parihâr-ôpêtô dēva-
17 bhôga-hala-varjjam=asmad-âyur-bala-vijay-âbhivṛiddhayê samêdhamâna-
18 vijaya-r[â*]jya-pañchama-sa[m*]vatsar-Âśvayuja-śukla-paksha-trī t i y â -
yâm⁴

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 19 brahmadēyī-k[ri]ty=[â]smâbhis=samprattas=Tatas=sarvva-parihârair=a [y a] m
grâmaḥ parihartta-
20 vya[h*] par[i]bârayitavyaś=cha [i*] Yaś=ch=ôdam=⁵asmach-chhâsanam=
atīkrâmêt=sa pâpaś=śâ-
21 rīran=daṇḍam=arhaty=⁶Api ch=[â*]tr=ârshâḥ ślôkâ bhavanti || Bhûmi-
dâna-saman=dânam=[i]ha lô'ê na

Fifth Plate.

- 22 vidyatê [i*] yaḥ prayachchhati bhûmim hi sarvva-kâmân=dadâti
saḥ [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudh[â] dattâ
23 bahu[bh]iś=ch=[â]nupâlītâ [i*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
[tadâ] phalam [||*]
24 Sva-dattâm para-dattâ[m*] vâ y[ô] harê[ta] vasundharâm [i*]
g[avâ][m*] [śata]-sahasrasya harntuḥ pibati kilbisham [||*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om.* Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat⁷ (Vishṇu). Hail! From the prosperous camp of victory pitched at Mênmatûra,

(L. 3.) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahârâja Viravarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 7.) the grandson of the glorious Mahârâja Skandavarman (II.),

(L. 9.) the son of the glorious Yuvamahârâja Vishṇugôpa,

¹ Read *gīshur*.

² Read *bhātṭâraka*.

³ Read *vallabha*, as in l. 18 of the Māngajūr grant.

⁴ Here follows a symbol which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is a flourish which serves to fill up the vacant space at the end of the line.

⁵ Read *ôdam*.

⁶ Corrected by the engraver from *arhat*.

⁷ On the expression *jītam bhagavatā* see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 25, note 4.

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father,¹ the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Simhavarman, the rightful Mahārāja (of the family) of the Pallavas,² who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (*and*) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,— addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village (*named*) **Pikira** in **Munḍa-rāṣṭra** and to the general overseers (*sarvādhyakṣa*), the favourites (*vallabha*) and the official messengers (*śāsanasaṁchārīn*)³ who are appointed to this (*district*).⁴

(L. 15.) “This village has been given by Us, having made (*it*) a *Brahmadāya*, to Vilāsaśarman of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*) (*and*) of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*),—accompanied by all immunities, with the exception of the cultivated land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga-hala*),⁵ for the increase of Our length of life, power and victory, on the third (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja in the fifth year of (Our) reign of growing victory.

(L. 19.) “Therefore this village must be exempted and caused to be exempted with all immunities. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict, is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this there are also (*the following*) verses of the *Ṛishi* (*viz.* Vyāsa).”

[Ll. 21—24 contain three of the customary verses.]

NO. 16.—UNDIKAVATIKA GRANT OF ABHIMANYU.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These copper-plates formed part of the collection of Dr. Bhan Daji; but there is no information as to where they came from. The inscription on them was already published by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Journ. Bombay Branch, R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 88 ff., and was critically examined by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509 ff. At his desire I here re-edit the text, to accompany the Plate now published, from excellent ink-impressions supplied by him. Dr. Fleet contributes the following remarks:—

“The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1886, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, through Major F. H. Jackson, Baroda. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

“The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring about 5½” by 2½”. They are quite smooth, without any rims either fashioned or raised. They are fairly thick; and consequently the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; except in a few letters, where the strokes were not firm and deep enough to finish them off properly. The interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. At several places on plates ii. b and iii. the surface has split and broken away, so that the writing is damaged there; the remainder of the record is in good order.

¹ On *bappa-bhaṭṭadraka-pāda-bhakta* see above, Vol. IV. p. 143 and note 7.

² Compare above, Vol. VI. p. 88 and note 3.

³ The synonymous term *ājñāsaṁchārīn* occurs in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, text line 21; p. 246, text line 24; and above, Vol. III. p. 261, text line 13.

⁴ I supply this word from the Uruvupalli grant which reads (l. 28 f.)—*tasmin=viśayaś sarvāyuktakāḥ sarveṇaiyyōkāḥ (!) rājavallabhāḥ sañcharantakāi=cha*. In both cases the district of Munḍa-rāṣṭra is meant.

⁵ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 157, note 1, and above, Vol. VII. p. 66.

"The ring is oval, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 1" to $1\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal is not of the customary kind. It was formed by flattening out part of the ring to a thickness of only about $\frac{1}{8}$ "; thus producing a six-sided surface, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", curved like the opposite part of the ring. The emblem on it,—which I take to be a *śiṃha*, couchant to the left (proper right), with jaws open and tongue protruding between them,—was done in outline, rather roughly, in that surface. The weight of the three plates is $10\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; and of the ring and seal, $\frac{7}{8}$ oz.: total, $11\frac{3}{8}$ oz."

Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription, on palaeographical grounds, to approximately the seventh century A.D.¹ The *upadhānīya* occurs thrice (ll. 5, 7 and 13). A horizontal dash is used as a mark of punctuation in four cases.² The language is Sanskrit. The genealogical portion contains $2\frac{1}{2}$ verses, and two other verses are quoted at the end. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The Sandhi rules are neglected before *u* in ll. 15 and 16. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *drishṭā* (l. 6) and *trivarggā* (l. 8). Other irregularities are *vaṇṣa* for *vaṇṣa* (l. 5), *punya* for *punya* (l. 7), and *Jayasiṃha* for *Jayasiṃha* (l. 18).

The inscription is of historical importance because it contains the earliest mention of Rāshtrakūṭa kings. These princes seem to have belonged to a branch distinct from that of the Mākhṇa family, whose crest was the Garuḍa, while the seal of this grant bears a lion. The genealogical portion opens with the statement that "there was a king named Mānāṅka, who was the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose glory is adorned with a multitude of many virtues." His son was Dévarāja (l. 3 f.). He had three sons (v. 2),—among them Bhaviṣya, whose son was Abhimanyu (l. 11). While the latter resided at Mānapuram (l. 12 f.), he granted a small village (*grāmaka*) named Uṇḍikavāṭikā (l. 15).

If we look for the name of the donee, we are confronted by two genitives: *Dakṣiṇa-Śivasya* (l. 14 f.) and *Jaṭābhāra-pravrajitasya* (l. 15 f.). Dr. Fleet connected the first with the following word *Uṇḍikavāṭikā* and translated the second by "(the god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as *Dakṣiṇa-Śiva*) and has gone abroad to (and settled at) *Jaṭābhāra*," which he identified with a temple called 'Jutta Shunkur,' i.e. *Jaṭa-Śaṅkara*.³ To this may be objected that the time-hallowed technical meaning of *pravrajita* is 'one who has left home to become a religious mendicant,' and that this word would hardly be used with reference to an idol instead of the ordinary *pratishṭhāpita*. The two genitives can be explained by taking the first as the name of the donee and the second, as was done by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,⁴ as the name of a Pāsupata ascetic in charge of the temple, to whom the grant was made over on behalf of the temple by pouring water into his hand. Hence I would translate l. 12 ff. as follows:—

"He who was adorning Mānapuram by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of (his) mother and father, the small village named Uṇḍikavāṭikā to (the temple of) *Dakṣiṇa-Śiva* belonging to [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka,⁵ by pouring water (into the hands) of the ascetic *Jaṭābhāra*. Towards this (grant) nobody should practise deceit."

According to l. 18 the grant was made "in the presence of *Jayasiṃha*, the commander⁶ (of the fort) of *Harivatsakōṭṭa*." The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, the '*Dakṣiṇa-Śiva* (temple) belonging to [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka' had been identified in the *Bombay Gazetteer* with the Mahādēva temple

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 386.

² After *paṭākā*, l. 6, *praeriddhāh*, l. 7, *bhūminḍhāh*, l. 9, and at the end of l. 19.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. pp. 510, 511, 513.

⁴ *Journ. Bombay Branch. E. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. pp. 88 and 92.

⁵ If the reading *pēṭha* is correct, the word may be the Hindi *pēṭh*, *pēṭh*, Kannada *pēṭe*, and Tamil *pēṭṭai*, 'a market-town.' Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 512) would prefer to take it as a territorial term: but in this case it ought to stand after the word *Paṅgaraka*.

⁶ As stated by Dr. Fleet (*ibid.* p. 510), *kōṭṭa-nigraha* has to be taken here in the sense of *kōṭṭa dīa*.



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ii b.

12 கீழே இருப்பது நல்லது: அகல
புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை
14 கீழே இருப்பது நல்லது: அகல
புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை
16 புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை

iii.

18 புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை
புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை
20 புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை
புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை
22 புத்திரமிக ருடைய நன்மை

near **Pagāra**, which is about four miles north of Pachmarh.¹ In endorsing this identification, Dr. Fleet suggested that **Undikavāṭikā**, the village granted, may be one of two villages named '**Oontiya**' in the same neighbourhood.² He was inclined to identify **Mānapuram** with **Mānpur** near '**Bandhogarh**' in **Rēwa**, provided that the **Mānapuram** of the inscription was to be understood as the capital of **Abhimanyu**, not as a temporary camp of his. That the former alternative is correct, may perhaps be concluded from the name **Mānapuram** itself, which seems to be derived from **Mānānka**, the name of **Abhimanyu's** great-grandfather, and to mean 'the town or capital of **Māna** or **Mānānka**.'

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti [||*] Anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛita-yaśasām
 2 Rāshṭrakūtānā[m] [t]ilaka-bhūtō **Mānānka** iti rājā
 3 babhūva [||*] tasya vīgrahavān=iva Dēvarājā(jō) **Dēva-**
 4 rāj=ēti sūnnh [||*] Yasy=⁵ānya-bhūmipatibhir=vvijit-ā[bh]i-
 5 mānair=uchchhrāyi-vanśa-nihitās=sva-⁶yaśaḥ-pa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 tākā | dri(dṛi)shṭā chiram prātidinam nann dṛisyatē cha
 7 Gaṅg=ēva punya(nya)-salilā purataḥ=pravṛi[d]dhāḥ⁷ | (||) [1*]
 Tasy=ātma-
 8 jā jita-ripōr=vvijita-ṭri(tri)varggā jātās=trayas=sakala-
 9 rājaka-bhūmināthāḥ | yais=sangarēshu samupātta-ma-
 10 dā[n=*]sapatnā[ñ=*]jītvā hṛitā saha bhuvā vipulā
 nṛipa-srī[h || 2*]
 11 Tēshām **Bhaviṣyasya** sūtō=**Bhimanyuḥ**

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 12 śauryy-ō[r*]ja-rūpais=sadṛisō=**Bhimanyōḥ**⁸ [1*] Tēna **Māna-**
 13 puram=adhyāsanēn=ālaṅkurvvatā mātāpitṛōḥ-pu-
 14 nṛa-nimitt-ābhivṛiddhayē⁹ [Pēṭha]-¹⁰Paṅgarakiya-Dakṣhiṇa-
 15 Śiva[s]ya [U]ndikavāṭikā¹¹ nāma grāmakō Jātābhāra-
 16 pravra[ji]tasya udaka-pūrvvakō dattaḥ [1*] ā(a)tra na
 k[ē]na-
 17 chiki¹² vyājah kartavyaḥ [1*]

Third Plate.

- 18 **Harivatsakōṭṭa-nigraha-Jayasiṅgha**-¹³samaksham [1*]
 19 anyach=cha [1*] Ba[h]ubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ
 [Sa]gar-ā[d]ibhiḥ |

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 511 and note 16.² From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.³ Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Vasantatilakā*.⁴ Cancel the *visarga*.⁵ As pointed out by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 1), the correct expression would be *paṇy-ābhivṛiddhi-nimittam*.⁶ This word is much damaged.⁷ Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 2) reads *Undikavāṭikā*; but the subscript *d* of the second syllable of *Undi*⁸ differs in shape from the *t* of *dṛishṭā* (l. 6), *kōṭṭa* (l. 18) and *śaśhṭi* (l. 20 f.).⁸ Read *chit* or, more correctly, *chid*.⁹ *Ibid.* p. 514.¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.¹¹ Read *-vamsa-nihitā sva*.¹² The second half of this *Indravajrā* verse is missing.¹³ Read *-Jayasīṃha*.

- 20 yasya yasya yadâ bhû[m]is=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*]
 Sha-
 21 shṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê mōdati bhûmi-daḥ [||*]
 22 âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasê[t] [||*]

No. 17.— EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT SARNATH.

By J. PH. VOGEL, Lit.D.; LAHORE.

In the course of excavations carried on by Mr. F. O. Oertel in the winter of 1904-05 at Sârnâth near Benares, a considerable number of epigraphs, besides a wealth of other archæological materials, have come to light. Mr. Oertel intends giving a full account of his explorations in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey* for that year. But as it will be some time before this is published, it seems desirable to render the most important of his epigraphical discoveries at once available to European scholars. It is hoped that this early publication of the inscriptions will not only be welcome, but that it may attract a discussion of the new finds among experts and thus lead to a solution of the various problems which will be indicated in the course of the following pages.

I.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ASOKA PILLAR.

a, b, c, d.—Inscription of Asôka.

Earliest in date is an inscription in Brâhmi of the Maurya period, cut on the shaft of a monolith of highly polished and fine-grained limestone. Its appearance agrees well with that of the pillar "bright as jade" which, according to Hiuen Tsiang,¹ marked the spot where Śâkyamuni began to "turn the wheel of the Law." Unfortunately only the lower portion of the shaft was found *in situ*. Evidently the pillar had been wilfully thrown down and mutilated, probably in that same "great final catastrophe," of which Major Kittoe² received so vivid an impression in the course of his Sârnâth excavations. Besides large portions of the upper part of the shaft, a Persepolitan capital of excellent workmanship was unearthed. It bears four sitting lions, carrying a wheel,—another indication of the pillar being identical with that described by Hiuen Tsiang.

That its height cannot have reached the 70 feet of Hiuen Tsiang's pillar does not seem a serious objection, as the figure is only approximate, and it must be remembered that there is always a tendency to overestimate the height of monuments. What is more inexplicable is that Hiuen Tsiang neither connects its origin with Asôka nor mentions the fact of its being inscribed. As to the latter point, I agree with Mr. Oertel's explanation that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit most of the inscribed part of the shaft must have been under ground. This was certainly the case at the moment of its destruction. For, in order to lay bare the inscription, Mr. Oertel had to cut through several concrete floors, superimposed one above the other, as the ground gradually rose above the original level. It is due, indeed, to this circumstance that most of the inscription has been preserved.

Mr. Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments, from which it may be inferred that the destroyed portion consisted only of the first three lines of the epigraph. It will be seen that of the uppermost line of the main portion still *in situ* (i.e. on the Plate), several of the letters are injured and the concluding part is broken off. This missing part of twelve *aksharas* is supplied by one of those three fragments (i.d.), which also contains the end of the preceding

¹ *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), Vol. II. p. 46.

² *A. S. R.* Vol. I. p. 126.

line, consisting of two fragmentary and nine entire *aksharas*. Of the former we find the missing upper portions on another small fragment (*i.c*), which contains one entire *akshara* besides, and thus adds three to the nine *aksharas* mentioned. It will, moreover, be noticed that between the two lines of fragment *i.d* there runs a dark line, which indicates where the uppermost floor met the shaft and left its mark upon it. There can be no doubt as to the original position of these two fragments, which fit exactly to the lower part of the shaft preserved *in situ*.

This is not the case with the third fragment (*i.b*), which has the first two syllables of three lines. But below its third line we find the same traces of the floor as are found on fragment *i.d*. This shows that in this third line we have the two initial syllables of the same line, the end of which is preserved on fragments *i.c* and *i.d*. Above the first line of *i.a* enough open space remains to make it unlikely that there was another line above it. We see, moreover, that the two syllables preserved read *devā*, which, if continued *-nam-piye Piyadasi lājā*,¹ would form the well-known opening formula of several of the Aśoka edicts. We may, therefore, assume that fragment *i.b* contains the beginning of the first three lines of the original epigraph. It follows from this that the uppermost line *in situ* is the fourth line of the whole inscription which, consequently, consisted of eleven lines. Their average length is 60 cm., but the last line measures only 21.5 cm. The size of the letters varies from 1.3 to 2.8 cm. They are cut very clearly, and are legible throughout, except in portions of the third and fourth lines.

It is a question of primary importance whether we are justified in attributing the inscription to Aśoka. That the Dharmarāja would erect a memorial pillar on the spot where the Master preached his first sermon—as, indeed, we know he did on the place of his birth and on that of his *parinirvāṇa*—seems *à priori* most plausible. The fine monolith with its splendid capital and well-engraved inscription in the Maurya character would seem to point to no lesser founder than the great Buddhist emperor. But the epigraph itself affords a more positive proof. I need not quote as evidence my explanation of the first two *aksharas* of *i.b*, which, though plausible, is hypothetical itself. The same remark applies to a conjectural restoration of *pāṭa* in the third line of the same fragment to *Pāṭalipute*—the only word of the Aśoka inscriptions beginning with those syllables.²

The following two points seem to me to be decisive. In the sixth line we read: *Hevaṃ-devānam-piye-āhā*—“Thus speaks His sacred Majesty.” And in the eighth line mention is made of the *Mahāmātas*, evidently no others than the *Dhammamahimātas* or ‘superintendents of the sacred Law’ whom, according to the fifth rock edict,³ Aśoka had appointed thirteen years after his anointment. In the seventh pillar edict⁴ it is, moreover, stated that these officials would be occupied with the affairs of the Saṅgha also, and it is clear that to these the Sarnāth inscription refers. We read in the fifth line: *hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikkhu-saṃghasi-cha bhikkhuni-saṃghasi-cha vinṇapayitaviye*—“Let thus this order be brought to notice in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns.” And the monks themselves are evidently addressed in the following passage (l. 6 f.): “Not only has such an edict been laid down for you. But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members.”

It would follow from the above that the Sarnāth pillar was erected after the institution of the *Mahāmātas*, *i.e.* not before the fourteenth year of Aśoka's *abhishēka* (about B.C. 255). It seems not unlikely that its erection took place on the occasion of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in 249 B.C.⁵ It may at first seem surprising that the epigraph—at least

¹ It is, of course, also possible that the Instrumental case was used, as in the Rumindēi (or Padariyā) and Nigliva pillar inscriptions: *Devānam-piyena Piyadasina lājina*; see above, Vol. V. p. 1 ff.

² Rock edict V. 7. The word is only found in the Girnār inscription, while the other versions substitute *ia*, *hidam*, *hidā*, ‘here;’ see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 453.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 453 and 467.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 269 ff.

⁵ V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford 1904), p. 139.

its preserved portion— does not contain any reference to the event which, in all probability, it was meant to commemorate. But at the time of its erection such a reference must have appeared superfluous. It is noteworthy that, though the Rummindêl inscription twice refers to the Buddha's birth, the reference is, in reality, incidental. The pillar was erected, not to commemorate this fact, but to record Asôka's visit and his liberality on that occasion.

The language of the Sârnâth inscription presents the same characteristics, peculiar to the Mâgadhi dialect, as are found in the rock edicts of Kâlsi, Dhauli and Jaugada, the pillar edicts of Radia, Mathia and Râmpûrva, the Rûpnâth, Bairât and Sahastrâm edicts, and in the Barâbar cave inscriptions. These characteristics are the Nominative Singular Masculine ending in *e*, the substitution of *l* for *r* and of *n* for *ṇ*, the exclusive use of the dental sibilant, and of forms like *hevaṃ* for *ēvaṃ* and *hedise* for *īdrīśa*.

It will be seen that our epigraph contains several words not met with in any of the other Asôka inscriptions — a point which, though adding to its interest, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. On the other hand, the fact that in the beginning we find a passage corresponding to the fragmentary Kôsambi-Sâñchi edict, and at the end one which recurs in the Rûpnâth edict, is important for the interpretation not only of the Sârnâth inscription, but also of the parallel passages quoted.

In publishing my version of the inscription I wish to acknowledge thankfully the great benefit derived from a number of explanatory notes which I owe to the kindness of Prof. Kern, who has authorised me to give them publicity here. Dr. T. Bloch has also favoured me with some valuable remarks to be noticed in the sequel. In my transcript I have followed Dr. Bühler's system of joining by a hyphen such words as are written continuously in the original.

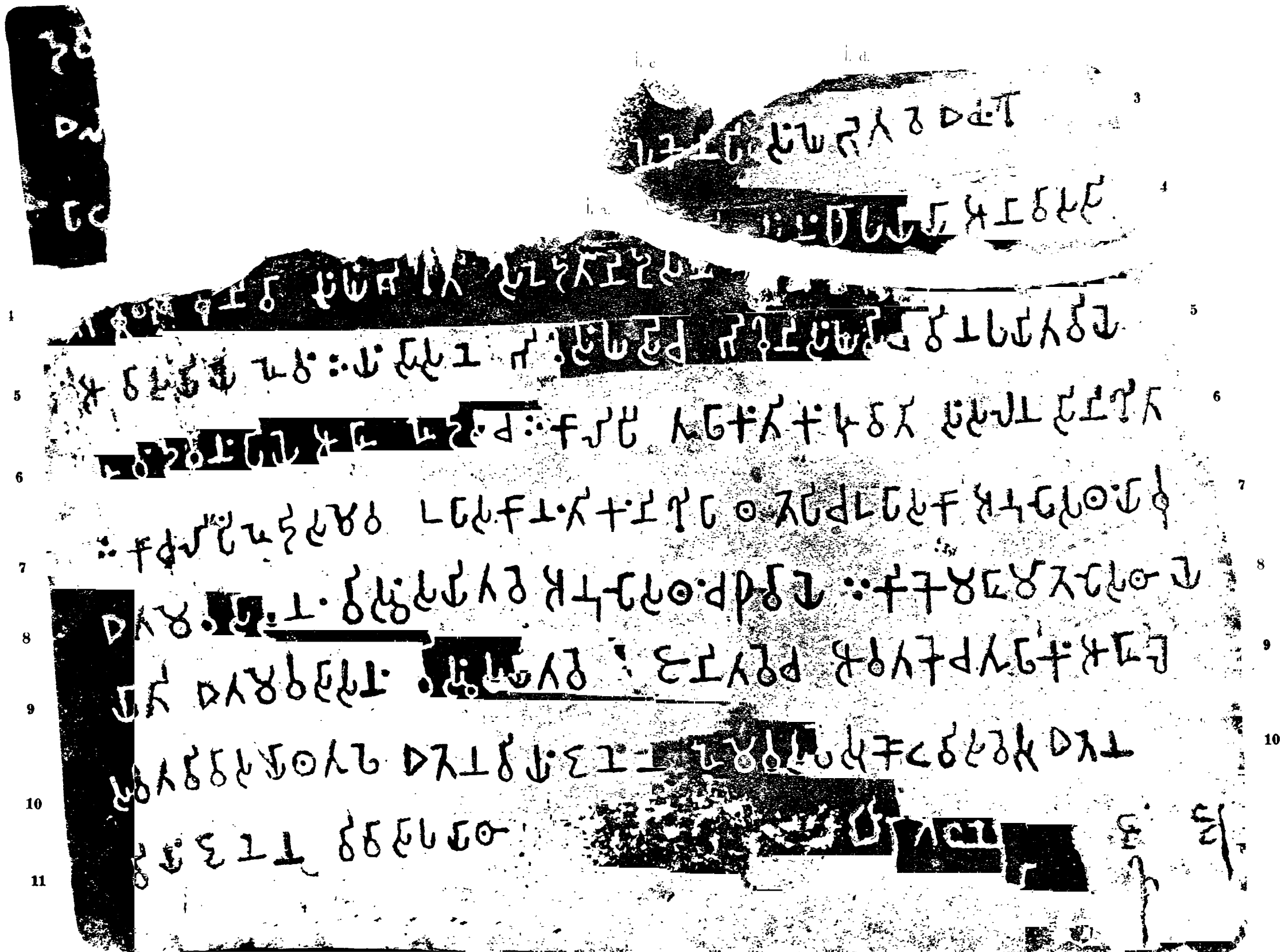
TEXT.

- 1 Devâ[naṃ-piye Piyadasi lājā*]
- 2 e [la¹]
- 3 Pāṭa[lipute*] ye-kena-pi saṃghe-bhetave-e-chuṃ-kho
- 4 [bhikhū-vā-bhikhuni-vā] saṃghaṃ-bh[i]khati se-odātāni-dus[ā]ni saṃnamdhā-
payiyā-ānāvāsasi
- 5 āvāsaiye [I*] Hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikhu-saṃghasi-cha bhikhuni-saṃghasi-cha
viṃṇapayitaviye [I*]
- 6 Hevaṃ-devānaṃ-piye-āhā [I*] Hedisā-cha-ikā-lipī tuphākāntikam-huvā-ti saṃsala-
nasi-nikhitā [I*]
- 7 Ikam-cha-lipim-hedisam=eva upāsakānamtikam-nikhipātha [I*] Te-pi-cha-upāsakā
anuposatham-yāvu
- 8 etam=eva-sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave [I*] Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye ikike-²mahāmāte-
posathāye
- 9 yāti etam=eva-sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave-cha [I*] Āvatake-cha-
tuphākam-āhāle
- 10 savata-vivāsayaṭha-tuphe etena-viyaṃjanena [I*] Hem-eva-savesu-koṭa-visavesu
etena
- 11 viyaṃjanena vivāsāpayāthā [II*]

¹ The meaning of this letter is doubtful. It resembles most the sign for *l*, but the stroke to the proper right is slanting downward, and not horizontal as in *samsalanasi* (l. 6).

² It will be noticed that initial *i* is expressed here in another way than in *iyam* (l. 5), *ikā* (l. 6) and *ikam* (l. 7). In the latter two dots are beneath and the third above; in *ikike* (for *ēkaika*) we have just the reverse. It is possible that in the second case *i* has to be read. We find post-consonantic *i* in *lipi* (l. 6).

b.



E. Hultzsch.

Scale two-fifths

Contype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

From inked estampages supplied by Dr J. Ph. Vogel

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) — [His sacred Majesty king Piyadasi] (l. 3) at Pāṭaliputta

Whatsoever (l. 4) monk or nun begs his food(?), let him be provided with clean (or white) cloths and reside in another residence (or monastery). (L. 5.) Thus should this order be made known in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns. (L. 6.) Thus speaks His sacred Majesty. Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you so that you should remember "So be it!" (L. 7.) But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members. Let the lay-members also go on each sabbath (l. 8) in order to familiarize themselves with this order. Also on each sabbath regularly will each superintendent go to the sabbath (service) (l. 9) in order to familiarize himself with this order and to understand it. And as far as your district (reaches), (l. 10) walk ye everywhere according to this proclamation. In like manner cause (others) in all towns and provinces (l. 11) to walk according to this proclamation.

REMARKS.

Line 3, *bhetave*.— Dr. Bloch remarks: "I felt inclined at first to explain this word as *bhāttavya* or *bhāttum* from *bhinatti*, and I supposed that the order (*śāsanam*) in the beginning contained injunctions against quarrelsome monks or nuns, who tried to cause schisms in the Saṅgha (Pāli: *saṅgham bhinditum*). I tried to get out of *bh[i]khati* some similar word of the same meaning, and to translate the sentence: "A monk or nun who cause schisms in the Saṅgha, let them put on white cloths (instead of the ordinary yellow robe) and take their living in some other place" (*ānāvāsasi=anyāvāsē*). This would enable us to translate the end of the edict, from *Āvatake-cha-tuphākam-āhāle* (l. 9) thus: "As far as your district (? *āhāle*) goes, everywhere turn ye out (*vināsayātha*) [a monk or nun creating disturbances] with this mark (*etena viyaṃjanena*, viz. white cloths)." But I confess that I cannot see how *bhikhati*, or whatever the reading may be, can be made to convey a similar meaning."—*Chum-kho*, as Dr. Bloch notes, "stands for *chu-kkho* (Skr. *tu khalu*), the group *mkh* having taken the place of *kkh* (Prkt. *kkho*), as we have *mna* for *nna* in *viṃṇapayitaviye* (l. 5)."

L. 4, *bhikhati*.— The vowel-stroke of the first syllable is broken, but from the little that remains I feel inclined to read rather *i* than *o*. On the Allāhābād pillar the *akshara* is missing, but was restored by Bühler as *bho* on the strength of the Sāñchi inscription. But in the latter also, judging from the facsimile, the vowel-stroke is far from certain and can as well be read *bhi*. Another difficulty is presented by the word *saṅgham*, which Bühler took to be a Nominative used as an apposition with *bhikhū-vā-bhikhuni-vā*, "the community, both monk and nun." In the light of the Sārnāth inscription this interpretation can hardly be maintained. It should be noticed that the word *saṅgham* is connected with the following *bhikhati*, and not with the preceding *bhikhū-vā-bhikhuni-vā*.—*Dusāni* is the Plural of *dusam*, Pāli *dussam*, Skr. *dūshya*.

Samnamdhāpayiyā (for which Kōsambi and Sāñchi have *saṃnamdhāpayitu*) belongs, according to Prof. Kern, to the causative of *saṃnandhati*=Skr. *saṃnahyati*. Compare Pāli *pilandhati*=Skr. *pinahyati*, originally *pinadhyati*, from the root *nadh* (past participle *naddha*, and Latin *nodus* from *noddhus**); causative *pilandhāpeti*. "The difference in meaning," Prof. Kern remarks, "between *pilandhāpeti* and *saṃnamdhāpeti* cannot be great. We may, therefore, render it by 'to provide with' (cloths in the Accusative case)."

L. 5, *viṃṇapayitaviye* (Skr. *viñāpayitavyam*), from *viṃṇapeti*, Pāli *viñāpeti* (Skr. *viñāpayati*), the causative of Sanskrit-Pāli *viñānāti*. It should be noticed that Aśoka, in making his wishes known to the Saṅgha, uses the respectful term *viṃṇapeti*, and not *ānapeti* (compare *ānapitāni* in pillar edict VII.). For the transition of *viñā* to *viṃṇa*- compare *chhandamānāni* in pillar edict IV. for Skr. *chhandōjñāni*.

L. 6, *tuphākāmtikāṃ*, and *upāsakānāmtikāṃ* (l. 7) contain the Genitive Plural of *tuphe* (Nom. Plur.) and *upāsaka* combined with the postposition *antikāṃ* (see Childers, s. v.), 'penes vos' and 'penes laicos.' Prof. Kern adds that we might assume an etymological spelling *tuphākānāmtikāṃ* in which the *anusvāra* became elided. "For such an elision of *anusvāra* between two vowels is found in the Vedic metrical system, in the metrical portions of the Pāli texts, and in the Sanskritized Buddhist *gāthās*, just as e.g. in Latin *templum Apollinis* becomes *templāpollinis*. Roth has rightly remarked (s. v. *samana*) that *samanēva* (*Rīgv.* VI. 75, 4 and elsewhere) represents *samanam iva*. In the same way we have *dēvamānēva chitrām* (*Rīgv.* X. 107, 10) for *dēvamānam iva chitrām*, and not for *dēvamānā iva chitrām* as explained in the *Padapāṭha*." Another interesting instance is pointed out by Prof. Kern in *Rīgv.* VIII. 59, 2. "The traditional reading *indram taṃ śumbha puruḥanmann āvusē* is metrically impossible, as the last four syllables must be ◡ — ◡ —. Now what has happened? The words of the poet were °*manāvase*, which stands for °*manam avase*. The diaskeuasts took *puruḥanman*° for a Vocative, and as they did not understand the ā in °*avase*, they shortened it. In applying the Sandhi rule of Sanskrit grammar, they changed °*man* into °*mann* and omitted the accent of *puruḥanmanam* which they took for a Vocative, but which in reality is an epithet of *indram*, meaning 'who has slain many.' In this manner they gave birth to the *Ṛishi* *Puruḥanman*!"

Huvā Prof. Kern derives from the Skr. Conj. Aor. *bhuvāt*, the *a* being lengthened on account of the following *ti*.—*Saṃsalanasi* is the Locative of *saṃsalanam*, which both Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch explain as the equivalent of Skr. *saṃsmaraṇa*, 'remembrance.' The expression *saṃsalanasi nikhitā* (Skr. *saṃsmaraṇē nikshiptā*) would, therefore, mean — 'put to memory.'— In l. 7 *yāvu* is the 3rd Pers. Plur. Opt. of *yāti*.

L. 8, *visvaṃsayitave*.—From the manner in which the words are connected it is evident that *visvaṃsayitave* (again in l. 9) is to be regarded as one word, and not as the adjective *visvaṃ* (Skr. *viśvam*) + a verb *savitave*. Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch agree in interpreting *visvaṃsayitave* as corresponding with Skr. *viśvāsayitum*, to be taken in a reflexive sense, 'to make oneself familiar with.' As instances of a similar use of a causative verb Prof. Kern quotes *darśayitum*, which sometimes has the meaning 'to show oneself.' For °*aṃs*° instead of °*ās*° he compares the Jaina Prākṛit *niyaṃsei* and *niyaṃsāvei* = Skr. *niśvāsayati*, whereas we have the reverse in *viśā* = Skr. *viśā*°, *tiśā* = Skr. *triśat*, *chattālīsa* = Skr. *chatvāriṃśat*.

Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye occurs also in pillar edict V.: *dhuvāye-cha-anuposatham*, 'constantly on each fast-day,' where Bühler (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 264) explains *dhuvāye* = Skr. *dhruvāya*. Compare also Kālsi rock edict I.: *no-dhuvē*, 'not regularly' (in the Shāhbāzgarhi version *no dhruvaṃ*).

L. 9, *āhāle*.—Prof. Kern is of opinion that *āhāle* cannot correspond here with Skr. *āhāra*. "Childers," he says, "has *āhāro* = 'food, nourishment; cause' (more correctly: 'ground, basis'). But there are in reality two different words which have coincided in form, namely, *āhāro*, 'food' (= Skr. *āhāra*), and *āhāro*, 'ground' (= Skr. *ādharma*). It seems to mean 'territory' in the compound *sāhāra* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 30, 4), 'with all the territory.' In any case *āhāle* here equals *ādharma*, and its meaning must be 'territory, field of business.'" In his rendering of the Rūpnāth edict M. Senart has adopted the meaning 'food' for *āhāle*; but the concluding sentence of the Sārnāth inscription leaves little doubt about the correctness of Prof. Kern's interpretation. It will be seen from the above that Dr. Bloch has arrived independently at the same conclusion. I may add that in later inscriptions also the word has the meaning of 'a territorial division.' Compare Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (London 1883), p. 113, footnote 4.

L. 10, *savata*.—Compare rock edict II. (Kālsi): *savatā vijitasi*, 'everywhere in the empire.'—*Viyāṃjana* (Skr. *vyāṇjana*) must here (and in l. 11) have a different meaning from that

assigned to it by Bühler in the expression *hetuvatā-chā viyamjanate-cha* (rock edict III.), 'both according to the letter and according to the spirit.' The sense attached to it by M. Senart in the Rûpnâth edict is evidently the one to be applied here also. The Sarnâth inscription, moreover, places it beyond doubt that M. Senart's reading of the corresponding passage in that edict is correct.¹ The original meaning of *vyañjana* is 'manifestation,' from which that of 'a royal proclamation' can be easily derived. In connection with the Rûpnâth legend this interpretation seems to me preferable to that suggested above by Dr. Bloch.

Vivāsaiyâtha is the 2nd Plur. Imper. of *vivāseti*. Compare *vivasetavaya* in the Rûpnâth edict, which M. Senart² translates:—'*il vous faut partir en mission.*' But as in the Sarnâth inscription apparently no reference is made to missionary duties, I feel inclined to assign to it a more general meaning, either 'to go about for inspecting purposes' as suggested by Prof. Kern, or 'to conduct oneself,' a meaning which could be derived from that of 'to spend one's time' attached to Skr. *vivasati*. That, in any case, *vivāsaiyâtha*, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, appears from the following *vivāsāpayâthā* (l. 11), the 2nd Pers. Plur. Imper. of a verb *vivāsāpeti* which can be nothing but a causative of *vivāseti*. This prevents me from accepting the interpretation suggested by Dr. Bloch.

L. 11, *koṭa-visavesu*.—Prof. Kern agrees with me in explaining *visavesu* as the equivalent of Skr. *viśayēṣhu* and quotes the following parallel cases: *ussāva*=*avaśyāya*; *parachchhati*, v. l. *pavechchhati*=*prayachchhati*; *tāvatimsa*=*trayastrimsa*; *kulāvaka*=*kulāyaka*; *kāsāva*=*kāśhāya*. In the Aśoka inscriptions we have *āvuti* (pillar edict IV.)=Skr. *āyukti*, and the terminations of the 3rd Pers. Sing. and Plur. Opt. °*va* (Skr. °*yāt*) and °*vu* (Skr. °*yur*), e.g. *pāpova* (pillar edict IV.)=Skr. *prāpnuyāt*.

It is more difficult to explain *koṭa*. Prof. Kern proposes to render the compound either by 'territory belonging to the resort of a capital' or by 'rural district,' as in Tamil *kōṭṭam* has the meaning of 'an agricultural town or village.' I have translated it as a *dvandva* compound. That *kōṭa*, 'a fort,' can be used to designate a fortified city, is evident from place-names like Nagar-kōṭ (i.e. Kāngra city) and Paṭhān-kōṭ (for Pratiṣṭhāna-kōṭa).

e, f.— Additional inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edict, the Sarnâth pillar contains two records of a later date, each consisting of only one line. The older of the two (i.e.) is incised partly beneath the Aśoka inscription, continuing, as it were, its last short line. Though the engraving of the letters, which measure from 1 to 7 cm., is inferior to that of the principal record, there can be little doubt about the reading, with the exception of the first word which is partly destroyed. The length of the line, as far as preserved, is exactly 1 m. I read it as follows:³

. rpārigeṃhe rājña Aśvaghoshasya chatariṣe savachhare hematapakhe
prathame divase dasame.

"[In the fortunate reign] of Rājan Aśvaghōsha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day."

It will be seen that the sign for *anusvāra* is omitted throughout (read: *chatariṃṣe*, *saṃvachhare*, *hematapakhe*), and that the long *ā* of *rājña* and *chatāri[n]ṣe* is not indicated, unless the very slight extension to the proper left of the top of *r* and *l* is meant to serve that purpose. It is probable that at the beginning there was some expression equivalent to the *vardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē* of later inscriptions.⁴

¹ See Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (Paris, 1886), Vol. II. pp. 169 ff. and 193 f.

² *Ibid.* p. 182 ff.

³ [The beginning of this inscription is shown on the Plate containing the Aśoka edict, and the continuation of it on the second Plate of Sarnâth inscriptions. The first letter of *Aśvaghoshasya* appears on both Plates. —E.H.]

⁴ For *geṃha* see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 572.

The title *rājan* added to the name *Āsvaghôsha* forbids us from identifying him with the eighth Buddhist patriarch and author of the *Buddhacharita*. It is true that in later India worldly titles are not uncommonly applied to spiritual worthies. Thus the term *saṅgharājā* is the modern title of the principal ecclesiastical functionary in Burma.¹ But it is doubtful whether that custom can be referred to the period to which our inscription belongs. Nor does it seem ever to have been the custom to date documents after the pontifical reign of the head of the church. It is more likely that the date refers to the era of *Kanishka*, and that the name of the local ruler of the time was added to the Genitive according to the established custom.²

The characters well agree with this supposition. The angular *ga* and *śa* approach the forms of the Maurya Brāhmī. But on the whole the script resembles most closely that of the Kushana period. Compare e.g. the *akshara sya* with that of the Kanishka inscription beneath. Some of the letters, like *re*, *pa* and *sa*, show a somewhat later type. Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of *Huvishka*. The language, a mixture of Prākṛit and Sanskr̥it, points to the same conclusion.

Another inscription (i.f.) of a still later date is engraved to the proper left of the *Āśōka* inscription and above that of *Āsvaghôsha*'s reign. It consists of one line, 52 cm. long. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 5 cm. It is evidently not the work of a professional stone-cutter. Some of the characters are moreover injured, which makes their reading somewhat doubtful. My reading is as follows :—

Ā[châ]ryyaṇaṁ Sa[mmi]tiyānaṁ parigraha Vātsiputrikānaṁ.

"Homage of the masters of the *Sammitiya* (?) sect (and) of the *Vātsiputrika* school."

On account of its characters, which resemble those of the early Gupta records, this epigraph may be attributed to the fourth century A.D. The language, it will be noticed, is more Sanskr̥itic than that of the previous inscription. But the long *ā* is not everywhere indicated (read: *āchāryyānaṁ Sammitiyānaṁ*). In *parigraha* the last syllable ought to be *ho*.

Unfortunately the second syllable of the second word is uncertain. If the proposed reading be correct, it would afford an interesting proof of the correctness of a Tibetan tradition, according to which the *Vātsiputriyas* were a subdivision of the *Sammitiya* sect. As stated by *Huen Tsiang*, the large convent which once stood at *Sārnāth* accommodated fifteen hundred monks of this sect. *Vatsiputra* was one of the fathers of the Buddhist church, who, according to a Tibetan source, collected the words of the Lord two hundred years after his *parinirvāṇa*.³

II.—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF ASVAGHOSHA'S REIGN.

It is curious that the name of *Rājan Āsvaghôsha* occurs again on the fragment of a stone slab (height 16.5 cm.), which Mr. Oertel discovered, almost at the surface, some 70 feet to the north-east by east of the *vikāra* which formed the centre of his explorations. It contains the first portions of two lines of a well engraved inscription, which I read :

1 Rājño Āsvaghosha[sya]

2 Upala he[ma][ntapakhe*?]

"[In the reign] of *Rājan Āsvaghôsha*, [Upala (?), [in the . . . fortnight of winter ?]

.

The characters are the same as those of *Āsvaghôsha*'s inscription on the *Āśōka* pillar.

¹ See Childers, *Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, s. v. *saṅgho*.

² See Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV. (1890), p. 127 f.

³ See Prof. Kern's *Geschiedenis*, Vol. II. pp. 354 and 443 ff.

III.—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF KANISHKA.

These inscriptions are incised on a colossal standing Bôdhisattva statue, and on an octagonal stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the image. That the two objects belong together is evident from their epigraphs, both of which record the donation of a Bôdhisattva and of an umbrella with a shaft (*chhatra-yashṭi*) on the same date and by the same donors. The inscriptions are dated in the third year of Mahārāja Kanishka (spelled *Mahārāja Kanishka*), the third month of winter, the twenty-second day, and thus are the earliest records in which the name of the great Kushana ruler occurs.¹ They supply, however, no absolute proof that at that time Kanishka's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kāśī. On the contrary, it will be seen in the sequel that the latter came more probably from Mathurā and erected the image on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism.

What adds considerably to the interest of these inscriptions is the fact that the chief donor, **Friar Bala**, a master of the Tripitaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, must be identical with the donor of the Śrāvastī image in the Calcutta Museum, to which Dr. Bloch devoted an excellent article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.² If the identity of the names alone (that of the monk Pushyavuddhi is partly missing in the Śrāvastī inscription) were not considered sufficient proof, the striking similarity of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script cannot leave any doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion. It is not a little curious that we meet the name of Friar Bala for the third time on an inscribed Bôdhisattva image from Mathurā,³ preserved in the Lucknow Museum, as the spiritual preceptor of the nun Buddhamitrā whose name is also found among the donors of the Sārnāth image. The Mathurā image is dated in the reign of Mahārāja Huvishka in the year 33, which makes it exactly thirty years posterior to the Sārnāth one.

Two names found in the Sārnāth inscriptions, to which a considerable amount of interest attaches, are **Kharapallāna** and **Vanaspara** (or **Vanashpara**). On the umbrella shaft they are mentioned among the persons who took part in the donation, Vanaspara being mentioned first and bearing the title of *Kshatrapa*. But on the image it is distinctly stated that Kharapallāna, here called *Mahākshatrapa*, erected the Bôdhisattva together with the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara. As, however, Friar Bala's name is connected with the image in a manner which would indicate him as the donor,⁴ it is not altogether patent what part the two satraps took in the donation.

The question has been raised how mendicants, who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions,⁵ could make donations which would necessarily involve a considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sārnāth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but that the work was carried out under the supervision of Friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own. Such guidance on the part of one well versed in the holy scriptures would be needed, to make sure that the works were completely orthodox. We need not go far afield to find parallels, or quote the case of Fra Angelico, who adorned San Marco at Florence with his famous frescoes. On the very

¹ The earliest inscription of Kanishka's reign hitherto found is that of his fifth year; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 381, No. 1.

² Vol. LXVII. Part I. (1898), p. 274. Compare Anderson's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 194.

³ Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate; and Lüders, *ibid.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9. The exact find-spot is stated to be the Chaubārā mound.

⁴ The word *dānam*, though not used in the Sārnāth inscriptions, is found on the Śrāvastī image.

⁵ Kern, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 40. That the former practice was not strictly adhered to, has been pointed out by M. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Vol. I. (Paris, 1905), p. 169; but the rule forbidding monks to touch money is still observed, at least in Burma.

borders of India the quaint paintings which cover the walls of the *dgon-pas* are executed up to the present day—so I was told in Lahul—by those of the lamas who possess the most accurate knowledge of their stupendous pantheon.

This much, at any rate, is certain, that the Sârnâth and the Śrāvastī image were made by the same master, if not by the same workmen. The style is that of the Mathurā school; the material is the red sandstone of the Agra quarries. All this points to the conclusion, already referred to above, that the donors of these images had their home at Mathurā where, as early as the reign of the satraps Rajula (or Rañjubula) and Śodāsa, a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bôdhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. And all evidence now available points to the fact that these were the very first images of the kind set up at those places.¹ For where else but at these sacred spots, hallowed by the presence of the Buddha himself, should we expect to find such images? And yet not a fragment of anything earlier than these has been found there. On the other hand, would Friar Bala and his companions have carried those gigantic statues from Mathurā to Śrāvastī and far-off Benares, if there had been local artists capable of converting a block of stone into a sacred image? Would he have thought it necessary to mention expressly that the image represented a Bôdhisattva, if such images had been familiar to the pious? Let us bear in mind the numberless images of Medieval India, all evidently made locally,—those of Sârnâth in Chunâr sandstone, those of Gayâ in basalt,—among which we hardly ever find one marked with the name of the deity which it represents.² Among the numerous inscribed Buddhist images of the early Gupta period Dr. Bloch can quote only three examples in which the subject is mentioned.

Then, if Friar Bala was a monk of Mathurā, who were his patrons, the great satrap Kharapallāna and the satrap Vanaspara? That they were Buddhists is evident; and it may be inferred from their titles that the former was the latter's father, and from their names that they were of foreign extraction. As to the latter point, it is impossible at present to arrive at a definite conclusion. For though these two names have a distinct Iranian sound,³ I need only refer to the instance of the Maghal rulers of later days, to demonstrate the unsoundness of inferring anything therefrom as to their ethnographic origin. Perhaps from their connection with Friar Bala we may hazard the conjecture that their seat of government was at Mathurā, where a line of foreign rulers is known to have existed only about a century before. It is true that on the Kshatrapa coins found in and round that city the names of Kharapallāna and Vanaspara do not occur. But this fact can easily be accounted for on the assumption that Kharapallāna, though possibly a descendant of the independent satraps of the 1st century B.C., now owed allegiance to Mahārāja Kanishka, in whose reign the inscriptions are dated, and consequently used the Kushana coinage. May we go a step further and assume that his son Vanaspara, who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallāna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father?

The Sârnâth inscriptions partly confirm and partly modify Dr. Bloch's conclusions regarding the Śrāvastī epigraph. They show that he is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation of

¹ That statues already existed in India at an earlier period is proved by the Parkham image (*A. S. R.* Vol. XX. p. 49 and Plate vi) with its inscription in Maurya Brāhmī. But apparently it has no connection with Buddhism.

² A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900), pp. 4 ff. and 7 ff. Regarding the Mathurā sculptures the author remarks: "Elles sont tout de suite reconnaissables à la belle couleur rouge tachetée de jaune du gris des *Vindhya*."

³ The ending *-āna* is also found in Hagāna (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87) and in Nahapāna (*A. S. R. Western India*, Vol. IV. p. 99). For the first member of the name Kharapallāna we may compare Kharamosta and Kharaoasta (Buhler, *J. R. A. S.* for 1894, p. 532, and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9).

chhâtram dâṇḍas=cha as meaning 'an umbrella and a stick.' It is curious that these objects were not recovered with the Śrāvastī image, which Cunningham found standing in a small temple, and not in the open. The name of Friar Bala's spiritual preceptor, which in the Śrāvastī inscription was only partly legible and had been restored by Dr. Bloch as *Pushyamitra*, appears from the epigraph on the umbrella post to be *Pushyavuddhi*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Pushya-viddhi*. Finally, the Sarnāth inscriptions establish beyond doubt that the Śrāvastī image belongs to the early Kushana period.

Conversely the Śrāvastī inscription helps to elucidate some doubtful points in the Sarnāth legends. Thus we may safely assume that the *chhatra-yashṭi* of the Sarnāth inscriptions, which corresponds with the *chhâtram dâṇḍas=cha* of the Śrāvastī epigraph, is to be taken as a *dvandva* and not as a *tatpurusha* compound, and to be rendered by 'an umbrella with a staff' and not by an umbrella staff.' Again we should be doubtful how to explain the connection between the Genitive *bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya* and the following Nominative, if the Śrāvastī record did not give us the clue that the word *dānam* is to be supplied.

Dr. Bloch's remarks regarding the characteristic features of language and script of the Śrāvastī inscription apply equally to those of the Sarnāth ones. But in view of the date of the latter falling in Kanishka's reign, it is impossible to maintain for the peculiar script which both exhibit the designation of "Northern Kshatrapa" in contradistinction with the so-called Kushana script of a later period. Its more correct name would be "early Kushana," and it shows indeed a transition between the script of Śoḍāsa's epigraphs and those of the later Kushanas. The former¹ is marked by more archaic forms and stands nearer to the Maurya type. In it we find post-consonantic *a*, *e* and *o* commonly expressed by horizontal, and not by slanting strokes as are found in the Kushana inscriptions. The *ya* is still semi-circular at the bottom, and its middle vertical stroke sometimes exceeds the side ones in length. On the other hand, the similarity between the script of the Mathurā satraps and that of the early years of Kanishka is so striking, that the two can be hardly separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the first century B.C., palaeographical evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kanishka's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A.D.

It is only natural that the later Kushana inscriptions, *e.g.* that on the Mathurā Bôdhisattva image of the year 33, above referred to, and still more that on the Kāman Buddha image dated in the year 74,² should exhibit a further development in respect alike of script and of language. Here we find the *ya* in *kya* and *sya* regularly expressed by a loop, and not by its full sign.³ Thus it approaches visibly the form peculiar to the early Gupta period. The language of the later inscriptions, though not yet pure Sanskrit, is decidedly more Sanskritic than that of the early Kushana records. Compare, for instance, *mâtāpitūṇām* (Kāman) with *sahā mâtāpitūhi* (Sarnāth-Mathurā), and *parigrahe* (Kāman) with *parigahe* (Śrāvastī). On the other hand, we find *pratishṭhāpita* already in the Sarnāth inscription, whereas at an earlier period *pratīṭhāpita* is used.

The inscription is cut on three sides of the octagonal umbrella post, and consists of ten lines of 33 cm. in length, except the last line, which measures only 9 cm. The size of the *aksharas* varies from 1 to 6 cm. The letters are regular and clearly cut, but the disintegration of the surface of the stone has caused their shape to become indistinct in places, more especially towards the junction of the faces of the shaft. On the whole, however, the inscription is very well preserved, and wherever the reading appears at all doubtful, a comparison with contemporaneous epigraphs has enabled me to arrive at results which may be considered final.

¹ See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. II.

² Bühler, *ibid.* p. 212, Plate, No. xlii. The image must belong to the reign of Vāsudēva. Compare V. A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 12.

³ The looped *ya* is found already in the inscription of Kanishka's 5th year, referred to above.

TEXT OF iii. a.

- 1 **Mahārajasya Kanishkasya saṃ 3 he 3 di 22**
- 2 **etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi-**
- 3 **hārisya bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya**
- 4 **Bodhisatto chhatrayasṭi cha pratishṭhāpito**
- 5 **Bārāṇasiye Bhagavato chaṃkame saḥā māt[ā]-**
- 6 **pitihī saḥā upaddhyāyācherehi saddhyevihāri-**
- 7 **hi antevāsikehi cha saḥā Buddhamitrāye trepiṭika-**
- 8 **ye saḥā kṣhatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallā-**
- 9 **nena cha saḥā cha[tu]hi parishāhi sarvasatvanam**
- 10 **hitasukhārttham.**

REMARKS.

Line 1.— It is doubtful whether the depression at the top of the *ra* represents an *ā*-stroke or not. The form *mahārajasya*, however, is quite distinct in the Bôdhisattva inscription. The spelling *Kanishkasya* with lingual *n* has already been noticed above.

L. 2 f.— There can be no doubt as to the reading *saddhyevihāri*, with *e* in the second syllable, here and also in line 6. At first I felt inclined to read *sarddhyavihāri*, which would yield an etymologically more intelligible form; but pre-consonantic *r* is expressed by a perpendicular and not by a slanting stroke. See e.g. *purvaye* (l. 2) and *sarvasatvanam* (l. 9). In the Śrāvastī image inscription also I should prefer to read *saddhyevihārisya*.

L. 3.— The third *akṣhara* of *trepiṭakasya* resembles *ṭha*, which is evidently due to the stone being worn. Compare *trepiṭikaye* (l. 7 f.).

L. 4.— The vowel-stroke of the last syllable of *pratishṭhāpito* is indistinct. In one of the Bôdhisattva inscriptions we have clearly *-to*.

L. 5.— The first letter of *Bārāṇasiye* is open at the top and would, therefore, represent *pa*. But there can be little doubt that this is due either to the disintegration of the surface or to a clerical error. The vowel-stroke also cannot be said to be absolutely certain. For the ending compare *Sāvastīye* in the Śrāvastī inscription.— It is doubtful whether the inscription has *chaṃkrame* or *chaṃkame*. I have chosen the Prākṛit form which is found in the Śrāvastī inscription.

L. 6.— For the reading *upaddhyāyācherehi* I am indebted to Prof. Kern, who remarks that the form *āchera* for Skr. *āchārya* occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ed. by Fausböll), Vol. IV. p. 248, l. 9, in a verse, i.e. in a dialect different from Pāli.

L. 8.— Is perhaps *Vanaspharena* to be read? The Bôdhisattva inscription has clearly *Vanashparena*.

L. 9.— The letter (or letters?) following the second *cha* is indistinct. At first I felt inclined to read *saḥā cha sarvāhi parishāhi*, but finally chose the expression *saḥā chatuḥ parishāhi*, which occurs also in the Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti. Compare Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. III. p. 36, No. 21, Plate xvi., and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV. p. 119.

TRANSLATION.

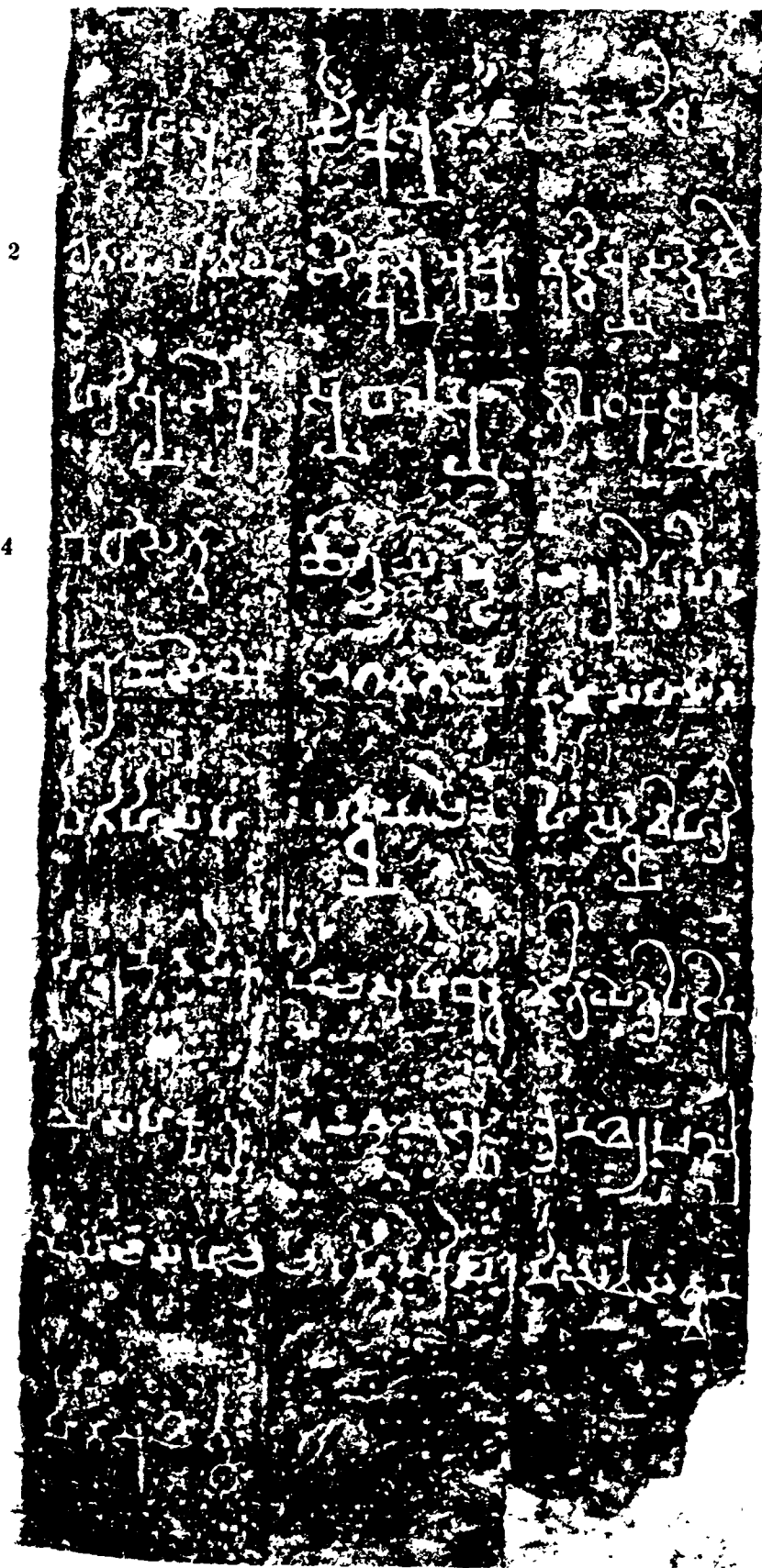
In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above,¹ was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka² and

¹ The Mathurā inscriptions afford many variants of this expression such as *etasya pūrvedyam*, *asyāṃ pūr-
vāya* and the like. See Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 ff. and Vol. II. p. 195.

² On the term *trepiṭaka* (Skr. *traiṭikā*), Fem. *trepiṭikā*, compare Bloch, *l. c.* p. 280.

Sarnath inscriptions of Kanishka and Asvaghosha.

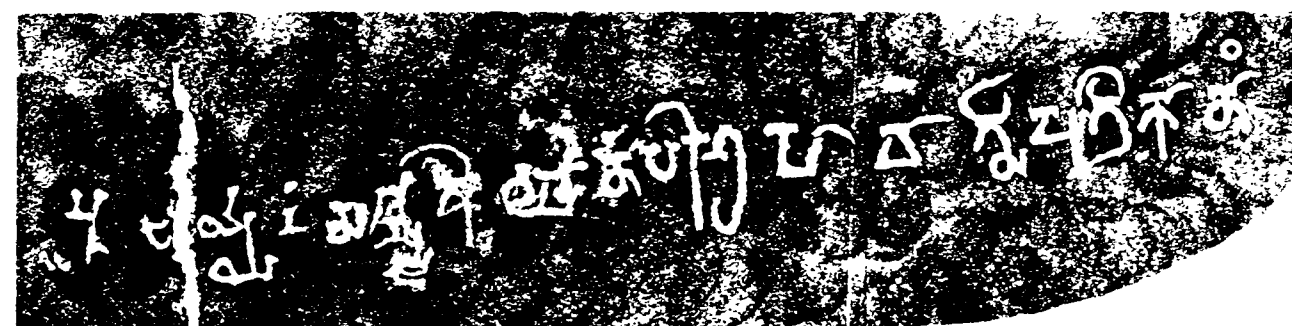
iii. a.



i. e.



i. f.



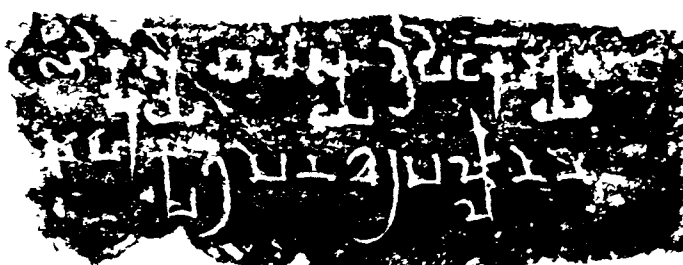
ii.



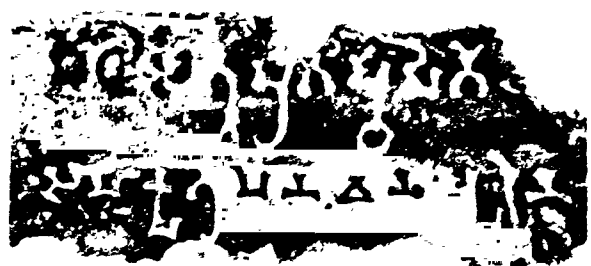
iii. d.



iii. b.



iii. c.



E. Hultsch.

Scale three-tenths.

From inked estampages supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

fellow¹ of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord² used to walk,— together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils,³ and with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripiṭaka, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes,⁴ for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.⁵

The image referred to in the inscription is 10' high and 3' wide across the shoulders. It was found in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The right arm is lost; presumably it was raised in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment, which reaches beneath the knees. The head, which measures 3' in circumference, is unfortunately much mutilated. The top is broken, so that it is impossible to decide whether it had the protuberance of the skull (*ushnisha*). Nor is there any trace of the mark between the brows (*ūrṇā*), another characteristic of the Buddha. We can, however, be certain that the hair was neither arranged in the wavy locks peculiar to the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, nor in the schematic curls of mediæval images. It is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain, close-fitting cap, which was probably meant to render the shaven head of the Buddhist monk. It is interesting to note that this treatment of the hair is very common in the Mathurā images which can be assigned to the Kushāna period. Another point of similarity is the treatment of the halo. In the case of the Sārnāth image only the lower part of it remains on the back of the torso. Along its border runs a repeat of semicircles. In Gandhāra the haloes are plain, except in a few instances where we find a border showing a conventional development of the radiate nimbus.⁶ Of this the Mathurā halo seems to be a later development, which thus forms a transition from the plain Gandhāra one to the highly ornamental halo of the Gupta period, of which Mr. Oertel's excavations have revealed some very fine specimens.⁷

Between the feet of the Sārnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the side of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers and fruits in bas-relief. Whether these are merely decorative or have some symbolical meaning, I cannot decide.⁸ In later Buddhist art the lion, if meant as *vāhana* and not merely as an indication of the *siṃhāsana*, is peculiar to the Bôdhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Siṃhanāda-Lôkêśvara.⁹ But it is questionable, whether at the period to which the Sārnāth image belongs it can have borne that signification. More probably it indicates that the statue represents Śākyasimha, 'the lion among the Śākyas.'

¹ On the meaning of *saddhyevihāri* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 84; Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 379; Bloch, *l. c.* p. 279; I-tsing (Takakusu), p. 116; and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *saddhivihāri*.

² On the use and meaning of *Bhagavat* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 63.

³ The word *antevāsīn* occurs also in the 2nd Sīddhāpura edict (Bühler, above, Vol. III. p. 138): *Hemera antevāsīnā āchāriye apachā[yi]tariye* ("moreover the pupil should honour his teacher"), and in a Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. I. (Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198). The feminine form *anterāsīni* occurs in the Mathurā Bôdhisattva inscription (p. 182 below), where the *bhikṣuṇī* Buddhāmitrā is called the *anterāsīni* of Friar Bala. In another Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. XXI. (Buhler, *l. c.* p. 205), we find the form *anterāsīkīni*.

⁴ The four *parishads* are *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. Sometimes five or eight *parishads* are spoken of. Compare I-tsing (Takakusu) and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *parisā*.

⁵ The same expression is also found in the Anyor Buddha inscription; Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XX. p. 49 and Plate V. No. 5.

⁶ Compare Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 143.

⁷ That these are to be assigned to the Gupta period, may be inferred from the inscribed Buddha image in the Mathurā Municipal Museum. Compare Growse, *Mathurā, a District Memoir*, p. 115.

⁸ Mr. Griessen, Superintendent of the Taj Garden at Agra, to whom I sent a photograph of the sculpture, is of opinion that the bas-relief possibly represents the flower, bud, leaves and seed-pods of "*Rhododendron arboreum*" (*Flora Br. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 465), a plant that is used in Nepal as an offering at Buddhist temples.

⁹ Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique* (Paris, 1900), p. 116, and Vol. II. (Paris, 1905), p. 31.

I may add that in Mathurâ we often find a cluster of lotus flowers between the feet of the image. Dr. Bloch noticed between the feet of the Śrāvastī image "a peculiar object of uncertain meaning."

It has already been noted that the image is curved on the back. Unlike mediæval images it is in the round and not in relief. This circumstance makes it probable that it never stood in a temple, but was placed in the open, sheltered only by its umbrella,¹ a probability that is strengthened by the discovery of all the fragments of the image and of the umbrella in the open space between the Aśoka pillar and the *vihāra* excavated by Mr. Oertel.

The Sārnāth image, though an important addition to our materials, only complicates one of the problems of Buddhist iconography. Had it not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call it a **Buddha** image. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bôdhisattva are absent, and the figure wears only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions alike on the umbrella post and, as will be seen presently, on the image itself, are quite explicit in designating it a **Bôdhisattva**.

What then are the distinguishing features of the Bôdhisattva? Can it be, as Dr. Bloch holds, the bare right shoulder? Such a theory seems hardly tenable. For there are numerous bare-shouldered images which represent Śākyamuni at the moment of the *Bôdhi*, and we find among Gandhāra sculptures³ the uncovered right shoulder regularly combined with that position of the hands which expresses 'the turning of the wheel of the Law' (*dharmachakra-mudrā*), and which can only indicate an omniscient Buddha.

To decide on this point, it would be necessary first of all to compare the two images of Anyor and Kāman, which belong to the same period and are designated by their inscriptions as **Buddha** images.⁴ That of Kāman (Bharatpur State, Rājputāna), as noted above, must be 71 years posterior to the Sārnāth statue, assuming that the date is expressed in Kanishka's era, which in the light of its palaeographical evidence seems most plausible. The Anyor Buddha image must be nearly contemporaneous with the Bôdhisattvas of Sārnāth and Śrāvastī. This is evident from the similarity both in the script and language and in the wording of their inscriptions. Unfortunately no photographs of either of these two statues are at present available. Of the Kāman image I only find the statement that it represents Buddha seated.

Anyhow, these four are among the earliest Buddhist images hitherto found in India proper; or more correctly I should say that no image has been found, which on epigraphical evidence can be assigned to an earlier period. The fact that it was thought necessary to indicate the subject in the inscription makes it indeed highly probable, that at the beginning of Kanishka's reign statues of Śākyamuni—either as Buddha or Bôdhisattva—were a novelty, at least in Gangetic India. We noticed however, in describing the Sārnāth Bôdhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kanishka's reign. Thus we should be led to the conclusion that the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra flourished, not under the Kushana kings, but under the earlier Yavana and Śaka rulers. This conclusion,

¹ This practice was also known in Gandhara. Compare Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. I. p. 191: "Il faut dire cependant, pour être tout-à-fait exact, que quelques-unes d'entre elles se contentaient, comme abri, d'un parasol."

² Grunwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p. 182: "The Bôdhisattva representation of later art is that of a royally attired young man Thus we may claim these youthful figures in rich attire, so frequent among Gandhāra sculptures, as Bôdhisattvas."

³ Compare *A. S. R.* for 1902-03, p. 171.

⁴ To the same period belongs the Sañchi image or the year 70 in the reign of Vasushka, but from its inscription it is not evident what it represents.

in my opinion, would well agree with the evidence of the coins which, starting from purely Hellenistic types, manifest a constant deterioration ending in the barbarous issues of the Kushāṇas. And in like manner the sculptures which owed their origin to the same Hellenistic influence must have had a parallel history of gradual Indianisation.

The Sārnāth image has two inscriptions: one, as in Gupta sculptures, carved on the front of the plain pedestal, the other on the back of the image between the feet. The former (iii. *b, c*) is divided into two halves by a vertical, semi-circular groove. It consists of two lines, each half being nearly 24 cm. in length. The size of the letters varies between 1 and 5 cm. In the second half of the first line the sixth *akṣara* is slightly damaged, and at the end one or two *akṣaras* are lost. I read it:

- 1 Bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya Bodhisatvo prat[i]shṭhāpito . . .
- 2 mahākṣatrapena Kharapallāna saḥ kṣatrapena Vanashparena.

“(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva, has been erected by the great satrap Kharapallāna together with the satrap Vanashpara.”

The inscription on the back of the image (iii. *d*) consists of three lines. The proper left side of the inscribed surface, which measures 40 by 17 cm., is defaced, and at the bottom a piece is broken, causing the loss of the concluding word. On an impression taken immediately after the discovery of the image, the upper parts of the *akṣaras* of this word were plainly visible. But it seems that in removing it a piece of the stone has chipped off. The missing portion of the inscription can thus be restored with certainty. The size of the letters is 1 to 4·5 cm. The following is my reading:—

- 1 Mahārajasya Kaṇi[shkasya] saṃ 3 he 3 di 2[2]
- 2 etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭa[kasya]
- 3 Bodhisatvo chhatrayaṣṭi cha [pratishṭhāpito].

“In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above has (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, been erected.”

NO. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON BUDDHIST IMAGES.

By T. BLOCH, PH.D.

The first of these two inscriptions comes from Śrāvastī and has already been edited by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVIII., 1898, Part I. pp. 274 to 290. I re-edit it here partly in order to publish a facsimile of it, and partly to correct the statement made by me (*loc. cit.* p. 278) in regard to its date. The second inscription comes from Mathurā and has recently been edited by Prof. Lüders (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9) from the imperfect facsimile published by Growse (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate). If I edit it here again, it is because, having read the inscription from the original during a visit to Lucknow in October, 1904, and with the help of two paper impressions kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, I have been able to supply the three proper names mentioned in the inscription, which in Prof. Lüders' transcript remained doubtful.¹ The first of these is the most important one. It is clearly *Balasya trepiṭakasya*, not [*Maha*]sya as Prof. Lüders proposed to read. This person cannot be separated from the *trepiṭaka Bala* of the Śrāvastī inscription, and of the recently discovered Sārnāth inscriptions of the third year of Kanishka, of which Dr. Vogel has just

¹ Two of them have also been read by Dr. Vogel in his article on discoveries at Sārnāth, p. 173 above.

published an edition. It thus appears that the date assigned to the Śrāvastī inscription in my previous paper was wrong, and that the missing name of the king should be restored either as **Kanishka** or as **Huvishka**, most probably the former one.

**A.—SET-MAHET IMAGE INSCRIPTION
'OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA OR HUVISHKA.**

This inscription is on the pedestal of a colossal standing figure of a Buddha or Bôdhisattva, which was found by General Cunningham inside a small masonry building at **Set-Mahet**. It has since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The pedestal measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in height. Its right corner is broken, and about two-thirds of the first line of the inscription have become illegible.

The size of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The writing is archaic and resembles more the type used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions than the Kushana type. The letter *ya* as part of a compound (*sahyuktīkshara*) is expressed by its full form, and only once, in *Pushya*^o (l. 1), by a cursive form. The upper cross-bar of *sha* fills only the right half of the letter and does not reach to the left vertical line. Further details of palæography will be found in my previous paper (p. 277) and need not be repeated here. The language is a mixed form of Sanskrit and Prakrit of the same type as that employed in other Kushana inscriptions. Here again no details are required, as my previous paper contains a full statement of facts (p. 279).

The inscription records that the statue, on the pedestal of which it has been engraved, and which it describes as a Bôdhisattva, together with an umbrella and a stick (l. 2: *bodhisatto chhātram dāṇḍas=cha*) was put up at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord used to walk (l. 2: *Bhagavato chamlame*), inside the **Kosambakuṭī** (l. 3), as the gift of the monk **Bala**, who knew the Tripiṭaka and was a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārisya*, l. 2) of the monk **Pushya[vuddhi]**,¹ and that it was the property of some teachers of the **Sarvāstivādin** school of Buddhists.

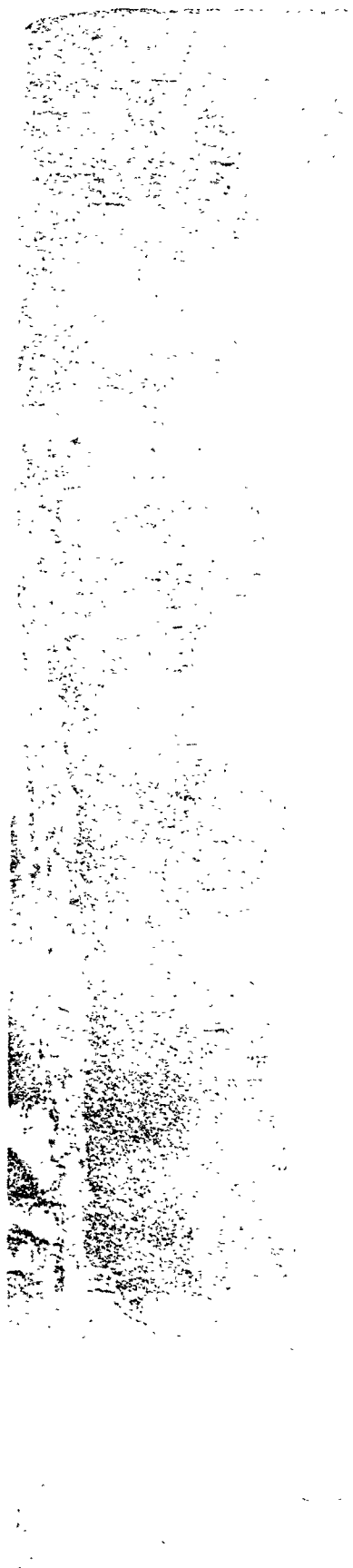
As I have shown in my previous article (p. 286), the **Kosambakuṭī** was a building inside the **Jetavana** park near Śrāvastī. The term *Bhagavato chamlame* may either have been used as another name of the Jetavana. or more probably it may have denoted a separate place within the park, where Buddha used to take exercise, and which was kept up as such by tradition, like the 'Buddha's walk' north of the great temple of Budh-Gaya.² It is, however, likely that the place where Cunningham found the statue does not mark its original site, and that the ancient city of Śrāvastī lay further to the north, near the borders of Nepal.³

The date of the inscription is illegible, with the exception of the numerical figures 10 and 9, meaning the 19th day. As the missing space is too long for a mere enumeration of the numbers of the year and season, the date must have been determined by the name of the ruling king. From the second inscription and the Sarnāth inscriptions published by Dr. Vogel, which mention also a *trepiṭaka Bala*, who must have been identical with the person of the same name and title referred to in this inscription, we may confidently restore the beginning of the first line as: [*Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya?) sam . . . di*] 10 9, and it is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the **Kushana** kings, either of **Kanishka** or **Huvishka**, not of the Kshatrapas **Raṇjibula** or **Śoḍāsa**, as I suggested in my previous article for palæographical reasons. As will be shown later on, the reign of **Kanishka** is more likely to be the true date of the inscription than the time of his successor **Huvishka**.

¹ That is *Pushyaviddhi*. Sarnāth No. III.a shows that the name should be restored thus, not as *Pushya-mitra* as I proposed originally. See Dr. Vogel's article, p. 175 above.

² See Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8 ff.

³ See Vincent A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 520, and 1900, p. 1.



The statue to which the inscription belongs is shown on the accompanying Plate. It is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately the head is broken, and it is impossible to say whether it wore some sort of a diadem, as the so-called 'Bôdhisattva' figures in the contemporaneous art of Gandhâra. There are, however, no necklace or other ornaments of the body, and the feet are naked. The left hand rests on the hip, and the broken right hand probably was uplifted in the act of granting protection (*abhaya-mudrâ*). The right shoulder is bare, and between the feet stands some indistinct round object, which I am unable to explain. The girdle around the waist is the only mark of difference between this statue and the ordinary type of a Buddha image. The term Bôdhisattva is likewise applied to the Mathurâ image to which the second inscription belongs, and which was a seated figure. Unfortunately it is broken, and not much can be said in regard to its general appearance.

From Dr. Vogel's account it appears that the recently excavated Sârâsth image is very similar to that from Śrāvastī. He also suggests that all these three images were made at Mathurâ. The Śrāvastī image is 11 feet 8 inches high. Its material is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fathpur-Sikri.

TEXT.

- 1 [Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) sam
 . . di] 10 9 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushya[vu]-
 2 [ddhis]ya¹ saddhy[e]vihārisya² bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭakasya dānam
 B[o]ddhisatvo chhātram dāṇḍaś=cha Śāvastiye Bhagavato chaṁkame
 3 Kosambakuṭiye acharyyāpām Sarvastivādinām³ parigahe.

TRANSLATION.

[In the . . . th year of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka?), in the . . . th month of, on the] 10th [day], on the date specified above, a Bôdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārin*) of the monk Pushya[vṛiddhi], (have been set up) at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord (*i.e.* Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakuṭi, as the property of the teachers of the school of Sarvastivādins.

B.—MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33 OF HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image from the Chaubārâ mound near Mathurâ. It is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It measures 3 feet by 2½ inches. The size of the letters varies between ½ and 1¼ inches. The end of the second line is damaged and cannot be restored completely.

The writing is of a later type than the Set-Mahet image inscription. The *ya* in the compound letter *sya* is expressed by the cursive form in *devaputrasya*, *Huvishkasya* and *trepiṭakasya* (l. 1), and by the full form of the letter in *bhikshusya Balasya* (l. 1), while an intermediate form, with a loop attached to the left-hand side of the central line, is found in *mahārājasya* (l. 1). The old form of *sha* with a small upper cross-bar occurs only once, in *bhikshusya* (l. 1), if the impression can be trusted. The later *sa* with a loop in the left-hand lower corner is found in *mahārājasya*, *devaputrasya*, *saṁ* (l. 1), as has been pointed out already by Prof. Lüders (*loc. cit.* p. 40). The language is the ordinary mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prākṛit employed in the

¹ See above, p. 180, note 1.

² So with Sârâsth No. III. a, lines 2 and 6. The surface of the stone above *ddhy* is damaged.

³ The *va* is added in small letters at the top of the line.

Kushana period and calls for no particular remarks. But it may be noted that in *bhikhunīye* (l. 2) we have the Prākṛit form instead of the usual *bhikshunī*, and that the gen. sing. of feminine nouns ending in *i* retains the long *i* in *bhikshunīye* (l. 1), *bhāgineyīye*, *bhikhunīye*, *Dhanavatiye* (l. 2); the corresponding vowel of *antevāsini* (l. 1) is doubtful. The later Prākṛit form *pratithāvito* (l. 2) seems certain.

The inscription records that a Bōdhisattva was set up by the nun **Dhanavati**, the sister's daughter of the nun **Buddhamitrā**,¹ who knew the Tripitaka, a female disciple (*antevāsini*) of the monk **Bala**, who knew the Tripitaka. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this monk with the monk **Bala** mentioned in the **Set-Mahet** and **Sārṇāth** inscriptions, and the three inscriptions thus cannot be far removed from each other in date. The Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of **Huvishka**, the year 33, the 8th day of the 1st month of summer. However, the Set-Mahet inscription, like that from Sārṇāth, probably belongs to the reign of **Kanishka** and is somewhat earlier than the Mathurā inscription, which records a gift by the sister's daughter of the nun **Buddhamitrā**, whose name occurs already in the third year of **Kanishka** in connection with the name of **Bala**, the donor of the Sārṇāth statue.

The Mathurā statue, like those from Sārṇāth and Set-Mahet, is called a Bodhisattva. Unfortunately nothing but its lower part, showing the crossed legs of a seated figure, is preserved (see the accompanying Plate). The place where the statue was set up seems to have been **[Mā]dh[u]ravanaka**, the first part of which may have been derived from **Madhurā** or **Mathurā**, the name of the town where the statue actually has been found.

TEXT.²

- 1 Mahārajasya devaputrasya Huv[i]shkasya sam 30 3 gri 1 di 8
bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭakasya antev[ā]s[i]n[i]ye³ bhikshunīye tre[piṭikā]ye
Buddhamitrāye
2 bhāgineyīye bhikhunīye Dhanavatiye Bodhisatvo pratithāvito [Mā]dh[u]ravanake
sahā mātāpitihi

TRANSLATION.

In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Huvishka, on the 8th day of the 1st summer (month), a Bōdhisattva was set up at **[Mā]dh[u]ravanaka** by the nun **Dhanavati**, the sister's daughter of the nun **Buddhamitrā**, who knows the Tripitaka, a female pupil of the monk **Bala**, who knows the Tripitaka, together with her mother and father

No. 19.—DHULIA PLATES OF KARKARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 701.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The plates which bear the subjoined grant were found deposited in the record room of the Collector's *kachēri* at **Dhulia**, Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency. They were sent for inspection to Mr. H. Cousens, who has kindly asked me to publish a paper on the inscription. A summary of it has already appeared in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904*, p. 60.

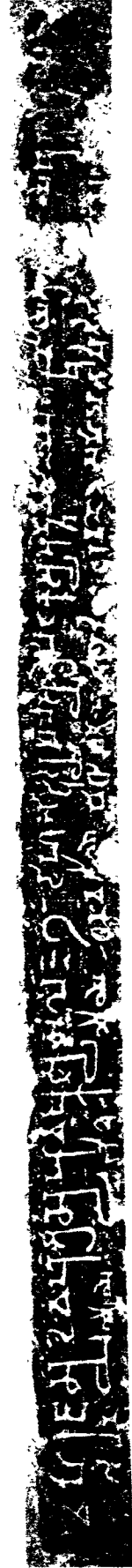
¹ She occurs again in Sarnath No. III. a, l. 7.

² From the original stone and from paper-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel.

³ The quantity of the last *i* is uncertain.



From a photograph supplied by Mr. G. D. Ganguli.



E. Hultzsch

Scale one-fourth

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Pfeiffer, Halle-Saale

These are **three copper-plates**, the first and third of which bear writing on one side only, and the second on both sides. They measure each 1' 2" long by 7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the inscription. On the left side of each plate there is a ring-hole, but the ring and the seal which must have accompanied the plates are both lost. A portion of the right side of the second, and of the lower corners of the first and third, plates have been broken off. The letters bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ".—The **language** is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting ll. 24-26, the inscription is in verse up to line 23; and the rest is in prose, excluding ll. 33-4 and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end (ll. 42-8). All the verses of the genealogical part of this grant excepting five (vv. 6, 7, 9, 17 and 18) occur in other Rāshtrakūṭa records.—The **characters** belong to the southern variety of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *kh*, one in *khaḍgaṃ* (l. 4) and the other in *śikharāṇi* (l. 9); to the two forms of *g*, one in *maṇḍalāgrō* (l. 2) or *gaṇaiḥ* (l. 13), and the other in *r=Ggōvīndarāja°* (l. 3) or *kar-āgrā°* (l. 5); to *ñ* in *Śubhatuṅga°* (l. 20); to *j* in *tmajō ja°* (l. 6) and *dvijānām* (l. 8); to *t* in *kānt-ēndu°* (l. 1); to *n* in *vaitāna°* and *nichayaiḥ* (l. 8); to *bh* in *bhōgyika°* (l. 29); to *m* in *m=abhimukhīm* (l. 3); to the two forms of initial *a* or *ā*, one in *āsi°* (l. 2) or *aśvamēdha°* (l. 44), and the other in *amkēn=āpi* (l. 31); to the secondary *i* in *mālinyāḥ* (l. 14) and *nirddalita°* (l. 25); to the subscript *ū* in *dhūma°* (l. 8); to the two forms of the subscript *ri*, one in *kṛitām* (l. 1), and the other in *kṛit-āmukṛitih* (l. 7); and to the *visarga* expressed by three dots in *vishay-āntarggataḥ* (l. 38), and by one dot and one short stroke in *grāmaḥ* (l. 40).—As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* throughout serves for both *v* and *b*. The consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is in some cases observable; thus *m* is doubled in *nirmmatha°* (l. 22), but not in *sūnur=mahīpatiḥ* (l. 18). *Gha* is used instead of *h* in *rājasigha* (l. 3); final *n* before a consonant is no less than five times wrongly changed to an *anusvāra*, e.g. in *yām-nābhi-kamalam* (l. 1) and *yasmiṃ praśāsati* (l. 8); *t* is doubled before *r*, e.g. in *gōttra°* (l. 7); and *anusvāra* is changed once to the dental nasal before *s* in *likhit-ānsa-pīṭhaḥ* (l. 11). The rules of Sandhi have been frequently disregarded, and in many a place *aksharas* have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshtrakūṭa chieftain Karkarāja or, as he is described in lines 28-29, "**Suvarnavarsha Pratāpaśila¹ śrī-Karkarāja** who has obtained the five great sounds." Karkarāja is spoken of as a son of *śrī-Dhruvarāja*, younger brother of **Gōvinda (II.)** or, as he is described in lines 25-6, "**Prithivullabha Mahārījādhirāja Paramāśvara śrī-Prabhūtavarsha.**" The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign (*pravarddhamāna-rājya*) of **Gōvinda (II.)** and is dated in the year 701 (in words and figures, l. 31 f.), expired, of the Śaka era, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of **Pushya**. The charter was issued by Karkarāja while staying at **Sindinagara**, on the occasion of a *saṃkrānti*,² to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is lost, son of *Bhaṭṭa Chandrāditya*, of the Kausika *gōtra*, and student of the Kāṭha school. The grantee appears to have been a man of deep erudition; for he is represented to have mastered the *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Tarka*, *Nirukta* and *Yujñavidyā*. The village granted to him was **Rakkhulla-grāma** situated in the province (*vishaya*) of **Nāsikka**. The boundaries specified are to the E. **Chēbhaṭikā**, to the S. the **Gōdāvari**, to the W. **Vaṭamukha**, and to the N. **Vaṭapura**. All the localities mentioned in this grant are to be found in the Nāsik district. That Nāsikka is Nāsik goes without saying. Sindinagara, where the royal grantor resided at the time of making the grant, is known to us from the records of the earlier Yādavas, and has been identified with **Sinnar**, the principal town of the *tāluka* of the same name. **Rakkhulla-grāma**, the village granted, is **Lākhalgāmv** to the north of the

¹ [The same surname occurs in l. 48.—E. H.]

² [Prof. Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date of this inscription, for Śaka-samvat 701 expired, regularly corresponds to the 22nd December A.D. 779. On this day the Makara- or Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti took place 4 h. 30 m., and the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha commenced 6 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise."—E. H.]

Gôdâvari, Chêbhatikâ Chêhdi, and Vaṭamukha probably Ôḍhēm. Chêhdi is in the Niphad, and the rest in the Nāsik, *taluka* of the Nāsik district.

As the inscription expressly refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakûṭa sovereign Gôvinda II., no doubt can now be reasonably entertained as to his having sat on the throne. I have elsewhere¹ adduced reasons why we should consider Gôvinda II. to have actually reigned. Dr. Fleet based his different opinion on the words *jyêshth-ôllanḡhana* of a verse occurring in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants.² But these words, as Professor Kielhorn has remarked, by no means necessitate the conclusion that Dhruva immediately succeeded Kṛishṇa I. to the exclusion of his eldest brother Gôvinda II. from the succession.³ The new grant places it beyond all doubt that Gôvinda II. did succeed Kṛishṇa I. and did reign. Consequently Dr. Fleet's view has no grounds to stand upon, unless it can be conclusively shown that this grant is a forgery.

Although many Rāshtrakûṭa records have so far been published, they have supplied us with but few dates prior to the time of Gôvinda III. We have Śaka 675 for Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, furnished by his Sāmāṅgaḍ plates.⁴ The Alās copper-plate charter,⁵ issued by Gôvinda II. when Yuvarāja or prince-regent, gives the date Śaka 692 for his father Kṛishṇa I. And our plates give a third date, *viz.* Śaka 701, for Gôvinda II. himself. A fourth date is supplied by the Jaina *Harivaṃśa*,⁶ which was completed in Śaka 705 when Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛishṇa, was ruling over the South. There can be no doubt that this Kṛishṇa is Kṛishṇa I. of the Rāshtrakûṭa family. But it is by no means easy to decide whether by Śrīvallabha is meant Gôvinda II. or his brother Dhruva,⁷ as both had this epithet and were sons of Kṛishṇa I.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁹ [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसा धाम ¹⁰यंनाभिकमलं कृतं । हरस्य¹¹ यस्य
कांतेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*]
- 2 ¹²आसी[द्विषत्ति]मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिं ¹³नयनभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु ॥(1)
भूपः शुचिर्वि[धु]रिवा-
- 3 मदि[ग]न्त[कीर्त्ति]र्गीविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिघ¹⁴ ॥ [२*] दृष्टा चमू-
मभिमुखीं सुभटाट्टहा[सामुन्नामि]-
- 4 ¹⁵मितं स[पदि येन] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं
कुलं च हृदयं [च नि]-

¹ Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XX. pp. 133-4.

² *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 393; above, Vol. VI. pp. 171 and 172.

³ Above, Vol. VI. pp. 240-1.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI. p. 208 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142.

⁷ *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 197; above, Vol. VI. p. 197.

⁸ From the original copper-plates.—[A few emendations in the text and in the notes are due to Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., who read the first proof-sheets. Verse 17 remains unintelligible.—E.H.]

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Read यन्नाभि°.

¹¹ Read हरस्य.

¹² Read आसीद्विष°.

¹³ Read नयन्नभि°.

¹⁴ Read 'सिंहः'.

¹⁵ This मि is superfluous.

- 5 जं च स[त्वं]¹ ।। ३*] खड्गं कराग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो 'मनस्तत्त्व-
ममेव यस्य [।*] महाहवे [नाम नि]-
- 6 ग्राम्य² सद्यः त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यक[।*]ण्डे ॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजो
जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकर्त्तिरार्त्तिर्त्तिहा-³
- 7 रिर[विवि]क्रमधामधारी । ⁴भूपंसृष्टविष्टपक्षतानुक्ततिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति
गोक्षम-
- 8 णिव्वभूव⁵ ॥ [५*] यस्मिं⁶ प्रशासति महानरपे द्विजानां वैतानधूमनि-
चयैः परिकर्तुराणि⁷ । संध्या[सु सौ]-
- 9 धशिखराणि विलोक्य केका[।*] कूजन्ति वेश्मशिखिनो जलदागमोक्ताः
[॥ ६*] यस्य द्विजजनाक्रान्तशान्ति-⁸
- 10 वाचनवारिणा [।*] प्रत्यहं गुल्फदध्नेन य[श*]श्चरति मंदिरे ।। ७*] तस्य
प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदंति[द]-
- 11 न्तप्रहाररुचिरोलिखितान्सपीठः⁹ [।*] क्षापः क्षिती क्षपितशस्त्रभूतनूजः
सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनका-
- 12 द्वि¹⁰ इवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ८*] सेवासमायातवृहन्नरेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्याघयुगस्य¹¹ तस्य ।
अम्ना-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 नवक्वार्थिगणैः प्रवीणैः [सं]सेव्यते श्री[।*] खजनैरजस्र¹² ॥ [९*] तस्योपा-
र्जितत
- 14 तुष्टदधिवलयमालिन्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदंतिदुर्गराजो
भूत् [॥ १०*] अ
- 15 गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रणिहितार्थमपेतयत्नं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि द
- 16 त्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ।। ११*] काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचीलपांड्य-
श्रीहर्ष[र्ष]
- 17 विभेदविधानदत्तं [।*] कर्णाटकं ¹³वल्लभचित्यमजेयमन्यैभृत्यै¹⁴ कियद्विरपि यः
सह .
- 18 जिगाय ।। १२*] तस्मि¹⁵ दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे सति¹⁶ [।*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनु-
र्महीपतिः कृष्ण-

¹ Read सर्व.

² Read 'कोत्तिरार्त्तिर्त्ति'.

³ Read यस्मिन्.

⁴ Read 'रीहिखितांस'.

⁵ Read 'वस'.

⁶ Read तस्मिन्.

⁷ Read मनस्तत्त्व.

⁸ Read भूपंसृष्टविष्ट.

⁹ Read 'कर्तुराणि'.

¹⁰ Read 'द्विरिवे'.

¹¹ Read वल्लभचित्य.

¹² A few letters have been inadvertently omitted after सति.

¹³ Read 'ग्राम्य सद्यस्रव'.

¹⁴ Read 'णिव्वभूव'.

¹⁵ Read 'कान्'.

¹⁶ Read 'वृह' and 'वन्द्याघि'.

¹⁷ Read 'मन्यैभृत्यै'.

- 19 राजीभूत् ।[। १३*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषीत्यादितारिदिक्कक्रं । कृष्ण-
स्यैवा^१ च[रि]तं
20 श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ।[। १४*] शुभतुङ्गतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं [।*]
ग्रीष्मेपि [न]-
21 भीमण्डलं^२ प्रावृट्टालायते स्पष्टं ।[। १५*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टमजस्रं^३
[।*] तत्क्षणम्-
22 कालवर्षो वर्षति सर्वात्तिर्निर्भयः^४ ॥ १६*] येन निजराज्यमूर्जितमशेष-
भूपालपालित-
23 मनन्तं [।*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटविश्रुतचरितं ^५कृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१७*] तस्य
सुत[।*] सकलमहीमण्डलप-
24 रिपालनक्षत्र[।*] शूर[।*] [।*] जितवीरवैरिवर्गो नाम्ना गोविन्दराजोभूत्
॥ [१८*] यस्य प्रबलप्र-^६

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 'वलप्रद्योतिताशामुखनिर्दलितवीरवैरिवर्गस्य पृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर-
26 मेश्वरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलकस्य प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये [।*] तस्यानुजः
27 श्रीध्रुवराजनाम्ना^७ महानुभावो विहितप्रताप[।*] [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-
चक्र[।*] चूडाम-
28 णि^८ वालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव^९ ।[। १९*] तस्य सुतः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दसुवर्ण-
वर्षप्रतापशी-^{१०}
29 लश्रीकर्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय[य*]पतिराष्ट्रग्राममह-
30 त्तराधिकारिकां^{११} समान्नापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं मातापित्तोः पुण्ययशोभि-
31 वृध्यर्थमार्मनय^{१२} शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु समस्वेकोत्तरेषु अंकेनापि
32 संवत्सरशत ७०१ पुण्यमते शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां संक्रान्ती सिन्दीनगरावस्थितेन
श्री-
33 कर्कराजेन [।*] तेनेदमध्रुवमसाश्वतमप्रतिष्ठं^{१३} स्वप्रेन्द्रजालजलवीचिचलस्वभा-
34 वं [।*] मत्वा जगत्तरवि^{१४} पल्लवतीयतुच्छं संसारसागरसुखात्तरणं^{१५} विचिन्त्य
॥ २०*] श्रीञ्च . .

^१ Read कृष्णस्यैवाकृष्णं.

^४ Read 'यनः.

^७ Read 'वल'.

^{१०} Read वाला^{१०} and 'वर्द्धभूव,

^{११} Read 'वृद्धार्थमात्मनय.

^{१२} Read 'सुखीत्त'.

^२ Read नभी निखिलं.

^५ Read श्रीकृष्ण'.

^८ Read 'नामा.

^{११} Read 'शब्द'.

^{१३} Read 'महाश्वत'.

^३ Read 'चष्टं समीहितमजस्रं

^६ Read प्रबल'.

^९ For चूडामणि read क्रमेण.

^{१२} Read 'कारिकान्.

^{१५} Read जगत्तरवि.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ मास्यं ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥
 ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥
 ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥
 ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥
 १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥
 १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥

३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

- 35 मृवास्तव्यस्यानेकशास्त्रावगाधसंशुद्धवृद्धिप्रभावाभिमृताखिलवि¹ . . .
 36 दं वेदवेदांगितिहासपुराणव्याकरणमीमांसातर्कनिरुक्तय[ज्ञ]विद्या . . .

Third Plate.

- 37 पारगाय तत्रैविद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोचकठसत्रज्ञचारिण² भट्टज . . .
 38 भट्टचन्द्रादित्यसुताय ॥ नासिकविषयान्तर्गतः रक्खुल्लनाम्ना³ ग्राम[*] प्र[ति]-
 पादि . . .
 39 दकपुरस्सरं दत्तः । यस्य पूर्वतो चेभटिकानामग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणतो गीदाव[री] .
 40 श्विमती वटमुखं नाम ग्राम[*] । उत्तरतो वटपुरं नाम ग्राम[:] ॥ एवं
 चतुराघाटवि[शु] . . .
 41 द्रं[ग]: सपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रवेश⁴ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन दत्तः । तथा च
 व . . .
 42 नीक्तं ॥ स्व⁵ दातुं सुमहत्कयं⁶ दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [i*] दानं वा पालनं
 वेत्ति दानाच्छे .
 43 नुपा[लनं] । [i २१*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । षष्ठि⁷
 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(?) .
 44 जायते कृमिः ॥ [२२*] [तडागा]नां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटि-
 प्रदानेन भू[मि] . . .
 45 न शुध्यति ॥ [२३*] षष्ठि⁸ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [i*]
 आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नर . . . [॥ २४*]
 46 [दत्तानि] यानीह पुरा नरेन्द्रैः⁹ दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्य-
 वांत(:)प्रति[मा] . . .
 47 [नि] को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२५*] बहुभिः¹⁰ वसुधा भुक्ता¹¹
 राजभि[*] सगरादि[भि]: [i*] . . .
 48 यस्य यदा भूमिः¹² तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [२६*] लिखितं च मया ¹³श्रीप-
 तापशीलान्न[या] . . .
 49 न दुग्गडिमुतेनीज्वलशासनमालिलख¹⁴ ॥

¹ Read 'गाढ' and 'वृद्धि'.² Read 'ब्रह्म'.³ Read 'नामा'.⁴ Read 'प्रवेश्यी'.⁵ Read 'स्व'.⁶ Read 'हृत्कय'.⁷ Read 'षष्ठि'.⁸ Read 'षष्टि'.⁹ Read 'नरेन्द्र'.¹⁰ Read 'बहुभिर्व'.¹¹ Read 'भुक्ता'.¹² Read 'भूमिसस्य'.¹³ Read 'श्रीप्रताप'.¹⁴ Read 'नीज्वलशासनम्' and omit the letters following.

No. 29.—TWO GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA II.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These two sets of copper-plates belong to the Rutlam Darbar and were lent to Messrs. Marshall and Cousens in December 1902 by the Dewan of the Rutlam State in Central India. Mr. Marshall has communicated to me a letter of the Dewan of Rutlam, from which it appears that the plates had been found in 1891 at Nôgâwâ,¹ a village 10 miles north of Rutlam, while a well near a Brâhman's house was being repaired. Each set consists of two copper-plates. To both sets is affixed a single seal, whose ring was found broken or cut, and of which it cannot be said to which set it belonged originally. The seal is elliptical, measures about 2½" by 2" in diameter, and bears, on a countersunk surface, in relief, a bull couchant which faces the proper right, and below the bull, the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭṭakkaḥ*.

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1902-03, p. 232 ff., I have already published the second of the two grants (B.), with facsimile. In now editing the first (A.), I reprint the text of the second as well, because the grant portions of both are closely connected and throw light on each other.

A.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 320.

This inscription is edited from two sets of ink-impressions prepared by Mr. Cousens in 1905, and from rubbings supplied by Mr. Marshall in the same year. It is engraved on two copper-plates which bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9 inches in height and about 11½" in breadth.

The alphabet resembles that of other Maitraka inscriptions of the same period. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs once (l. 37), and the *upadhmanīya* also once (l. 38). The numerical symbols for 300, 20 and 5 are used in the date portion (l. 52). The secondary form of *ā* is very often omitted. The *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṃ* before *ś* and *h*² (ll. 3, 5, 22, 45, 48), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 14, 28, 32), while the *anusvāra* is employed in three others (*samsakta*, ll. 1, 5, and *samskāra*, l. 34).

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 49-51. The rules of Sandhi are often disregarded—even in compound words.³

The inscription records a grant of land to two Brâhmanas by the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna (II.), who issued this edict from (his capital) Valabhi (l. 1). His genealogy is described in the same words as in his grant of Samvat 310⁴ and has been translated by me elsewhere.⁵ The grant portion runs as follows:—

(L. 36.) 'The fervent worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious Dhruvasēna (II.) whose second name was Bâlāditya, being in good health, issues (the following) command to all according as they are concerned:—

(L. 37.) "Be it known to you that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, I have given in Mâlavaka, in the said district (*bhukti*), at the eastern boundary of

¹ Dr. Fleet kindly informs me that this village is entered as 'Naugama' on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (1895).

² In *samhata*, l. 12, the *ha* is corrected from *aha*.

³ See *nirāsi-ucyamāna*, l. 38 f. and l. 40, and *brāhmaṇa-Agnisūminī*, l. 39 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 13 ff.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 69 ff.

the village **Navagrāmaka**, one hundred *bhaktis* (of land) to the Brāhmaṇa Agnisvāmin, who has come from [U]dumbaragahvara, resides at **Agastikāgrahāra**, belongs to the *Chaturvêdins* of the said (place),¹ to the *gôtra* of the Pârâśaras and to the school of the Vâjasanêyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Kumârasvāmin, and to the Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaravi, who has come from **Jambûsara**, resides at **Ayānakāgrahāra**, belongs to the *Chaturvêdins* of the said (place),² to the *gôtra* of the Kausikas and to the school of the Vâjasanêyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Mahêśvara.

(L. 42.) "The boundaries of this (land are):—to the east, the boundary of the village **Varâhôtaka**; to the south, a river; to the west, La[k]shmana's *paṭṭikâ*; (and) to the north, the boundary of the village **Pulindânaka**.

(L. 43.) "(I have given), as a meritorious gift, with libations of water, these one hundred *bhaktis*, thus defined by (their) four boundaries, with the *udraṅga*, *uparikara* (and) *bhûta-vâtapratyâya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with the *daśâparâdha*, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding gifts previously made to temples and to Brāhmaṇas and the twentieth (share due) to Brāhmaṇas,³ according to the maxim of *bhûmichchhidra*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains, (and) to be enjoyed by the sons, grandsons and (further) descendants (of the two donees)."

Ll. 46-51 contain the usual admonitions and imprecations.

(L. 51.) "The messenger (*dûtaka*) for this (grant is) the *Râjaputra śri-Kharagraha*. This (edict) has been written by the chief secretary (*divirapatî*) **Skandabhata**, the son of the chief secretary **Vatrabhaṭṭ[i]**, who is charged with peace and war. The year 300 (and) 20; (the month) Bhâdrapada; the dark (fortnight); the 5th (*tithî*). (This is) My own signature."

The two donees resided at **Agastikāgrahāra** and **Ayānakāgrahāra**⁴ and had emigrated from **Udumbaragahvara** (l. 38) and **Jambûsara** (l. 40). **Udumbaragahvara** occurs also in B. (l. 41) and in a grant of Dharaśēna IV.⁵ **Jambûsara** is the modern **Jambûsar** between Kaira and Broach.⁶

The expression 'in **Mâlavaka**, in the said district' (*Mâlavakê uchyamâna-bhuktau*, l. 41 f., and *Mâlavakê uchyamâna-vishayê* in B., l. 44) is a little puzzling. When publishing B. alone, I suggested that the word *uchyamâna* may refer to Daśapura, which occurs three lines earlier in the description of the donees. This idea has to be given up because A. does not mention Daśapura at all. In the description of the donees the word *uchyamâna* is used twice with reference to the immediately preceding village names **Agastikāgrahāra** (l. 38) and **Ayānakāgrahāra** (l. 40). Consequently the word *uchyamâna* before *bhuktau* and *vishayê* can only refer to the preceding locative *Mâlavakê*, and *Mâlavakê uchyamâna-bhuktau* or *-vishayê* comes to the same as *Mâlavaka-bhuktau* or *-vishayê*. At any rate the two grants prove that Dhruvasēna II. was in possession of **Mâlwa**, or at least of a portion of it.

To this province belonged the land granted in **Navagrāmaka**, which was bounded in the east by **Varâhôtaka**, in the south by a river, and in the north by **Pulindânaka**. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam identified **Navagrāmaka** with the modern **Nôgâwâ** where the two grants were discovered, **Varâhôtaka** with **Bhârôḍâ** in the east, and **Pulindânaka** with **Paldûnâ** in the north. On a map of the Rutlam State which he annexed to his letter, a small river is also marked on the south-east of **Nôgâwâ**, as required by the description in the grant.

¹ I.e. of **Agastikāgrahāra**.

² Compare Balke's remarks in *I. d. Ind. Aut.* Vol. XV. p. 337.

³ *Ind. Aut.* Vol. XV. p. 337.

⁴ I.e. of **Ayānakāgrahāra**.

⁵ See page 195 below.

⁶ Compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 241.

The *Dātaka* of this grant, prince (*raja-putra*) Kharagraha¹ (l. 51) is perhaps the same person who later on ascended the throne as Kharagraha II. The writer of the inscription, the *Divirapati Skandabhaṭa*, occurs again in other grants of Dhruvasēna II.² and Dharaśēna IV.;³ his father Vatrabhaṭṭi in grants of Śilāditya I. and Dhruvasēna II.;⁴ and his son Anahila in grants of Dhruvasēna III., Kharagraha II. and Śilāditya II.⁵

The year of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 320 (*i.e.* A.D. 639-40), is the same as that of the Bhaunagar plates published by Mr. Jackson.⁶

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁸ स्वस्ति [॥*] वलभितः प्रसभप्रणतामित्र[॥*]णां मैत्रकाण[॥*]मतुलबल-
सम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंस्तप्रहा[॥*]र]-
- 2 शतलक्षप्रतापावतापोपनतदानम[॥*]नार्जवीपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबला-
वाप्तराज्य-
- 3 श्रियः परममाहेश्वरः(ः)श्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणति-
प्रविधौताशेषकल्पा[॥*]
- 4 शैशवावभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिक्षः¹⁰
तत्प्रभावप्रणता-
- 5 रातिचूडार(ः)तत्प्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्घतिः¹¹ सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्षरि-
पालनप्रजाहृदय-¹²
- 6 जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो ¹³रूपरान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भिर्यबुद्धिसम्पन्निः¹⁴ स्मरशशाङ्गाद्विराजोदधि-
चिदशगुरुधनेशानति-¹⁵
- 7 शयान[॥*] शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतय[॥*] तणवदपास्त[॥*]शेषस्व[॥*]र्थफल-
प्र[॥*]त्यनाधिकार्य(ः)प्रदानानन्दित-
- 8 विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वर-
श्रीगुहमेन-
- 9 स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्त[॥*]न[वि]मृतजाह्न[वी]जलौघप्रक्ष[॥*]लिताशेष-
कल्पाः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्य-

¹ The same prince is mentioned in B below, l. 53 f, and in *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 21.

² B. below, l. 54, and *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 22.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 75, and Vol. XV. p. 340.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 16, Vol. IX. p. 239, and Vol. XIV. p. 323.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 79, and Vol. XI. p. 309; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 55, and Vol. IV. p. 73.

⁶ *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 9.

⁷ From ink-impressions and rubbings.

⁸ Read 'वंश'.

⁹ Read 'सम्यक्परि'.

¹⁰ Read 'गुरु'.

¹¹ Read 'सत्त्व'.

¹² Read 'रूपकान्ति'.

¹³ E pressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ Read 'सङ्घति'.

¹⁵ Read 'गाम्भिर्य'.

- 10 मानसम्यद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसम[१*]भिगामिकैर्गुणैस्त्वहजशक्तिशि[क्षा]विशेष-
विस्मापिताखिलधनु-¹
- 11 ईरः प्रथ[१]मनरपतिसमतिसृष्ट[१*]नामनुप[१*]लयिता ²धम्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता
प्रजोपघातकारि-
- 12 ए[१]सुपप्लव[१*]नां दशयिता³ श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिपासस्य⁴ संहतारातिपक्ष-
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसं-
- 13 प्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्य[१*]तः
सकलज[गदा]नन्दन[१*]त्यङ्गुत[१]-
- 14 गुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मण्डल[ः]⁵ समरशतविजय[शो]भासन[१*]थमण्डलाय-
द्युतिभासुरतरान्मपीठोदूढ-⁶
- 15 ⁷गुरुमनोरथमहाभ[१*]रः सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व-
तस्मभ[१*]षितलवेनापि सुखोपपा-
- 16 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाभीर्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयमुच्यक्तपरम-
कल्य[१*]णस्वभावः खिली-
- 17 भूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतीदयकी[त्तिह]मनोपरोधोज्ज्वल[त]रिक्तत[१*]-
त्यसुखसम्यदुपसेवानिरू-⁸
- 18 ढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्प[१*]द[१*]-
नुध्य[१*]तः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरुण[१]-
- 19 त्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी⁹ स्कन्ध[१*]स[क्त][१*] परमभद्र इव
धुर्यस्तदाज्ञ[१*]सम्य[१*]दनैक[र]सतयैवोद्वह-
- 20 ¹⁰न्वेदसुखरि[भ्य][१*]मन[१*]य[१*]सितसत्वसम्पत्तिः¹¹ प्रभावसम्यदशीकृतनृपति-
शतशिरोरत्नच्छाद्योपगूढपादपीठोपि
- 21 परावज्ञाभिम[१*]नरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेका¹² परित्यज्य प्रख्यात-
पौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादित-
- 22 प्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवन[१*]मोदविमलगुणसङ्घतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलि-
विल[सि]तगतिर्नीचजना-¹³
- 23 धिरोहिभिरशेषैर्हैषैरन[१*]मृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपी[रु]षास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणितय-
विपक्षलितिषतिलक्ष्मी-¹⁴

¹ Read 'शैस्त्वहज'.² Read 'धम्म'.³ Read 'दशयिता'.⁴ Read 'धिवासस्य'; the *ha* of 'संहता' is corrected from *na*.⁵ Read 'दिग्मण्डल'.⁶ Read 'रास'.⁷ Read 'गुरु'.⁸ Read 'कौत्तिह' and 'तरौकना'.⁹ Read 'लक्ष्मी'.¹⁰ Read 'रतिभ्या'.¹¹ Read 'सत्व'.¹² Read 'मेका'.¹³ Read 'सङ्घति'.¹⁴ Read 'सितिपति'.

- 24 'स्वयग्रहप्रक[१*]शितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम[:*] परमम[१*]हेखरः श्रीखर-
ग्रहस्तस्य तनय-
25 'तत्पादा[नुध्य][१*]तः सकलवि[द्य][१*]धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरि-
तोषातिशयः सत्वताम्पद[१*]^३ त्व[१*]गौदा[र्ये]-
26 ख च विग[त][१*]नु[स]न्धान[१*][श]म[१हि]तार[१*]तिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्य-
गुपलक्षित[१*]नेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरित-

Second Plate.

- 27 गह्वर[वि]भागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरक्तचिमप्रसयवि[न]यशोभाविभूषणः^४ समरशतजय-
पताकाह-
28 रणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः^५ [स्व]धनु[:*]प्रभावपरि-
भुतास्त्रकौ[श]लाभिमा-^६
29 [न]सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिन[न्दि]तशासना^७ परमम[१]हेखरः श्रीधरसेनस्तत्या-
नुजस्तत्याद[१*]नुध्य[१*]तः सचरितातिशयित-
30 स[क]लपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विपयाणां^८ मूर्त्तिमा[नि]व
पुरु[ष]कारः^९ परिवृष्टगुणानुराग-
31 [नि]र्वरचितहृत्तिभिर्भनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
क[१*][न्ति]मा[नि]तिहेतुरकलङ्कः
32 [कु]सुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्वगितदिग[न्त]राजप्रध्वंसितध्वा[न्त]राशिस्त्रततोदित-
स्त्रविता^{१०} प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्र[त्य]यम-
33 ^{११}[त्यवन्त]मतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धम[१*]गमपरिपूर्ण^{१२} विद्वानः ^{१३}धन्विग्रह-
समासनिखयनिपुणः [स्थ]ाननु-^{१४}
34 ^{१५}रूपमादेयं ददद्बुद्धद्विविधानजनितसंस्कारस्त्र[१*]धूना^{१६} राज्यसालातुरीय[त]न्त्र-
योऽभयोरप^{१७} नि[ष्ठा]तः
35 प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि ^{१८}किरणासुदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी
स्त्रिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दो-
36 षवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितसुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबालादित्यदि-

^१ Read 'स्वयंग्रह'.^४ Read 'प्रशय'.^७ Read 'शासनः'.^{१०} Read परिहृत.^{१३} Read 'पुष्प'.^{१६} Read 'रूप'.^{१९} Read किरणा.^२ Read 'सत्या'.^५ Read 'विध्वंसित'.^८ Read 'सत्यानु'.^{११} Read 'प्रध्वंसित'.^{१४} Read सन्धि.^{१७} Read 'धूना'.^३ Read सत्त्वसम्पदा.^६ Read 'परिमृता'.^९ Read विषयाणां.^{१२} Read 'त्यं'.^{१५} Read स्थानेनु.^{१८} Read 'शाखातुरीय' and 'रपि'.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

Handwritten text in a South Indian script, likely Grantha or Tamil, arranged in 26 horizontal lines. The text is dense and appears to be a religious or philosophical treatise. The script is written in black ink on a light-colored background. The lines are numbered 1 through 26 on the left margin. The text is written in a cursive style, with some characters being more prominent than others. The overall appearance is that of an ancient manuscript.

28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52

28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52

Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, arranged in two columns. The text is dense and appears to be a religious or philosophical treatise. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background. The left column is numbered 28 to 52, and the right column is numbered 28 to 52. The text is arranged in a grid-like fashion, with lines of text corresponding to the numbers on the left and right margins. The text is written in a script that is characteristic of the 19th century in the Indian subcontinent. The text is highly stylized and difficult to decipher. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background. The left column is numbered 28 to 52, and the right column is numbered 28 to 52. The text is arranged in a grid-like fashion, with lines of text corresponding to the numbers on the left and right margins. The text is written in a script that is characteristic of the 19th century in the Indian subcontinent.

- 37 तीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनकुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्य-
म[1*]ज्ञापयेत्यस्तु¹ व-
- 38 स्मविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोऽपुण्याय[1]यनायः² दुम्बरगह्वर[वि]निर्ग-
तागस्तिकाग्र(1)हार(1)[नि]वासिउ[च्य]-
- 39 मानचातुर्विध्यसामान्यपाराशरस[गो]त्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकु[मा]रस्व[1]मि-
पुत्रब्राह्मण-
- 40 अग्निस्वामिने तथा जम्बूसरविनिर्गतायानकाग्र(1)हारनिवासि[उ]च्यमान[चा]तु-
र्विध्यसामान्यकौशिकस-
- 41 गोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणमहेश्वरपुत्रब्राह्मणसंगरवये³ मालवके उच्यमा-
नभु-
- 42 क्तौ नवग्रामकग्रामपूर्व[दी]प्ति⁴ भ[क्ती]शतं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः वराहो-
टकग्रामकङ्कटः द[क्षि]णतो
- 43 नदी अपरतः⁵ लभणपट्टिका उत्तरतः पुलिन्दानकग्रामकङ्कटः [ए]वमेतच्चतु-
राघाटनविशुद्धं भक्तीशतं
- 44 सोदङ्ग⁶ सोपरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय⁷ सदश[1*]पराध
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक⁸ सर्वराज-
- 45 कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षपणीय⁹ पूर्वप्रक्षदे[व]ब्रह्मदेयब्र[1*]ह्मणविह्वतिरहितं¹⁰ भूमिच्छिद-
न्य[1*]येन[1*]चन्द्र[1*]कर्ण[वक्षि]-
- 46 तिसरित्यर्चतसमक[1*]लीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य¹¹ उ[द]कातिसर्गण धर्मदाया
निस्तृष्टः यतो नयो(च)रुचितया
- 47 ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या गुञ्जतोः¹² कृपतोः कफयतोः¹³ प्रदिशतोर्वा न कैश्चिद्वा[1*]सिधे
वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृप-
- 48 तिभिरय्यस्मदङ्गजैरण्येर्वा¹⁴ अनित्य[1*]न्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं म[1*]नुष्य¹⁵ स[1*]-
म[1*]न्यच्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिर[य]-
- 49 मस्मद्[1*]योनुमन्तव्यः परिप[1*]लयितव्यश्चेत्युतच्च¹⁶ ॥ बहुभिर्वसुध[1*] भु-
क्त[1*] राजभिस्सगर[1*]दिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यद[1*] भूमस्त[स्य]¹⁷

¹ Read °पयत्यस्तु.² Read °यनायोदम्बर° and compare B., text line 41.³ The name of the donee is spaced out longer name.

It may have been filled in subsequently, or substituted for an erased

⁴ Read °पूर्वसीमि.⁵ Read लक्षण°.⁶ Read सोदङ्ग.⁷ Read °देय°.⁸ Read °विष्टिक°.⁹ Read °प्रक्षपणीयं पूर्व°.¹⁰ Read °विशति°.¹¹ Read °पौत्रान्वयभोग्य°.¹² Read भुञ्जतोः.¹³ Read कर्षयतोः.¹⁴ Read °रय्यस्मदङ्गजैर्यैः°.¹⁵ Read मानुष्यं.¹⁶ Read °त्युक्तच्च°.¹⁷ Read भूमिरस्य.

- 50 तस्य तद[१*] फल^१ [॥*] [य]ानीह ^२द[१*]रिद्रभय[१*]वरे[न्द्रे]इनानि^३
धर्म[१*]यतनीकृत[१*]नि [१*] निर्भुक्तम[१*]त्यप्रतिम[१*]नि त[१*]नि को
नाम शाधुः^४ पु[न]-
- 51 रा[य]दीत^५ ॥ षष्टिवर्ष[सहस्र[१*]] [णि] स्वर्गे तिष्ठति^६ भुमिदः [१*] अच्छे-
त[१*]^७ च[१*]नुम[त्त][१*]^८ च त[१*]न्य[व]^९ नरके व[से]दिति ॥ दूतकोच
राजपुत्रश्रीखरग्रहः[१*]
- 52 लिखितमिदं ^{१०}सन्धिविग्रह[१*]धिगृतदिविरपतिवचभट्टपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन^{११} ॥
स ३०० २० भ[१*]द्रपद व ५ खहस्ती मम ॥

B.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA]-SAMVAT 321.

The text of this inscription, which is here printed for the second time,¹² is based on two sets of ink-impressions and one set of estampages, prepared by Mr. Cousens. The estampages are very excellent and show many letters which, owing to the corroded condition of the original, appear only imperfectly in the ink-impressions.

The copper-plates are two in number and bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9" in height and 11½" in breadth.

The *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice (ll. 34 and 40), and the *upadhāniya* once (l. 53). The date portion contains the numerical symbols for 300, 20, 1 and 3 (l. 54). As in A., the *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṇ* before *ś* and *h* (ll. 3, 5, 12, 23, 48, 50), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 15, 29, 34), while in three others (ll. 2, 5, 36 f.) the *anusvāra* is employed.

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but, as in A., three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 51-53. The language of ll. 41-43 is incorrect. The name of the first donee, *Dattasvāmi* (l. 42), although it has no case-ending, is joined by the particle *tathā* to the following *Kumārasvāmi* (l. 43), to which the dual case-ending *bhṛām* is affixed.

The text of the grant B. is practically identical with that of A., excepting the place of issue, the names and the description of the two donees, the description of the granted land, and the date. The grant was issued "from the victorious camp pitched at **Va[n]ditapalli**" (l. 1), which I am unable to identify. The two donees were "the Brāhmaṇa Dattasvāmin, who has come from **Udumbaragahvara**, resides at **Ay[ā]nakāgrahāra**, belongs to the *Trivēdins* of **Daśapura**, to the *gōtra* of the *Pārāśaras* and to the school of the *Mādhyandina-Vājasanēyas*, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Budhasvāmin, and the Brāhmaṇa Kumārasvāmin, who resides at **Agastikāgrahāra**, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),¹³ to the *gōtra* of the *Pārāśaras* and to the school of the *Vājasanēyas*, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa

^१ Read फलं.

^४ Read साधुः.

^७ Read आच्छेत्ता.

^{१०} Read °चिह्नत°.

^{१२} See page 183 above.

^२ Read दारिद्र्य°.

^५ Read °राददीत.

^८ Read °मन्ता.

^{११} Read °वचभट्टि° and see B., text line 54.

^{१३} I.e. of Agastikāgrahāra.

^३ Read °इनानि.

^६ Read तिष्ठति भूमिदः.

^९ Read तान्येव.

Budhasvāmin" (ll. 41-43). The grant consisted of "a field measuring one hundred *bhaktis* at the southern boundary of the village Chandraputraka in Mālavaka, in the said district (*vishaya*).¹ The boundaries of this (field are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Dhammanahaḍḍikā; to the south, the boundary of the village Dēvakulapāṭaka; to the west, the boundary of the field of the Mahattara Viratara-maṇḍalin; at the north-western corner, the small tank (called) Nirgaṇḍī; (and) to the north, (the field of) Viratara-maṇḍalin" (ll. 44-46). The date of the grant was "the year 300 (and) 20 (and) 1; (the month) Chaitra; the dark (fortnight); the 3rd (*tithi*)" (l. 54).

Each of the two donees is called a son of Budhasvāmin, a student of the Vājasaneyā śākhā, and a member of the Pārāsara gōtra. This suggests that they were sons of the same father, and that the epithet 'who has come from Udumbaragahvara,'² which is applied to the first donee (l. 41), holds good for the second as well. The first donee is stated to have resided at Ayānakāgrahāra and to have belonged to the Trivēdins of Daśapura. From this I conclude that Ayānakāgrahāra was a quarter or suburb of Daśapura. The second donee, who was probably the brother of the first, resided at, and belonged to the Chaturvēdins of, Agastikāgrahāra, which may have been another hamlet of Daśapura. This town is the modern Dasōr or Mandasōr, the chief town of a district of the Scindia's dominions,³ about 52 miles north of Rutlam.

As in the inscription A., the land granted belonged to the province of Mālavaka. It consisted of a field in the south of Chandraputraka and was bounded in the east by Dhammanahaḍḍikā and in the south by Dēvakulapāṭaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam thought of identifying these places, successively, with Chandodia, Dhamnod and Dival Khedi⁴—three villages in the south-west of Nôgawā where the two grants were discovered. But the phonetical correspondence of each of the three pairs of names is only superficial; besides, Dhamnod is not in the east, but in the south-west, and Dival Khedi not in the south, but in the north-west, of Chandodia. Hence the Dewan's identification must be rejected. Dr. Fleet has very kindly searched the maps with the following result:—

"Eleven miles south-south-east from Mandasōr, there is a large village which is shewn as 'Dhamnar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 35, S.E. (1891), and as 'Dhamnār' in the Bhopal and Malwa Topographical Survey sheet No. 35 (1882). I suspect that this is the Dhammanahaḍḍikā of the record. But neither of the maps shews anything answering to any of the other names; unless Dēvakulapāṭaka may be found in the 'Dilauda' of the maps, four miles west-south-west from 'Dhamnār,' and in quite the right position to be on the south of Chandraputraka,—'Dhamnār' being taken to be the village on its east.⁵ And, of course, a possible identification of only one place is not sufficient to conclusively locate the record."

The date of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 321 (i.e. A.D. 640-41), falls between that of the first Nôgawā grant—Samvat 320—and the earliest date of Dharasēna IV.—Samvat 326⁶—and thus extends the known period of the reign of Dhruvasēna II. by one year.

¹ See the remarks on page 189 above.

² See above, p. 189 and note 5.

³ See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79 f. and above, Vol. V. p. 38 f.

⁴ Dr. Fleet informs me that these villages are given on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (189b), as Chandodia, Dhamnod, Dibal and Kheri.

⁵ "There is also another 'Dilauda,' which gives its name to a station on the Holkar and Neemuch State Railway, three and a half miles north-north-east from this one, and two and a half miles north-west-by-west from 'Dhamnār.'"

⁶ See Prof. Kielhora's Northern List, No. 481.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावाराह[न्दि]तपस्त्रीवासकाग्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां
मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोग-
- 2 ³संसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापाव्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत-
श्रेणी-
- 3 बलावासराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणा-
रविन्दप्रणति-⁴
- 4 प्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवाग्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघट[१]-
स्फोटनप्र[का]शि[त]-
- 5 ⁵सत्त्वनिक्षः तत्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्घतिः⁶ सक[ल]-
स्मृतिप्रणी-
- 6 तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाभीर्यबुद्धि-
सम्पद्भि[ः*] स्मरश-
- 7 शाङ्काद्विराजोदधिचिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तुण्वद-
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्य-
- 8 फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविहत्सुहृद्व्ययिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवन-
मण्डला[भो]गप्रमोदः
- 9 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविस्तृतजाह्नवीजलोघ-
प्रक्षालि[ता]शेष-⁷
- 10 कल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामि-
कौर्गुणै[ः*] [स]हज-
- 11 शक्तिश्चाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता
धर्मदा[याना]-
- 12 मपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवाना⁸ दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य
⁹सङ्घतारातिपक्षल[क्ष्मी]-
- 13 परिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसप्रप्तवि[म]लपार्थिवश्रीः¹⁰ परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधर-
सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-

¹ From two ink-impressions and an estampage.² Expressed by a symbol.³ An indistinct symbol is engraved above the line between पा and त्र of 'प्रतापात्र'.⁴ Read 'वंश'.⁵ Read 'सत्त्व'.⁶ Read 'संहति'.⁷ Read 'जलोघ'.⁸ Read 'प्लवाना'.⁹ Read 'संहता'.¹⁰ Read 'संप्राप्त'.

- 14 ध्यातः ¹सकलजगदानन्दनात्यभुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्गण्डलः सम[र]शत-
विजयशोभास-
- 15 नाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्मपीठोदू[ढ]गु[रु]मनोरथमहाभा[र]ः² सर्व्व[विद्या]-
परावर[वि]भागाधिग-
- 16 मविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपा[द]नीयपरि[तो]षः समग्र-
लोकागाधगाभी-
- 17 र्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्व[भा]वः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपति-
पथ[वि]शोध-
- 18 नाधिगतोदयकीर्त्तिर्द्दम्मानुपरोधोञ्जल[त]रीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मा[दि]-
त्यद्विती[य]नामा पर-
- 19 ममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः [स्व]यमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरु-
णात्यादरवत[र] समभिल-
- 20 षणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी³ स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैक-
रसत[यै]वीहृन्मेदसुखरतिभ्या-⁴
- 21 मनायासितसत्वसपत्तिः⁵ प्रभावसम्पद्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
परावज्जाभि-
- 22 मानरसाना[थङ्गित]मनोवृत्तिः⁶ प्रणतिमेका⁷ परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्य-
रातिभिरनासादितप्र[ति]क्रि[यो]-
- 23 पायः ⁸कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसङ्घतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगति-
त्री[च]जनाधि-
- 24 रो[हि]भिरशेषैर्द्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथ-
विदक्ष[क्षि]तिपाति-⁹
- 25 लक्ष्मीस्त्रयग्रहप्रकाशितप्रविरपुरुषप्रथमसेम्याधिगमः¹⁰ परममाहेश्वरः श्रीश्वरग्रह-
स्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादा-
- 26 नुध्यातः स[क]लविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः ¹¹सत्व-
सम्पदा त्यागीदार्य्येण च
- 27 विगतानुसन्धान[र*]शमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षिताणकशा[स्त्र]-¹²
- 28 ¹³[क]लाथोकचरितगङ्गरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृति[र]कृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनय]-

¹ Read °त्यङ्गुत°.² Read °रसि°.³ Read °सत्त्वसंपत्तिः°.⁴ Read °संहति°.⁵ Read °प्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः°.⁶ Read °सत्त्व°.⁷ Read °लक्ष्मी°.⁸ Read °नालक्षित°.⁹ Read °विपक्षचित्तिपति°.¹⁰ Read °तानेक°.¹¹ Read °सत्त्व°.¹² Read °कालीक°.

Second Plate.

- 29 शोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वंसित-¹
- 30 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्शीदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृप्रतिम-
- 31 रुडताभिन्नन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन[*] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्य[*]-
त[*] सञ्चरितातिशयितस-
- 32 ज्ञानपूज्जनरूपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां भूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुष-
कारः परिदृष्टगु-
- 33 शान्तुरागनिर्झरचित्तवृत्तिभिस्तेनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
क्रान्तिमा-
- 34 त्रिवृत्तिहेतुरकलङ्कमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थ[गि]तदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशिः²
सततो-
- 35 दितस्त्रविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमतिवहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागम-
परिपूर्ण
- 36 विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमामनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूप[मादे]शं ददद्गुणवृद्धि-
विधानजनितसं-
- 37 स्वतन्त्राभ्युनां राज्यमालातुगियतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकष्टविक्रमोपि
अरुणाभुदुहद-
- 38 यः क्षुत्तवत्प्रसङ्गितः क्रान्तीपि प्रशमी स्थिरमौहृदयोपि निरसिता दोष-
वतामुदयेतदयत्नम्-
- 39 जनितजननानुशासनपिहितभुवनसमर्थतप्रथितवा[ला]दित्यद्वितीयनामा³ परम-
माहेश्वरः श्री-
- 40 ध्रुवसेनकुशली नर्त्तनिव ययासम्बध्यमानकान्तमाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा
नया मातापित्रोः
- 41 पुण्याप्यायनाय उदुम्बरगह्वरविनिर्गताय[*]नकाग्र(1)हारनिवासिदशपुरत्रेविद्य-
मासान्यपाराशरस-
- 42 गोत्रमाध्यन्दिनवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्वामि तथागस्ति-
काग्रहारनिवासि-
- 43 [उ]च्यमानचातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामपुत्रब्रा-
ह्मणकुमारस्वामिभ्या⁷

¹ Read 'विध्वंसित'.² Read 'प्रध्वंसित'.³ Read 'शालातुरीय'.⁴ Read 'मुदय'.⁵ Read 'समर्थ'.⁶ 'तायानका' is the reading of A., text line 40.⁷ Read 'बुधस्वामिपुत्र'. The syllable भ्या is entered on the margin of the plate; read 'भ्या'.

- 44 मालवके उच्यमानविष[ये] चन्द्रपुत्रकग्रामे दक्षिणसीम्नि भक्तीशतप्रमाणक्षेत्रं
यस्याध[ः]† टनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणह-
- 45 डिडकाग्रामकङ्कटः दक्षिणतो देवकुलपाट[क]ग्रामकङ्कटः अपरतः वीरतरमण्डलि-
महत्तरक्षेत्रमर्थ्यादा उत्तरपश्चि-
- 46 मकोणे निर्गण्डीतडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरमण्डली एवमेतच्चतुरावाटनविशुद्धं
भक्तीशतप्रमाणक्षेत्रं शो-¹
- 47 द्रङ्गं सोपरिकर² समूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यदेयं सपशपराध³ सोत्पद्यमान
विष्टिकं सर्वराजकीयानामह-
- 48 स्तप्रक्षेपणीय⁴ पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविद्वतिरहित⁵ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्का-
णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व-
- 49 तसमकालानं⁶ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मदायो निसृष्ट[ः]* यतो-
नयोश्चितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जत⁷
- 50 क्षपतः⁷ कर्षयतः⁷ प्रदिशतोर्वी न कैश्चिद्वासेधि वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपति-
भिरप्यस्मद्भङ्गजैरन्यैर्वी⁸ अनित्यान्यै[श्च]र्याण्य-
- 51 स्थिरं मानुथं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परि-
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भु-
- 52 क्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [†] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं [†] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयात्ररेर्देवैर्नानि धर्मादितनीदृतानि [†]
⁹निभुक्तमात्यप्रति-
- 53 मानि तानि को नाम साधुपुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्र[†]णि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिद[ः] † आर्च्छता¹⁰ चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-
दिति । दूतकोत्र राज-
- 54 पुत्रश्रीखरग्रह[ः]* लिखितमिदं सन्धिविश्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवचनभट्टिपुत्रदिविर-
पतिस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं ३०० २० १ चैत्र व ३ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

¹ Read सो^०.² Read 'सौयं.³ Read 'तोः.⁴ Read 'आर्च्छता.⁵ Read 'कर.⁶ Read 'विश्रति.⁷ Read 'इशे.⁸ Read सदशापराधं.⁹ Read 'कालीनं.¹⁰ Read निभुक्तं.

No. 21.—JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA
ON MOUNT ABU.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount Âbû were prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultsch to Professor Kielhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of Nēminātha and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by Tējāhpāla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of 'the temple of Vastupāla and Tējāhpāla;' but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to Tējāhpāla alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was Lūpasimhavasahikā or Lūpavasahikā.¹

No. I. is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*. Vol. XVI. p. 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1853 by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate in his edition of Sômēśvaradēva's *Kīrtikavmudī*. Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the *Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, p. 174 ff.

The writing covers a space of about 3' 1½" broad by 2' 7½" high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ½". The characters are Jaina Nāgarī. As *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory syllable *ōm*, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll. 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by Sômēśvaradēva, the well-known *purōhita* of the Chaulukya kings and author of the *Kīrtikavmudī*; but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regards *lexicography*, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms *balānaka* in l. 37 and *khattaka* in l. 40. The former apparently is identical with Marāṭhī *balānī*, which according to the *Dictionary* of Molesworth and Candy means 'a raised seat along the walls of the *gābhārā* or *śubhāmaṇḍapa* of a temple.' The word *khattaka* I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of 'pedestal' or 'throne.' Proper names frequently appear in their Prākṛit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form *Tējapāla*, instead of *Tējāhpāla*, is used in verse 56.

After an invocation of Sarasvatī (v. 1) and Gaṇeśa (v. 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of Tējāhpāla. Their native town was Anahilapura, the residence of the Chulukya kings (v. 3). The ancestor of the family was Chaṇḍapa (v. 4). His son was Chaṇḍaprasāda (v. 5), who again had a son named Sōma (v. 6). Sōma's son was Aśvarāja, whose wife was Kumārādēvi (v. 7). They had eleven children (vv. 8-24)—four sons: Lūpiga,

¹ [On *vasahi*, 'a Jaina temple,' which is to be derived from **vasathi*, another form of the Sanskrit *vasati*, see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 207. The Kannada equivalent *basadi* or *basti* is a *taddhava* of *vasati* itself.—E. H.]

Kumârapâla himself is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1202.¹ According to Mērutuṅga's *Prabandha-śhintāmani* Jayasimhadēva reigned until Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199,² and in the same author's *Vichārasrēṇī* the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kārttika of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199, and that of his successor's coronation as the fourth day of the bright half of Mārgasīra of the same year.³ Ballāla, therefore, must have found his death between A.D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Sômnāthpattan inscription. No king of that name, however, is found among the Paramâra rulers of Mâlava of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is altogether improbable that Ballāla belonged to this dynasty. The question who he was and how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mâlava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn⁴ that after the death of Yaśôvarman, which must have occurred between A.D. 1135 and 1144,⁵ the Mâlava kingdom was for some time in a troubled state apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhârâvarsha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v. 37), was an enemy of the lord of **Kauṅkaṇa** or **Koṅkaṇ** (v. 36), but no particulars are added. I have quoted already above the Mount Âbû inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1265 (A.D. 1209), where Dhârâvarsha, 'the lord of Chandrâvatī, the Śambhu to the Asuras—the provincial chiefs (*mūṇḍalika*),' is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhimadēva II.

His younger brother **Prahlādana** is called he 'whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gûrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha' (v. 38). The Gûrjara king who was saved by Prahlādana from Sāmantasimha, of course, was **Bhimadēva II.**, but it is difficult to say who that Sāmantasimha was. No further details being given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that prince with certainty. The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the Sāmantasimha of the inscription is the **Guhila** chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions on Mount Âbû⁶ and at Sâdadi.⁷ In the former inscription⁸ he takes the fifth place after Vijayasimha, who must have flourished about A.D. 1125,⁹ and the fifth place before Têjaṣimha, whose Chitôrgadh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1324 = A.D. 1257.¹⁰ He thus appears to have reigned about A.D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary Prahlādana was *yuvârāja* in A.D. 1209.¹¹ Also from a geographical point of view there is no objection to my identification, as **Mēdarâṭa**, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district ruled by the Paramâras of Chandrâvatī. It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahlādana defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief. That the relations between the Chaulukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of Vīśaladēva, the son of Vīradhavalā, where the king is given the epithet *Mēdupâṭakadēśa-kalusha-rājya-valli-kand-ôchchhēdana-kuddāla-kalpa*, 'he who resembled a hoe for rooting out the bulb of (*that*) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mēdapâṭaka country.'¹²

¹ *Bhāinagar Inscr.* p. 15 ff.

² See the end of *sarga* 111.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 162.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 348.

⁵ The late inscription of Yaśôvarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199, and the earliest inscription of his son Lakshmi-varman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1200. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 349 and p. 352 f.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.

⁷ *Bhāinagar Inscr.* p. 114 ff.

⁸ The Sâdadi inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names.

⁹ Vijayasimha's daughter was the Kalachuri queen Alhanadēvi, whose Bhîra-Ghât inscription is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri-Chêdi era = A.D. 1155; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 7 ff.

¹⁰ *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46 f.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 222.

¹² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 210.

Besides his military achievements Prahādāna's learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv. 39 ; 40). This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a *vyāyōga*, called *Pārthaparākrama*, written by him when he was *yuvārāja*,¹ and several single verses of his are found in the *Śūrṅgadharapaddhati*.²

As regards *Sōmasimhadēva*, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brāhman (v. 41).

After the genealogy of the Paramāras the text returns again to the family of *Tējāhpāla*. Vv. 43-46 are devoted to *Tējāhpāla*'s brother *Vastupāla*, his wife *Lalitādēvi* and, particularly, their son *Jayantasimha* or *Jaitrasimha*. Vv. 47-49 are in praise of *Tējāhpāla* himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of *Anupamadēvi*, the wife of *Tējāhpāla* (vv. 50-54). The account begins with *Gāgā*, who belonged to the *Prāgvāta* family and was an inhabitant of *Chandrāvati* (v. 50). His son was *Dharaṇiga* (v. 51), who was married to *Tribhuvanadēvi* (v. 52). Their daughter was *Anupamadēvi* (vv. 53 ; 54). The son of *Tējāhpāla* and *Anupamadēvi* was *Lāvanyasimha* or *Lūpasimha* (vv. 55-57). V. 58 contains a short note on the family of *Tējāhpāla*'s elder brother *Malladēva* : *Malladēva* and his wife *Lilukā* had a son *Pūrṇasimha*, who was married to *Ahlaṇādēvi* and had a son of the name of *Pēthaḍa*.

Vv. 59 and 60 record that *Tējāhpāla* built on the mountain *Arbuda* this temple of *Nēminātha* for the religious merit of his wife *Anupamā* and his son *Lāvanyasimha*, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice. The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty *maṇḍapa* in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinās on the sides of it and a *balānaka* or stone seat in front of it (v. 61). There were besides ten statues representing *Chandapa*, *Chandaprasāda*, *Sōma*, *Aśvaśāja*, *Lūṇiga*, *Malladēva*, *Vastupāla*, *Tējāhpāla*, *Jaitrasimha* and *Lāvanyasimha*, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62 ; 63). Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on *khattakas* of white marble (v. 64). The description concludes with some verses in honour of *Vastupāla* and *Tējāhpāla*, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv. 65-68).

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of *Vastupāla*'s and *Tējāhpāla*'s family (vv. 69-72). They belonged to the *Nāgēndra gachchha*, and their names, in chronological order, were : *Mahēndrasūri*, *Śāntisūri*, *Ānandasūri* and *Amarasūri*,³ *Haribhadrasūri*, *Vijayasēnasūri*, *Udayaprabhasūri*. The last, as shown by v. 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some *Girnār* inscriptions.⁴

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that *Sōmēśvaradēva*, whose feet are honoured by the *Chulukya* king, composed this eulogy of the temple. The name of the engraver of the inscription, *Chandēśvara*, the son of *Dhāndhala*, the son of *Kēlhaṇa*, and the date of the consecration of the temple by *Vijayasēnasūri*, the *Jairā* priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll. 46, 47). The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of *Phālguna*, in the year 1287 of the glorious *Vikrama*. It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, *a priori* to restore the name of the month to *Śrīvāṇa*, as done e.g. by Professor *Kathavate* ; but as the date is repeated in the inscription No. II., the reading *Phālguna* is beyond

¹ Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1872-73, p. 4. Kielhorn, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, p. 84.

² Nos. 748, 765, 1058 and 1071 ; compare Aufrecht's collection, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XXVII. p. 49.

³ In the inscription No. II. *Amarasūri* is called *Amarachandrasūri*.

⁴ Kielhorn, List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 31, note 1. *Udayaprabhasūri* was also the author of an astrological treatise called *Ārambhasiddhi* ; see Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin, No. 1741.

all doubt. The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,¹ to **Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1280.**

Of the inscription **No. II.** only a short account was published by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 309 f. It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B. to his edition of the *Kīrtikaumudī*. It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10" high. The size of the letters is $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Near the beginning and at the end of ll. 1 and 2 and at the end of ll. 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off. The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial *ô* in *ôṃ* (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in *Ôisavīla* (ll. 15, 17, 24) and *Ôrāsā* (l. 27) by the addition of a cross-bar. The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *ra* everywhere, except in *Śrīmātāmaha* in l. 27 and *Arbudas* in the last but one line. The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities. The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for *ra* and *śa* and medial *é* and *ô*, the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in *bhējātē*, *bhavanē*, *-pāmthē*, *-sūrēr*, *tayôḥ* and *vīlōkyamānē*, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in *varshē* (l. 1), *-dēvēna* (l. 26) and *Gūsala* (l. 13). There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is fully borne out by their contents.

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom. Proper names generally appear in their Prākṛit form, and even instead of Skt. *putra* we find here the abbreviation *u*², which stands for Prākṛit *utta* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized *utra*² (ll. 10-25). Also the form *kumara* instead of *kumāra* in l. 26 is due to Prākṛit influence. The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by *tathā* (ll. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27). As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned: *apabhāra*, m., 'a burden' (l. 29); *āṣṭāhikā*, f., 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (ll. 12, 14, 16, etc.); *kalyāṇika*, n., 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26);³ *tathājñātiya*, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (ll. 10 ff.); *mahājuna*, m., 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10);⁴ *rāṭhiya*, m., which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 28); *varshagranthi*, m., 'an anniversary' (l. 12);⁵ *satka*, 'belonging to' (ll. 3, 7, 10); *sārā*, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9).⁶ In line 6 *pratishṭhita* is used in the sense of *pratishṭhāpita*.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of **Nēminātha**, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building.

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1287, while in prosperous **Anahilapāṭaka** the *mahārājādhirāja* **Bh[imadeva]**, the royal swan on the lotus of the **Chaulukya** family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . while the *mahāmaṇḍalīśvara rājakula*, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, born in the family of the illustrious

¹ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 30.

² This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, plate i. ll. 14, 15; pl. ii. ll. 4, 5, 6. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338.

³ See below, p. 206.

⁴ Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 279, note 46. The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate ii. l. 10. In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation *mahājani* is found.

⁵ Compare Marāṭhi *varshagāṇṭha*, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'

⁶ See below, p. 205, note 2.

Dhūmarājadēva who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy **Vaśiṣṭha**, is reigning victoriously,' **Tējāhpāla** caused to be made in the village of **Dēulavādā** on the top of the holy mountain **Arbuda** the temple of the holy **Nēminātha**, called **Lūṇasimhavasahikā**, adorned by all shrines (*dēvakulikā*) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (*hastisālā*), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife **Anupamadēvi** and his son **Lūṇasimha**. The inscription gives the same pedigree of **Tējāhpāla** as No. I., and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Viradhavaladēva**, the son of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Lavanaprasādadēva**, born in the family of the illustrious **Chaulukyas**, in the province (*maṇḍala*) of . . . *rātrā*, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Bhimadēva**.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between **Bhimadēva II.** and the members of the **Vāghēlā** dynasty, which in **Somēśvaradēva's** account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that **Bhimadēva II.** was considered lord paramount, while **Lavanaprasāda** and **Viradhavala** contented themselves with the rank of a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and the title of *rāṇaka*. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by **Viradhavala** is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . *rātrā*, which I am unable to restore.¹

As regards the **Paramāras** of **Chandrāvati**, the inscription shows that in A.D. 1230 the reigning prince was **Sōmasimha**, and not **Kṛishṇarāja** as might easily be supposed from the text of No. I. I would also point out that the legend told in No. I. of **Paramāra** is here ascribed to **Dhūmarāja**.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to **Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230**. The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the Jinas and the hall for the statues of the members of **Tējāhpāla's** family spoken of in vv. 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by **Vijayasēnasūri** (l. 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. **Haribhadrāsūri** is here called 'the lord of the frontlet-decoration (*paṭṭāṅkarāṇa-prabhu*) by the illustrious **Āṇandasūri** and the illustrious **Amarachandrasūri**,' which apparently means that he had received his *paṭṭābhishēka* from the hands of those two *sūris*.

The purport of the next section (ll. 6-9) is indicated already by the heading: 'And the names of the *śrāvaka* trustees appointed for this temple (*ure*) as follows.' Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,² etc., in this temple is to be done and carried on for ever by the brothers **Malladēva**, **Vastupāla** and **Tējāhpāla** and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of **Lūṇasimha's** mother **Anupamadēvi** and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of **Anupamadēvi's** family, which resided at **Chandrāvati** and belonged to the **Prāgvāṭa jñāti**, is inserted.

The following section (ll. 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month **Chaitra**, holy to the god,³ and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc., were to be performed by the laymen (*śrāvaka*) of

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the **Vāghēlā** branch.

² The word *sārd* occurs again in the **Chaulukya** grant of A.D. 1207 in the phrase: *asya dharmasthānasya . . . Atair=ashtabhir=gōsthikāi rādūla-Uchchadēva-sahitair=a-chandr-ārkaṣṭhā sārd karāṇīyā*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338, plate ii. ll. 3-6. It has possibly a more special meaning than supervision.

³ This seems to be the meaning of *dēvakīya*.

the country of **Chandrāvati**,¹ each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the *jāti*. About half of them belonged to the *Prāgvaṣas*; the rest was divided between the *Ūsavālas* or *Ōsavālas*, the *Śrimalas* and the not very numerous *Dharkatas*. The places inhabited by them were the villages of **Uṃbarāṇiki**, **Saraūli** and **Kāsahrada**,² **Brahmāṇa**, the village of **Dhaūli**, the great *tīrtha* **Muṇḍasthala**, the villages of **Philiṇi**, **Haṇḍāudrā** and **Davaṇi**, **Gaḍāhāḍa**, **Sāhilavāḍā**.

In a subsequent clause (ll. 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five *kalyāṇikas* of **Nēmināthadēva**, i.e. the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (*śrāvaka*) residing at **Dēūlavāḍā** on the holy mountain **Arbuda**.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (ll. 26-30): 'Thus is this agreement: The lord of the prosperous **Chandrāvati**, the illustrious *rājakula* **Sōmasimhadēva**; again his son, the illustrious *rāja[kula]* **Kāṇhadadēva**, and the other princes, all royal persons; again the *sthānapatis* *bhaṭṭārakas*, etc., of the prosperous **Chandrāvati**, *karidāsa*:³ again the *Gūguli* *Brāhmanas*,⁴ all the trustees (*who belong to the caste of the*) merchants; again all persons, (*viz.*) *sthānapatis*, ascetics, *Gūguli* *Brāhmanas*, *rāṭhiyas* and others, residing at (*the temples of*) the holy **Achalēśvara** (*and*) the holy **Vaśishṭha** on the mountain **Arbuda** and in the neighbouring villages, (*viz.*) the village of **Dēūlavāḍā**, the prosperous village of **Śrīmātāmahaba**, the village of **Ābuya**, the village of **Ōrāsā**, the village of **Ūtarachha**, the village of **Sihara**, the village of **Sāla**, the village of **Hēṭhaūñji**, the village of **Ākhi**, **Kōṭaḍi** belonging to the holy **Dhāndhalēśvaradēva**, and others—twelve villages (*in all*); again all the *rājaputras* belonging to the race of the illustrious **Pratihāras**, residing in the villages of **Bhālūbhāḍā**, etc. having sat down one by one in the hall of (*the temple of*) the holy **Nēmināthadēva**, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (*and*) for his own delight, from the *mahā[ta]*, the illustrious **Tējahpāla**, the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy **Lūṭasinhavaśhikā**. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (*endure*). For—

'What need is there of alms-bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (*or*) red garments (*and*) tufts of twisted hair, (*since*) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince **Kāṇhadadēva** mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the **Paramāra** **Kṛishṇarājadēva** spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the *mahārājakula*, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, in this holy **Lūṭasinhavaśhikā**, presented by an edict the village of **Davāṇi** in **Vāhirahadi** to the holy **Nēmināthadēva**, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with **Sōmasimhadēva** entreating the future kings of the **Paramara** race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

¹ I take the term 'the body of the *śrāvakas*', namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to **Chandrāvati** as the collective designation of the persons enumerated in detail later on.

² See *rding* to Forbes. *Rās. Māla*, p. 64, **Kāsahrada** is the present **Kasandra-Paladi** near **Ahmadābād**; see *Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. I* p. 229. It is mentioned in two **Kāśmirakūṭa** grants, *ibid.* p. 57 (**Kāśahrada**), and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 202 (**Kāśahrada**).—E. H.]

³ Perhaps *karidāsa* is a proper name; at any rate, I do not know its meaning.—[Can it be meant for *Karidāsa*?—E. H.]

⁴ The *Gūgulis*, or *Guglis* as they are called now, are a class of *Brāhmanas* who at present are found chiefly in **Dvārka**. They are *Vaishnavas* by religion and mostly *peṇḍras* or priests in the temples of *Kṛishṇa*; compare *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII, p. 146, and Vol. IX, Part I, p. 9 f, where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of **Dēūlavādā** on the mountain Arbuda is the **Dilwara** of the *Indian Atlas*, situated lat. 24° 36' N.; long. 72° 43' E. The village of **Umbaraniki** is the **Umarni** of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of Dilwara. The village of **Dhaūli** is **Dhauri**, 8½ miles west-south-west of Dilwara. The great *tīrtha* of **Muṇḍasthala** is perhaps identical with the **Murthala** of the map, 8½ miles south-east of Dilwara. The village of **Gaḍāhāḍa** may be identified with the **Gadara** of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of Dilwara, supposing Gadara to stand for Gaḍāra (Gaḍāḍa). **Sāhilavādā** is **Selwara**, 8½ miles west-north-west of Dilwara. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Arbuda, **Ābuya** is the **Abu** of the map, 1½ miles south-west of Dilwara. **Ūtarachha** is **Utraj**, 5½ miles north-east of Dilwara. **Sihara** is **Ser**, 8 miles north-east of Dilwara. **Hēthauūji** is **Hetamji**, 2 miles south of Dilwara. **Kōṭaḍi** may be the **Kotra** of the map, 7 miles east of Dilwara. **Sāla** possibly is identical with **Salgaon**, 1 mile east-south-east of Dilwara. **Ōrāsā** bears a certain resemblance to **Oria**, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of Dilwara, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount Ābū by Nayaachandrasūri, a descendant of the holy *rishi* Kṛishṇa, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.¹

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III.-XXXII., all of which are edited now for the first time,² are written in Nāgarī characters of the Jaina type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their Prakṛit form. Once, in *Chamḍapa* in No. IV. l. 1, *ḍa* shows the peculiar shape given in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie* in Plate V. col. XVI. l. 22, from an inscription of Bhīmadēva I.

No. III., which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that **Tējapāla** caused to be made the great shrine (*mahātīrtha*) of the holy Nēminātha in this Lūnavasahikā for the religious merit of his son Lūnasiha 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of Phāguṇa (Phālguna) in the year 1287 of king Vikrama.' According to Professor Kielhorn, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for both V. 1287 expired and V. 1287 current. It would correspond, for V. 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV.-XXXII. prove that Tējapāla in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of Jinas and *tīrthakaras*, by Tējapāla for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is *maham*³, the abbreviated form of *mahanta*. It is borne by Tējapāla and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIV. and XXVI.-XXXI. Tējapāla's ancestors Chaṇḍapa and Chaṇḍapasāda, his father Aśvarāja or Āsarāja, and his mother Kumāradēvī are given the title of *ṭha*⁴, which stands for *ṭhakkura*, whereas Sōma, the son of Chaṇḍapasāda and father of Aśvarāja, is constantly styled *maham*.⁵ This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as Chaṇḍapa and Aśvarāja are called also *maham* in

¹ I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount Ābū.

² Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 310, No. XX.

³ The pedigree in No. II. l. 3 f. shows the same distinction.

Nos. III.-VIII., X.-XVIII., XXI.-XXIII. and XXXII.¹ In No. XXXII. we find *ṭhakurājñī* as the title of Saṁtōshā, the mother of Tējāhpāla's second wife Suhadādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called *ṭha*². As shown by Nos. XXVI., XXVII. and XXX., Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tējāhpāla, bore the title of *saṁghapati*.³ From the ninth *sarga* of the *Kīrtikaumudī* it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śātrūṁjaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa. The title itself is alluded to in *sarga* IX. verse 12, where it is said: 'He dined when all (*others*) had dined; he went to sleep when all the (*other*) pilgrims had fallen into slumber; he was the first to awake. In this manner he performed the vow of being a *saṁghaprabhu*.'⁴ Seven times female relatives of Tējāhpāla are given the title of *bāī* (Nos. IV., XI., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX.-XXXI.)

No. XXXII. mentions the *Mōḍha jñātī* in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhadādēvi, the second wife of Tējāhpāla, belonged.

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārśva (No. XII.), Muni Suvrata (No. XXI.), Vārisēpa⁵ (No. XXIV.), Chandrānana (No. XXV.), the eternal Jina Rishabha (No. XXX.), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No. XXXI.), and the *tīrthakaras*⁶ Śīmaṁdharasvāmin⁶ (No. XXVI.), the Jina Yugaṁdharasvāmin (No. XXVII.), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII.), and Subāhu (No. XXIX.).

Nos. IV.-XVIII. are dated in the Vikrama year 1288; Nos. XIX.-XXIII. in the Vikrama year 1290; Nos. XXIV. and XXV. on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293; Nos. XXVI.-XXXI.⁷ on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the *Kīrttikādi* V. 1293 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A.D. 1237; No. XXXII. is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the *Kīrttikādi* V. 1297 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1241.

No. I.⁸

TEXT.

1 श्री० ॥ वंदे सरस्वतीं देवीं याति या कवि[व]मानसं । नी[यमा]ना
[निजेने]व [यानमा]नस[व]ासिन[१ ।] १ यः [क्ष]तिमा[नप्य]रु[णः]
प्रकीपे शान्तेपि दीप्तः स्मरनिग्रहाय । निमीलिताक्षी[पि सम]ग्रदर्शी
स वः शिवायास्तु शि-

¹ Similarly in the pedigree of Tējāhpāla's wife Anupamadēvi in No. II. l. 7 f. four persons are called *maham*², while the rest is styled *ṭha*².

² The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No. II. l. 4.

³ The title of *saṁghapati* occurs also in the *Śātrūṁjayamāhātmya*. According to XIV. 84 ff. it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hasti-ena, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places.

⁴ The correct Sanskrit form would be *Vārisēpa*.

⁵ The four *tīrthakaras* are distinguished by the epithet *ekaramōḇa*, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me.

⁶ The Jina Śīmaṁdharasvāmin is known from Hēmachandra's *Sthavirāvalīcharita*, IX. 95 ff. and the *Śātrūṁjayamāhātmya*, I. 163.

⁷ Of No. XXVIII. the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year.

⁸ On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1740 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 [वात]नूजः ॥ २ अणहिलपुरमस्ति स्वस्तिपात्रं प्रजा[नाम]जरजर[घृतुल्यै]:
पा[ल्य]मानं शु[लुक्यै:] । [चिरम]तिरमणीनां य[त्र वक्तै]दु[मंदी]कृत
इव [सि]तपक्षप्रचयेप्यंधकारः ॥ ३ तत्र प्राग्वाटान्वयमुकुटं कुटजप्रसून-
- 3 विशदयशाः । दानविनिर्जितकल्पद्रुमधंडडपः समभूत् ॥ ४ चंडप्र[सा]द-
संज्ञः स्वकुल[प्रासा]दहेमदंडो ऽस्य । प्रसर[त्की]र्त्तिपताकः पुण्यवि-
पाकेन सूनुरभूत् ॥ ५ आत्मगुणैः किरणैरिव सोमो रोमोद्गम
सतां कु- ॥¹
- 4 र्वन् । उदगादगाधमध्याद्गुधोदधिबांधवात्तस्मात् ॥ ६ एतस्मादजनि
जिनाधि[ना]यभक्तिं विभ्राणः स्वमनसि शश्वदश्वरा[ज]: । तस्यासीद्दयि-
ततमा कुमारदेवी देवीव त्रिपुररिपोः कुमारमाता ॥ ७ तयोः
प्रथमपु- ॥
- 5 त्री ऽभून्मन्त्री लूणिगसंज्ञया । दैवादवाप बालो ऽपि सालोक्यं [व]।-
सवेन [स]: ॥ ८ पूर्वमेव सचिवः स कीविदैर्गण्यते स्म गुणवत्सु
लूणिगः । यस्य निस्तुषमतेर्मनीषया धिक्कृतैव धिषणस्य धीरपि ॥ ९
श्रीमल्लदेवः श्रि-
- 6 तमल्लदेवस्तस्यानुजो मंत्रिमतल्लिकाऽभूत् । बभूव यस्यान्यधनांगनासु लुब्धा
न बुद्धिः शमलव्यवृद्धेः ॥ १० धर्मविधाने भुवनच्छिद्रपिधाने विभिन्न-
संधाने । सृष्टिकृता न हि सृष्टः प्रतिमल्लो मल्लदेव- ॥
- 7 स्य ॥ ११ नीलनीरदकदम्बकमुक्तश्वेतकेतुकिरणोद्भरणेन । मल्लदेवयशसा
गलहस्तो हस्तिमल्लदधनांशुषु दत्तः ॥ १२ तस्यानुजो विजयते
विजितेन्द्रियस्य सारस्वतामृतकृताद्भुतहर्षवर्षः । श्रीवस्तु-
- 8 [पा]ल इति भालतलस्थितानि दौस्थ्योत्तराणि सुकृती कृतिनां विलुपन् ॥
१३ विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचि-
दर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ १४ तेजःपालः पालितस्वा-
- 9 मितेजःपुंजः सोयं राजते मंत्रिराजः । दुर्वृत्तानां शंकनीयः कनीयानस्य भ्राता
विश्वविभ्रांतकीर्त्तिः ॥ १५ तेजःपालस्य विष्णोश्च कः स्वरूपं निरूपयेत् ।
स्थितं जगत्तयीसूत्रं यदीयोदरकंदरे ॥ १६ जाल्हुमाजसाज-
- 10 धनदेवीसोहगावयजुकाख्याः । पदमलदेवी चैषां क्रमादिमाः सप्त सोदर्यः ॥ १७
एते ऽश्वराजपुत्रा दशरथपुत्रास्त एव चत्वारः । प्राप्ताः किल पुनरवना-
वेकीदरवासलोभेन ॥ १८ अनुजन्मना समेतस्तेजपाः- ।

¹ These strokes as well as those at the end of ll. 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41, 42 are merely intended for filling up the line.

- 11 लिन वस्तुपाली ऽयं । मदयति कस्य न हृदयं मधुमासो माधवेनेव ॥ १८
पंथानमेको न कदापि गच्छेदिति स्मृतिप्रोक्तमिव स्मरंती । सहोदरौ
दुर्द्धरमोहचौरे संभूय धर्माध्वनि तौ प्रवृत्तौ ॥ २० इदं सदा सो-
- 12 दरयोद्देतु युगं युगव्यायनदोर्युगश्चि । युगे चतुर्थेऽप्यनवेन येन कृतं कृतस्या-
गमनं युगस्य ॥ २१ सुक्तामयं शरीरं सोदरयोः सुचिरमेतयोरस्तु ।
सुक्तामयं किल महीवलयमिदं भाति यत्कीर्त्या ॥ २२ ए- ।
- 13 कोत्पत्तिनिमित्तौ यद्यपि पाणी तयोस्तथाप्येकः । वामो ऽभूदनयोर्न तु
सोदरयोः कोपि दक्षिणयोः ॥ २३ धर्मस्थानांकितामुर्वीं सर्वतः कुर्वता-
ऽमुना । दत्तः पादो बलाद्धुयुगलेन कलेर्गले ॥ २४ इतश्चौलुक्यवीरा- ।
- 14 णां वंशे शाखाविशेषकः । अर्क्षोराज इति ख्यातो जातस्तेजोमयः पुमान् ॥ २५
तस्मादनंतरमनंतरितप्रतापः प्राप क्षितिं क्षतरिपुर्लवणप्रसादः । स्वर्गापगा-
जलवलक्षितशंखशुभ्रा बभ्राम यस्य लवणाश्विमतीत्य कीर्तिः
- 15 ॥ २६ सुतस्तस्मादासीद्दशरथककुत्स्थप्रतिकृतेः^१ प्रतिक्ष्मापालानां कवलितबलो वीर-
धवलः । यशःपूरे यस्य प्रसरति रतिक्लांतमनसामसाध्वीनां भग्नाऽभिसरण-
कलायां कुशलता ॥ २७ चौलुक्यः सुकृती स वीरधवलः क- ।
- 16 र्खेजपानां जपं यः कर्षेपि चकार न प्रलपतामुद्दिश्य यौ मंत्रिणी ।
आभ्यामभ्युदयातिरेकश्चिरं राज्यं स्वभर्तुः कृतं वाहानां निवह्य घटाः
करटिनां बद्धाश्च सौधांगणे ॥ २८ तेन मंत्रिद्वयेनायं जाने जानूप-
वर्तिना । वि-
- 17 भुर्भुजद्वयेनेव सुखमाश्लिष्यति त्रियं ॥ २९ इतश्च ॥ गौरीवरश्चशुरभूधरसंभवो
ऽयमस्त्यर्बुदः ककुदमद्रिकदंबकस्य । मंदाकिनीं घनजटे दधदुत्तमां [ग] यः
श्यालकः शशिभृतो ऽभिनयं करोति ॥ ३० कचिदिह विहरंतीर्वी- ।
- 18 क्षमाणस्य रामाः प्रसरति रतिरंतर्मोक्षमाकांक्षतो ऽपि । कचन मुनि-
भिरर्घ्यां पश्यतस्तीर्थवीथीं भवति भवविरक्ता धीरधीरात्मनो ऽपि ॥ ३१
श्रेयःश्रेष्ठवशिष्ठहोमहुतभुक्कुंडान्मृतंडात्मजप्रद्योताधिकदेहदीधितिभ-
- 19 रः कोप्याविरासीन्नरः । तं मत्वा परमारणैकरसिकं स व्याजहार श्रुतेरा-
धारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नामाऽथ तस्यान्वयः ॥ ३२ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं
बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेद्रवंशे । भूमीभृतो यः कृतवानभिज्ञानं पञ्चद्वयोच्छे-
- 20 दनवेदनासु ॥ ३३ धंधुकध्रुवभटादयस्ततस्ते रिपुद्विपघटाजितौ ऽभवन् ।
यत्कुले ऽजनि पुमान्मनोरमो रामदेव इति कामदेवजित् ॥ ३४ रोदः-
कंदरवर्त्तिकीर्त्तिलहरीलिप्तामृतांशुदुतेरप्रद्युम्नवशो यशोधवल इ- ।

^१ ककुत्स्थ° would be more correctly written °ककुत्स्थ°.

- 21 त्यासीत्तनूजस्ततः । यश्चैलुक्ककुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्धितामागतं मत्वा सत्वरमेव
मालवपतिं ¹बल्लालमालववान् ॥ ३५ शत्रुश्रेणीगलविदलनोन्निद्रनिस्तृशधारो²
धारावर्षः समजनि सुतस्तस्य विश्वप्रशस्यः । क्रोधाक्रांतप्र- ।
- 22 धनवसुधानिश्चले यत्र जाताश्योतत्रेचोत्पलजलकणाः कौकणाधीशपत्न्यः ॥ ३६
सोयं पुनर्दाशरथिः पृथिव्यामव्याहतीजाः स्फुटमुज्जगाम । मारीचवैरादिव
यो ऽधुनापि [मृ]गव्यमव्यग्रमतिः करोति ॥ ३७ सामं-
- 23 तसिंहसमितिक्षितिविचतौजःश्रीगूर्जरक्षितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनुजो
दनुजोत्तमारिचारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार³ ॥ ३८ देवी सरोजासनसंभवा
किं कामप्रदा किं सुरसौरभेयो । प्रह्लादनाकारधरा
- 24 धरायामायातवत्पेष न निश्चयो मे ॥ ३९ धारावर्षसुतो ऽयं जयति
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः । पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाहानमुभयतो
जगृहे ॥ ४० मुक्ता विप्रकरानरातिनिकरान्निर्जित्य तत्किंचन प्रापत्संप्रति
सोम-
- 25 सिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाशं यशः । येनोर्व्वीतलमुज्ज्वलं⁴ रचयताप्युत्ताम्यतामी-
र्ध्यया सर्व्वेषामिह विद्विषां न हि मुखान्मालिन्यमुन्मूलितं ॥ ४१ वसुदे-
वस्येव सुतः श्रीकृष्णः कृष्णराजदेवो ऽस्य । मात्राधिकप्रतापो यशोद-
- 26 यासंश्रितो जयति ॥ ४२ इतश्च ॥ अन्वयेन विनयेन विद्यया विक्रमेण
सुकृतक्रमेण च । कापि कोपि न पुमानुपैति मे वस्तुपालसदृशो
दृशोः पथि ॥ ४३ दयिता ललितादेवो तनयमवीतनयमाप सचिवेन्द्रात् ।
नाम्ना जयंत- ।
- 27 सिंहं जयंतमिन्द्रात्पुलोमपुत्रीव ॥ ४४ यः शैशवे विनयवैरिणि बोधबंधे धत्ते
नयं च विनयं च गुणोदयं च । सोयं मनोभवपराभवजागरूकरूपी न
कं मनसि चुंबति जैत्रसिंहः ॥ ४५ श्रीवस्तुपालपुत्रः कल्पायुरयं जयं-
- 28 तसिंहो ऽस्तु । कामादधिकं रूपं निरूप्यते यस्य दानं च ॥ ४६ स
श्रीतेजःपालः सचिवश्चिरकालमस्तु तेजस्वी । येन जना निश्चिंताश्चिंता-
मग्निनेव नंदन्ति ॥ ४७ यच्चाणक्यामरगुरुमरुद्ग्राधिशक्रादिकानां प्रागुत्पादं
व्यधित भुवने
- 29 मंत्रिणां बुद्धिधानां । चक्रे ऽभ्यासः स खलु विधिना नूनमेनं विधातुं
तेजःपालः कथमितरथाधिक्यमापैष तेषु ॥ ४८ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिकेतनं
तनुभृतां श्रीवस्तुपालानुजस्तेजःपाल इति स्थितिं बलिहृतामुर्व्वीतले पाल-
यन् । आत्मीयं व-

¹ Possibly the reading is बल्लालम्.² Read °निस्त्रिश°.³ Read पुनरुज्ज्वल°.⁴ Read °लमुज्ज्वलं.

- 30 इ मन्वते न हि गुणग्रामं च कामंदकिश्चाणक्योपि चमत्करोति न
हृदि प्रेक्षास्पदं प्रेक्ष्य यं ॥ ४८ इतश्च ॥ महं श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीअनुप-
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्षनं ॥ प्राग्वाटान्वयमंडनैकमुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रावतीवास्तव्यः स्त-
- 31 वनीयकीर्त्तिलहरिप्रक्षालितक्ष्मातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यद्वृत्तानु-
रागादभूत्की नामप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्धूतरोमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-
मृतसज्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुहृदये ।
- 32 गुणिना हारेणेव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-
विख्यातशीलसंपन्ना । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं द्वेधा मनस्त्वेकं ॥ ५२
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वाक्ष्यणीव शीलिन । तदुहिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-
पालेन
- 33 पत्न्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमंची-
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकौचित्यदाक्षिण्यदानप्रमुखगुणगणेंदुद्योतिताशेषगोत्रा ॥ ५४
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरयं रयं जयन्ति- ।
- 34 रि[द्र]यदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्ध्वापि मीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणानमुष्य श्रीलूणसिंहकृतिनः कति
न स्तुवंति । श्रीबंधनोदुरतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता त्रिजगति क्रि-
- 35 यते स्म कीर्त्तः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च खलसर्पैः ।
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ मल्लदेवसचिवस्य
नंदनः पूर्यसिंह इति लीलुकासुतः । तस्य नंदति सुतीयमङ्गला-
- 36 देविभूः सुकृतवेश्म पेयडः ॥ ५८ अभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य
मंत्रिणः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थं
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्य श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमवुदे ।
- 37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति क्षितींदुसचिवः शंखोज्ज्वलाभिः^१ शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-
दिंदुकुंदरुचिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मंडपमग्रतो जिन[वरा]वासद्विपंचाशतं
तत्पार्श्वेषु बलानकं^२ च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमच्चंड-
- 38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवच्चंडप्रसादस्ततः सोमस्तव्यभवो ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः
पवित्राशयाः । श्रीमल्लूणिगमल्लदेवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाह्वयास्तेजःपालसमन्विता
जिनमतारामोन्नमनीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमंचीश्वरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीजै-
- 39 त्रसिंहाह्वयस्तेजःपालसुतश्च विश्रुतमतिर्लावण्यसिंहाभिधः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्तयः
करिवधस्कंधाधिरूढाश्चिरं राजंते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिग्मायकानामिव ॥
६३ मूर्त्तीनामिह पृष्ठतः करिवधूपृष्ठप्रतिष्ठाजुषां तन्मूर्त्तीर्विम- ।

^१ Bead शंखीज्ज्वलाभिः.^२ Possibly the reading is बलानकं.

- 30 हु मन्यते न हि गुणग्रामं च कामंदकिश्वाणक्योपि चमत्करोति न
हृदि प्रेक्षास्पदं प्रेक्ष्य यं ॥ ४८ इतश्च ॥ महं श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीअनुप-
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्षनं ॥ प्राग्वाटान्वयमंडनैकमुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रावतीवास्तव्यः स्त-
31 वनीयकीर्त्तिलहरिप्रचालितच्छातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यद्वृत्तानु-
रागादभूत्की नामप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्धूतरोमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-
सृतसज्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुहृदये ।
32 गुणिना हारेणेव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-
विख्यातशीलसंपन्ना । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं द्वेधा मनस्वेकं ॥ ५२
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वाचायणीव शीलेन । तद्गृहिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-
पालेन
33 पत्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमंची-
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकीचित्तदाक्षिण्यदानप्रमुखगुणगणेंदुद्योतिताशेषगोत्रा ॥ ५४
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरयं रयं जयन्ति- ।
34 रिद्रयदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्ध्वापि मीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणानमुष्य श्रीलूणसिंहकृतिनः कति
न स्तुवंति । श्रीबंधनीदुरतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता त्रिजगति क्रि-
35 यते स्म कीर्त्तः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च खलसर्पैः ।
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ मल्लदेवसचिवस्य
नंदनः पूरुषसिंह इति लीलुकासुतः । तस्य नंदति सुतोयमङ्गला-
36 देविभूः सुकृतवेश्म पेयडः ॥ ५८ अभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य
मंत्रिणः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थ
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्य श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमर्बुदे ।
37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति क्षितींदुसचिवः शंखोज्ज्वलाभिः^१ शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-
दिंदुकुंदरुचिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मंडपमग्रतो जिन[वरा]वासहिपंचाशतं
तत्पार्श्वेषु बलानकं^२ च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमच्छंड-
38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवच्छंडप्रसादस्ततः सोमस्तत्रभवो ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः
पवित्राशयाः । श्रीमल्लूणिगमल्लदेवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाह्वयास्तेजःपालसमन्विता
जिनमतारामोन्नमनीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमंचीश्वरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीजै-
39 चसिंहाह्वयस्तेजःपालसुतश्च विश्रुतमतिर्ज्ञावण्यसिंहाभिधः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्तयः
करिवधस्कंधाधिरूढाश्चिरं राजंते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिग्नायकानामिव ॥
६३ मूर्त्तीनामिह पृष्ठतः करिवधूपृष्ठप्रतिष्ठाजुषां तन्मूर्त्तीर्विम- ।

^१ Read शंखीज्ज्वलाभिः.^२ Possibly the reading is बलानकं.

[illegible]

- 40 लाशमखत्तकगताः कांतासमेता दश । चौलुक्यक्षितिपालवीरधवलस्याद्वैतबंधुः
सुधोस्तेजःपाल इति व्यधापयदयं श्रीवस्तुपालानुजः ॥ ६४ तेजःपालः सक-
लप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफलः
- 41 सरोवरस्येव सहकारः ॥ ६५ तेन भ्रातृयुगेन या प्रतिपुरग्रामाध्वशैलस्थलं
वापीकूपनिपानकाननसरःप्रासादसञ्चादिका¹ । धर्मस्थानपरंपरा नवतरा
चक्रे ऽथ जीर्णोद्भूता तत्संख्यापि न बुध्यते यदि परं तद्देदि- ।
- 42 नी मेदिनी ॥ ६६ शंभोः आसगतागतानि गणयेद्यः सन्मतिर्यो ऽथ वा
नेत्रोन्मीलनमीलनानि कलयेन्मार्कंडेनाम्नी मुनेः । संख्यातुं सचिवद्वयीवि-
रचितामेतामपेतापरव्यापारः सुकृतानुकीर्तनततिं सोप्युज्जिहीते यदि ।
- 43 ॥ ६७ सर्वत्र वर्ततां कीर्तिरश्वराजस्य शाश्वती । सुकर्तुमुपकर्तुं च
जानीते यस्य संततिः ॥ ६८ आसीच्चंडपमंडितान्वयगुरुर्नागिंद्रगच्छश्चियशूडा-
रत्नमयत्नसिद्धमहिमा सूरिर्महेंद्राभिधः । तस्माद्विस्मयनोयचारुचरितः श्रीशान्ति-
[सूरिस्त]तोप्यानंदामरसूरियुग्ममुदयचन्द्रार्कदीपद्युति ॥ ६९ श्रीजैनशासनवनीनव-
नीरवाहः श्रीमांस्ततो ऽप्यघहरो हरिभद्रसूरिः । विद्यामदोन्मदगदेष्वनव-
द्यवैद्यः ख्यातस्ततो विजयसेनमुनीश्वरो ऽयं ॥ ७० गुरो[स्त]
- 45 स्या[श]षां पात्रं सूरिरस्त्युदयप्रभः । मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भांति
यत्प्रतिभांनुधेः ॥ ७१ एतद्धर्मस्थानं धर्मस्थानस्य चास्य यः कर्ता । तावद्वयमिद-
मुदियादुदयत्ययमर्जुंदो यावत् ॥ ७२ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवश्चलुक्यनरदेवसेवितांहि-
युगः । रचयांचकार रुचिरां धर्मस्थानप्रशस्तिमिमां ॥ ७३ श्रीनिमेरुस्त्रिका-
याश्च प्रसादादर्जुंदाचले । वस्तुपालान्वयस्यास्तु प्रशस्तिः स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥ ७४
सूत्रं^० केल्हणसुतधांधलपुत्रेण चंडेश्वरेण प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा ।[*]
- 47 श्रीविक्रम[संवत् १२८७ व]र्षे [फाल्गु]णवदि ३ रवौ श्री[नागेंद्रग]च्छे [श्री-
विजय]सेनसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) *Om.* I worship the goddess Sarasvatī who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (*thither*), as it were, by her own swan (*which serves her as*) a vehicle.²

(V. 2.) May the son of Śivā³ grant you welfare,— he who, though patient, is red in anger; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love; (*and*) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything.

(V. 3.) There is (*the city of*) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Chulukyas equal to Aja, Raji and Raghu,⁴ where even at the close of the bright half of the

¹ Read °सञ्चादिका.

² In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is *mānasa*, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season.

³ I.e. Gaṇeśa.

⁴ Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great-grandfather, of Rāma. Raji was the grandson of Purūravas.

month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women.

(V. 4.) In that (*town*) there was *Chañḍapa*, the crown of the family of the *Prāgvātas*, whose fame was as white as *kuṭaja* flowers, (*and*) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees.

(V. 5.) In consequence of the maturing of his good actions there was (*born*) to him a son named *Chañḍaprasāda*, a golden staff on the palace of his family. provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V. 6.) From him, who was not shallow-hearted,¹ (*and*) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang *Sōma*, who by his own virtues caused thrills (*of joy*) to the good, as (*the moon causing thrills*) by her beams (*sprang from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre*).

(V. 7.) From him was born *Aśvarāja*, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinas. His beloved wife was *Kumārādēvi*, as *Dēvi*, the mother of *Kumāra*, (*was the wife*) of the destroyer of *Tripura*.²

(V. 8.) Their first son was the minister called *Lūṇiga*. By fate he obtained, though being (*still*) a youth, a residence in the same world as *Vāsava*.³

(V. 9.) That pure-minded minister *Lūṇiga*, whose intelligence despised, as it were, even the wisdom of *Dhishāṇa*,⁴ was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment.

(V. 10.) His younger brother was the illustrious *Malladēva*, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with *Mallidēva*,⁵ who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (*and*) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others.

(V. 11.) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (*and*) as to repairing what has been broken,⁶ the Creator did not create a rival of *Malladēva*.

(V. 12.) The fame of *Malladēva*, surpassing the beams of the moon freed from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of *Hastimalla*.⁷

(V. 13.) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious *Vastupāla*, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the nectar of his poetry, (*and*) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned!

(V. 14.) *Vastupāla*, the foremost among the ministers of the *Chulukyas* and among poets, never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems.

(V. 15.) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother *Tējahpāla*, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master; who is to be dreaded by the wicked; (*and*) whose fame spreads in all directions.

(V. 16.) Who can fathom the natures of *Tējahpāla* and *Vishṇu*, as the rules (*of conduct*) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (*of the first*) and the string of the three worlds⁸ in the cavity of the belly (*of the second*)?

(V. 17.) These (*brothers*) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, *Jālhū*, *Māū*, *Sāū*, *Dhanadēvi*, *Sōhagā*, *Vayajukā*, and *Padamaladēvi*.

¹ The word *madhya* appears to be used here as a synonym of *antara* which, according to *Amara* III. 3, 156 has also the meaning of *antarātman*.

² *I.e.* Śiva.

³ *I.e.* in common parlance, he died.

⁴ *I.e.* *Bṛihaspati*.

⁵ *Mallidēva* is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present *Avasarpini*.

⁶ I believe that the terms *bhuvana-ckchhidra-pidhāna* and *vibhūna-samdhāna* refer to *Malladēva's* works of charity, but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another.'

⁷ *I.e.* *Indra's* elephant.

⁸ The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together.

(V. 18.) Surely, these sons of Aśvarāja are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb.

(V. 19.) Does not this Vastupāla accompanied by his younger brother Tējāpāla delight everybody's heart like the first month of spring followed by the second?

(V. 20.) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21.) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (and) who made the Kṛita age appear even in the fourth age¹

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time!

(V. 23.) Although the two hands (of a man) are due to springing from one (body), yet one of them is left (or bad); but of these two brothers neither (was so, although they had sprung from one father), as both were honest (or right).

(V. 24.) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (age).

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arṇōrāja.

(V. 26.) After him Lavaṇaprasāda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (and) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,² roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (king), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Viradhavala, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V. 28.) The wise Chaulukya Viradhavala did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (and) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (and) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace.

(V. 29.) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees.²

Again—

(V. 30.) There is this (mountain) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaurī,³ who, carrying the Mandākinī on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer⁴ (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgā on his head covered with thick braids).

(V. 31.) In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics.

(V. 32.) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśiṣṭha distinguished by virtuousness⁵ there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the son

¹ I.e. the Gaṅgā.

² Compare *Rām.* I. 1, 10.

³ I.e. the Himālaya, the father-in-law of Śiva.

⁴ I.e. Śiva.

⁵ I take *śrēyaś-śrēṣṭhā* to stand for *śrēyaś-śrēṣṭhā* and *śrēyaś* to be a synonym of *dharma*, as taught by Amara I. 4, 24, Halāyudha I. 125, and Hēmachandra, *Anēkārthas.* II. 580, and *Abhidhānach.* 1372.

of *Mr̥itaṇḍa*.¹ Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him **Paramāra**. From that time his family received that name.

(V. 33.) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious **Dhūmarāja**, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (*of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off*).

(V. 34.) Then there were **Dhandhuka**, **Dhruvabhata** and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants. In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, **Rāmadēva** by name.

(V. 35.) From this (*king*), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called **Yaśōdhavala**, who was not subject to the god of love, (*and*) who quickly killed **Ballāla**, the lord of **Mālava**, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the **Chaulukya** king **Kumārapāla**.

(V. 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, **Dhārāvarsha**, the edge of whose sword was indefatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of **Kauṅkaṇa** shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V. 37.) Evidently it is the son of **Daśaratha** that has been born again on earth as this (*prince*) of unchecked strength, (*and*) out of hatred, as it were, against **Mārīcha**² even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V. 38.) His younger brother **Prahlādana**, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious **Gūrjara** king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by **Sāmantasimha**, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu.³

(V. 39.) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seated (*Brahman*)⁴ or the celestial cow granting (*every*) wish that has come to the earth in the form of **Prahlādana**.

(V. 40.) Long live this son of **Dhārāvarsha**, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them!

(V. 41.) Having remitted the taxes of **Brāhmaṇs** and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king **Sōmasimha** soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (*or the spottiness*) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy.

(V. 42.) Long live his son **Kṛishṇarājadēva**, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (*and*) who (*therefore*) resembles the glorious **Kṛishṇa**, the son of **Vasudēva**, who is united with **Yaśōdā**, (*and*) whose splendour is augmented by his mother!

Again—

(V. 43.) No man equalling **Vastupāla** in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V. 44.) From the excellent minister **Lalitādēvi**, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name **Jayantasimha**, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of **Pulōman** (*obtained*) **Jayanta** from **Indra**.

(V. 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this **Jaitrasimha**, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (*and*) who (*even*) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues?

¹ *I.e.* the sun.

² The demon **Mārīcha** in the shape of an antelope lured **Rāma** away from **Sitā**.

³ Probably this expression refers to **Vishnu**.

⁴ *I.e.* **Sarasvatī**, the goddess of learning

(V. 46.) May he live for a *Kalpa* age, this Jayantasimha, the son of the illustrious Vastupāla, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (*of the suppliants*) !

(V. 47.) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious Tējāhpāla, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares !

(V. 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as Chāpakya, the preceptor of the gods,¹ Marudvyādhi,² Śukra,³ and others. Otherwise, how should this Tējāhpāla have obtained his superiority over them ?

(V. 49.) There is the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, called Tējāhpāla, an abode of prosperity to (*all*) living beings, who maintains the order established by Bali on the surface of the earth ; seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, Kāmandaki does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and Chāpakya also ceases to wonder at (*his own*) intellect.

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious Anupamadēvi, the wife of the illustrious Mahām Tējāhpāla—

(V. 50.) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious Gāgā, the only diadem adorning the Prāgvāta family, an inhabitant of Chandravatī full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (*or*) nodded his head (*or*) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct ?

(V. 51.) His son was Dharapiga by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (*and*) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (*strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner*).

(V. 52.) His beloved wife was Tribhuvanadēvi, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (*but*) one.

(V. 53.) Their daughter Anupamadēvi, who on account of her virtues resembled Dēvi, the daughter of Daksha, in person, was united with the illustrious Tējāhpāla as husband.

(V. 54.) This Anupamadēvi, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister Tējāhpāla.

(V. 55.) Their son, this Lāvanyasimha, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-bannered (*god of love*).

(V. 56.) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious Lāpasimha, the son of the illustrious Tējāhpāla, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds ?

(V. 57.) This vessel (*filled with*) a money-heap of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,⁴ is continually increasing although good people subsist on it.

(V. 58.) The son of the minister Malladēva, begotten on Lilukā, was called Pūrpasimha. Flourishing is his son, begotten on Ahlanādēvi, this Pēthada, an abode of virtues.

(V. 59.) Anupamā was the wife of the minister Tējāhpāla. Their son was this long-lived (*youth*) called Lāvanyasimha.

¹ *I.e.* Brihaspati.

² [*I.e.* Pavanavyādhi or Uddhava, the counsellor of Kṛishṇa.—E. H.]

³ Śukra was the teacher of the Asuras.

⁴ The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the *Kīrtikāvya*.

(V. 60.) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Têjahpâla built this temple of the holy Nêminâtha on the (mountain) Arbuda.

(V. 61.) The minister Têjahpâla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nêmi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (and) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (*maṇḍapa*) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (*balânaka*) in the front.

(V. 62.) The son of the illustrious Chaṇḍapa was Chaṇḍaprasâda; from him (*was born*) Sôma; his son was Aśvarâja by name; his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (*the men*) called the illustrious Lûṇiga, the minister Malladêva and the illustrious Vastupâla, together with Têjahpâla.

(V. 63.) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupâla is he named the illustrious Jaitrasîmha, and Têjahpâla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lâvanyasîmha by name. The statues of these ten (*men*), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina.

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called Têjahpâla, the matchless friend of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupâla, caused to be made here ten images of those (*persons mentioned above*) together with their wives on *khattakas* of spotless stone.

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupâla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Têjahpâla appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all creatures.

(V. 66.) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells, fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top, one does not even know the number; it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67.) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mârkaṇḍa,¹ might also set himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions² drawn up by the two ministers, provided he abandon other occupations.

(V. 68.) May the fame of Aśvarâja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to help, perpetually spread in all directions!

(V. 69.) There was a sage (*sûri*) called Mahêndra, the preceptor of the family adorned by Chaṇḍapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nâgêndra *gachchha*, who had acquired his greatness without effort. After him (*came*) the illustrious Śântisûri, of admirable good conduct. After him (*there was*) a pair, Ânanda(*sûri*) and Amarasûri, whose splendour was as bright as that of the rising moon and (*the rising*) sun.

(V. 70.) After them there was the illustrious Haribhadrasûri, the purifier from sin, who was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous excellent sage Vijayasêna, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated with the liquor of learning.

(V. 71.) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (*sûri*) Udayaprabha. His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72.) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two rise as long as this (*mountain*) Arbuda rises!

¹ [*I.e.* Mârkaṇḍeya, who according to the *Mahâbhârata* (III. 183, 43) was many thousand years old, though he looked only twenty-five.—E. H.]

² The term *sukrit-ânukirtana* seems to have about the same meaning as *dharmasthâna-pratistha* occurring in v. 73.

(V. 73.) The illustrious *Sômésvaradēva*, whose feet are honoured by the *Chulukya* king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building.

(V. 74.) By the grace of the holy *Nēmi* and *Ambikā* on the mountain *Arbuda* may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of *Vastupāla* !

(Line 46.) This eulogy has been engraved by the mason *Chandésvara*, the son of *Dhāndhala*, the son of *Kēlhaṇa*.

(L. 47.) On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of *Phālguna*, in the year 1287 of the glorious *Vikrama*, the consecration was performed by the illustrious *Vijayasēnasūri* of the illustrious *Nāgendra gachchha*.

No. II.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ ओं नमः [सं³]त् १२८७ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुनवदि ३
रवौ अद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके चौलुककुलकमलराजहंससमस्तुराजा-
वलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभ³
- 2 विजयिराज्ये त । श्रीवशिष्ट⁴ कुंडयजनानलोद्भूतश्रीमद्भूमराज-
देवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्यैव महाराजा-
धिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसा[द]
- 3 राजामंडले श्रीचौलुककुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीलवणप्रसाददेवसुतमहामंड-
लेश्वरराजकुलश्रीवीरधवलदेवसत्कसमस्तमुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्री-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁵ श्रीचंड[प]⁵
- 4 चंडप्रसादात्मजमहं⁶ श्रीसोमतनुजठ⁶ श्रीआसराजभार्याठ⁶ श्रीकुमारदेव्यीः पुत्र-
महं⁶ श्रीमल्लदेवसंघपतिमहं⁶ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजसहोदरभ्रातृमहं⁶ श्रीतेजः-
पालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं⁶ श्रीअनुपमदेव्यास्तकुलि[सं] . . .⁶
- 5 विप्रपुत्रमहं⁶ श्रीलूणसिंहस्य च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये श्रीमदर्वुदाचलोपरि⁷ देउलवाडा-
ग्रामे समस्तदेवकुलिकालंकृतं विशालहस्तिशालोपशोभितं श्रीलूणसिंह-
वसहिकाभिधानश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिदं कारितं ॥ छ [॥]
- 6 प्रतिष्ठितं⁸ श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीमहेंद्रसूरिसंताने श्रीशांतिसूरिशिष्यश्रीआणंदसूरिश्री-
अमरचंद्रसूरिपट्टालंकरणप्रभुश्रीहरिभद्रसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ छ ॥
अत्र च धर्मस्थाने कृतश्रावकगोष्ठिकानां नामा-
- 7 नि यथा ॥ महं⁹ श्रीमल्लदेवमहं⁹ श्रीवस्तुपालमहं⁹ श्रीतेजःपालप्रभृतिभ्रातृत्रय-
संतानपरंपरया तथा महं⁹ श्रीलूणसिंहसत्कमातृकुलपत्ने⁹ श्रीचंद्रावतीवास्तव्य-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁹ श्रीसावदेवसुतठ⁹ श्रीशालिगतनुजठ⁹

¹ On a white slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1741 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Restore °श्रीभीमदेव.

⁴ Read °वशिष्ट.

⁵ Restore श्रीचंडपसुतठ° श्री.

⁶ Restore °संभूतप.

⁷ Read श्रीमदर्वुदा°.

⁸ Read प्रतिष्ठितं.

⁹ The प of °पत्ने seems to have been corrected out of य.

- 8 श्रीसागरतनयठ° श्रीगागापुत्रठ° श्रीधरणिगभातृमहं° श्रीराणिगमहं° श्रीलीला
तथा ठ° श्रीधरणिगभार्याठ° श्रीतिहुणदेविकुलिसंभूतमहं° श्रीअनुपमदेवि-
सहोदरभातृठ° श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ° श्रीऊदल¹
- 9 तथा महं° श्रीलीलासुतमहं° श्रीलूणसीह तथा भातृठ° जगसीहठ° रत्न-
सिंहानां समस्तकुटुम्बेन² एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकल-
मपि स्नपनपूजासारादिकं सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च ॥ तथा।³
- 10 श्रीचंद्रावत्याः सत्कसमस्तमहाजनसकलजिनचैत्यगोष्टिकप्रभृतिआवकसमुदायः⁴ ॥
तथा 'उंबरणीकीसरउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञां° श्री° रासलउ° आसधर तथाज्ञां°
माणिभद्रउ° श्री° आल्हण तथाज्ञां° श्री° देल्हणउ° खीम्बसी-⁵
- 11 ह धर्कटज्ञातीयश्री° नेहाउ° साल्हा तथाज्ञां° धउलिगउ° आसचंद्र तथाज्ञां°
श्री° बहुदेवउ° सोम प्राग्वाटज्ञां° श्री° सावडउ° श्रीपाल तथाज्ञां° श्री°
जींदाउ° पाल्हण धर्कटज्ञां° श्री° पासुउ° सादा प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयपूनाउ° सा-
- 12 ल्हा तथा श्रीमालज्ञां° पूनाउ° साल्हाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः⁶ । अमीभिः श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवप्रतिष्ठावर्षग्रंथियाचाष्टाहिकायां⁷ देवकीयचैत्रवदि ३ तृतीयादिने स्नपन-
पूजाद्युत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा कासङ्गदयामीयऊएसवालज्ञा-
- 13 तीयश्री° सोहिउ° पाल्हण तथाज्ञां° श्री° सलखणउ° वालण प्राग्वाटज्ञां°
श्री° सांतुयउ° देल्हुय तथाज्ञां° श्री° गोसलउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञां° श्री°
कोलाउ° आम्बा⁸ तथाज्ञां° श्री° पासचंद्रउ° पूनचंद्र तथाज्ञां° श्री°
जसवीरउ° ज-
- 14 गा तथाज्ञां° ¹⁰ब्रह्मदेवउ° राल्हा श्रीमालज्ञां° कडुराउ° कुलधरप्रभृति-
गोष्टिकाः¹¹ । अमीभिस्तथा ४ चतुर्थीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य द्वितीया-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा ¹²ब्रह्माणवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहाजनिं
- 15 आंमिगउ° पूनड ऊएसवालज्ञां° महा° धांधाउ° सागर तथाज्ञां° महा°
साटाउ° वरदेव प्राग्वाटज्ञां° महा° पाल्हणउ° उदयपाल ओइसवालज्ञां°
महा° आवोधनउ° जगसीह श्रीमालज्ञां° महा° वीसलउ° पासदेव प्रा-¹³
- 16 ग्वाटज्ञां° महा° वीरदेवउ° अरसीह तथाज्ञां° श्री° धणचंद्रउ° रामचंद्रप्रभृति-
गोष्टिकाः¹⁴ । अमीभिस्तथा ५ पंचमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य ततीया-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा धउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री° सा-

¹ Read श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ°. The line is filled up by a sign resembling a hook.

² Read 'कुटुम्बेन'.

³ This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line.

⁴ Read 'गोष्टिक'.

⁵ Read 'उंबरणीकी'.

⁶ Read 'खीम्बसी'.

⁷ Read 'गोष्टिकाः'.

⁸ Read 'प्रतिष्ठा'.

⁹ Read 'आम्बा'.

¹⁰ Read 'ब्रह्मदेव'.

¹¹ Read 'गोष्टिकाः'.

¹² Read 'ब्रह्माण'.

¹³ The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

¹⁴ Read 'गोष्टिकाः'.

- 17 जणउ° पासवीर तथाज्ञा° अ° वोहडिउ° पूना तथाज्ञा° अ° जसडुयउ°
जेगण तथाज्ञातीयअ° साजनउ° भीला तथाज्ञा° पासिलउ° पूतुय तथाज्ञा°
अ° राजुयउ° सावदेव तथाज्ञा° दूगसरणउ° साहणीय ओइसवाल-¹
- 18 ज्ञा° अ° सलखणउ° महं जीगा तथाज्ञा° अ°[*] देवकुंयारउ° आसदेव-
प्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः² । अमीभिस्तथा ६ षष्ठीदिने³ श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य चतुर्था-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा मुंडस्थलमहातीर्थवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय-
- 19 अ° संधीरणउ° गुणचंद्रपाल्हा तथा अ° सोहियउ° आस्सेसर तथा अ° जेजाउ°
खांखण तथा फीलिंग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञा° वापलगाजणप्रमुखगोष्टिकाः⁴
अमीभिस्तथा ७ सप्तमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचमाष्टाहिकाम-
- 20 होत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा हंडाउद्राग्रामडवाणीग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीयअ° 'आम्बु-
यउ° जसरा तथाज्ञा° अ°[*] लखमणउ° आसू तथाज्ञा° अ° आसलउ°
जगदेव तथाज्ञा° अ° सूमिगउ° धणदेव तथाज्ञा° अ° जिणदेवउ° जाला
- 21 प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अ° आसलउ° सादा श्रीमालज्ञा° अ° देदाउ° वीसल तथाज्ञा°
अ° आसधरउ° आसल तथाज्ञा° अ° धिरदेवउ° वीरुय तथाज्ञा° अ°
गुणचंद्रउ° देवधर तथाज्ञा° अ° हरियाउ° हेमा प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अ° लखमण-
- 22 उ° कडुयाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः⁵ । अमीभिस्तथा ८ अष्टमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवस्य 'षष्ठाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा [ग]डाहडवास्तव्यप्राग्वाट-
ज्ञातीयअ° देसलउ° 'ब्रह्मसरणु तथाज्ञा° जसकरउ° अ° धणिया
तथाज्ञा°[*] अ°
- 23 देल्हणउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° अ° वालाउ° पद्मसोह तथाज्ञा° अ° 'आंवुयउ°
वोहडि तथाज्ञा° अ° वोसरिउ° पूनदेव तथाज्ञा°[*] अ° वीरुयउ° साजण¹⁰
तथाज्ञा° अ° पाहुयउ° जिणदेवप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः¹¹ । अमीभिस्तथा ९
नवमीदिने
- 24 श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य सप्तमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा साहिलवाडावास्तव्य-
ओइसवालज्ञातीयअ° देल्हाउ° आल्हण अ° नागदेवउ° ¹²आम्बदेव अ°
काल्हणउ° आसल अ° वोहियउ° लाखण अ° जसदेवउ° वाहड अ°
- 25 सीलणउ° देल्हण अ° वहुदा अ° महघराउ° धणपाल अ° पूनिगउ°
वाघा अ° गोसलउ° वहुडाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः¹³ । अमीभिस्तथा १० दशमीदिने

¹ The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

² Read षष्ठीदिने.

³ Read आम्बुय°.

⁴ Read ब्रह्म°.

⁵ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

⁶ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

⁷ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

⁸ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

⁹ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

¹⁰ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

¹¹ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

¹² Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

¹³ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

² Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

⁷ Read षष्ठाष्टा°.

¹⁰ Read साजण (?).

¹³ Read 'गोष्टिकाः.

श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य अष्टमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा ¹श्रीश्र्वदो-
परि देउलवा-

- 26 डावास्तव्यसमस्तश्रावकैः ² श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचापि कल्याणिकानि यथा-
दिनं प्रतिवर्षं कर्त्तव्यानि ॥ एवमियं व्यवस्था श्रीचंद्रावतीपतिराजकुलश्री-
सोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्रराज³ श्रीकाण्डदेवप्रमुखकुमरैः समस्तराजलोकैस्त-
- 27 था श्रीचंद्रावतीयस्थानपतिभट्टारकप्रभृतिकविलास तथा ⁴गूगुलीब्राह्मणसमस्त-
महाजनगोष्टिकैश्च⁵ तथा ⁶श्र्वदाचलोपरि श्रीअचलेश्वरश्रीवशिष्ठ तथा संनि-
हित ⁷ ग्रामदेउलवाडाग्रामश्रीश्रीमातामहबुग्रामश्रावुयग्रामश्रीरासाग्रामज⁸
- 28 तरकग्रामसिहरग्रामसालग्रामहेठउंजीग्रामश्रीखीग्रामश्रीधांधलेश्वरदेवीयकोटडीप्रभृति-
द्वादशग्रामेषु ⁹संतिष्ठमानस्थानपतितपोधनगूगुलीब्राह्मणराठियप्रभृतिसमस्तलोकै-
स्तथा भालिभाडाप्रभृतिग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानश्रीप्रतीहा-
- 29 रवंशीयसर्वराजपुत्रैश्च आत्मीयात्मीयस्वेच्छया श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य मंडपे समुप-
विश्योपविश्य महं¹⁰ श्रीतेजःपालपार्श्वत् स्वीयस्वीयप्रमोदपूर्वकं श्रीलूणसीह-
वसहिकाभिधानस्यास्य धर्मस्थानस्य सर्वापि रक्षापभारः स्वीकृतः । तदेतदा-
- 30 त्मीयवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्व्वभिरेतैः¹¹ सर्वैरपि तथा एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च धर्म-
स्थानमिदमाचंद्रार्कं यावत् परिरक्षणीयं ॥ यतः ॥ किमिह कपालकमंडलुवल्कल-
सितरक्तपटजटापटलैः । व्रतमिदमुज्ज्वलमुन्नतमनसां प्रतिपन्ननिर्व्वहणं ॥ क ॥
- 31 तथा महाराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन अस्यां श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमि-
नाथदेवाय पूजांगभोगार्थं बाहिरहृद्यां डवाणीग्रामः शासननेन प्रदत्तः ॥ स च
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवाभ्यर्थनया प्रमारान्वयिभिराचंद्रार्कं यावत् प्रतिपाल्यः ॥¹²
- 32 ॥ सिद्धिचेत्रमिति प्रसिद्धमहिमा श्रीपुंडरीको गिरिः श्रीमान् रैवतकोपि
विश्वविदितः चेत्रं विमुक्तेरिति । नूनं चेत्रमिदं द्वयोरपि तयोः श्रीश्र्वदस्त-
वभू भेजाते कथमन्यथा सममिमं श्रीआदिनेमी स्वयं ॥ १ संसारसर्व-
स्वमिहैव मुक्तिस-
- 33 ॥ व्वस्वमप्यत्र जिर्नश दृष्टं । विलोक्यमाने भवने तवास्मिन् पृर्व्व परं च त्वयि
दृष्टिपांथे ॥ २ श्रीकृष्णर्षीयश्रीनयचंद्रसूरैरिमि ॥ मं¹³ सरवणपुत्रसं¹⁴ सिंह-
राजसाधू साजणसंमहसासाइदेपुत्री सुनयव प्रणमति ॥ शुभं ॥¹⁵

¹ Read 'श्र्वदी'.

² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Read 'ब्राह्मण'.

⁴ Read 'गोष्टिकैश्च'.

⁵ Read 'श्र्वदा'.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is out of place; read 'संनिहितग्राम'.

⁷ Read 'श्रावुय'.

⁸ Read 'संतिष्ठमान' and 'ब्राह्मण'.

⁹ कुर्व्वेभिरेतैः.

¹⁰ At the end of the line there is a symbol.

¹¹ At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in l. 31.

[illegible]

No. III.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८७ वर्षे फागुणसुदि ३ सोमे अद्येह श्रीअर्बु-
दाचले³ श्रीमदणहिलपु-
- 2 रवास्त⁴ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁵ श्रीसोमान्वये महं⁶ श्रीआ-
सरासुतमहं⁷ मालदे-
- 3 वमहं⁸ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजभाटमहं⁹ श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं¹⁰ श्रीअनु-
पमदेविकुलि-
- 4 संभूतसुतमहं¹¹ श्रीलूणसीहपुण्यार्थं अस्यां श्रीलूणवसहिकायां श्रीनिमिनाथ-
महातीर्थं कारितं ॥ ८ ॥ छ ॥

No. IV.¹

- 1 श्री⁵ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁶
श्रीसोममहं⁷ श्रीआसरासुतमहं⁸ श्रीमालदेवसुतावाईश्रीसदमलश्रीयो-
- 2 ऽर्थं महं⁹ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. V.⁷

- 1 श्री⁸ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁹
श्रीसोममहं¹⁰ श्रीआसरासुतमहं¹¹ श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं¹² श्रीपुनमीहीयभा-
- 2 र्यामहं¹³ श्रीआन्हणदेविश्रीयोऽर्थं महं¹⁴ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारि-
ता ॥ छ ॥

No. VI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे¹¹ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-
महं¹² श्रीसोमान्वये¹³ महं¹⁴ श्रीआसरासुतमहं¹⁵ श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं¹⁶ [८*]
श्रीपातूश्रीयोऽर्थं महं¹⁷ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलि-
- 2 का कारिता । [१*]

No. VII.¹³

- 1 श्री¹⁴ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्¹⁵ १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-

¹ On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine. No. 1742 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read 'अर्बुदा'.

⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor. No. 1666 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The ड of 'चंडप' has an abnormal form.

⁷ On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor. No. 1667 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor. No. 1668 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Read वर्षे.

¹² Read 'सोमान्वये'.

¹³ On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor. No. 1669 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁵ Read 'विक्रम'.

- महं^० श्रीसोमान्वये महं^० श्रीआसरासुतमहं^० श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं^०
 श्रीलीलश्रेयोऽर्थ महं^० श्री-
 2 तेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ।[*] छ ॥

No. VIII.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं^०
 श्रीसोममहं^० श्रीआसरामहं^० श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं^० श्रीपूजसीहसुतमहं^०
 श्रीपेयडश्रेयोऽर्थ महं^० श्रीते-
 2 जपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. IX.³

- 1 श्री⁴ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्⁵ १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं^०
 श्रीसोमान्वये महं^० श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं^० श्रीपूजसीहश्रेयोऽर्थ महं^० श्रीतेजपालेन
 देवकुलि[का*] कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. X.⁶

- 1 श्री⁷ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं^०
 श्रीसोमान्वये महं^० श्रीआसरासुतमहं^० श्रीमालदेवश्रेयोऽर्थ तत्सोदरलघुभ्रातृमहं^०
 श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ ॥⁸

No. XI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं^०
 श्रीसोममहं^० श्रीआसरामहं^० श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं^० श्रीपूजसीहसुतावाईश्री-¹¹
 2 वलालदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं^० श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XII.¹²

- 1 श्री¹³ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्¹⁴ १२८८ वर्षे श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडप-
 श्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं^० श्रीआसरासुतश्रीमालदेवमहं^०

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 5 in the corridor. No. 1670 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ On the lintel of cell shrine 6 in the corridor. No. 1671 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The स of °संवत् has not been finished.

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 7 in the corridor. No. 1672 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Between the last two signs of punctuation there is a symbol.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 8 in the corridor. No. 1673 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Read °सुतावाई°.

¹² On the lintel of cell shrine 40 in the corridor. No. 1727 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol. Before this, but a little lower down, there is a reversed श्री.

¹⁴ Read °संवत्.

- 2 श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजपालिन महं° श्रीवस्तुपालभार्यायाः महं° श्रीसोखु-
कायाः पुण्यार्थं श्रीसुपार्श्वजिनालंकता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIII.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री-
चंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं° श्रीआसरासुतश्री-
2 मालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजपालिन महं° श्रीवस्तुपालभार्या-
ललतादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIV.⁵

- 1 श्री⁶ ॥ संवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं° श्रीआसरांगज-
महं° श्रीवस्तुपालसुतमहं° श्रीजयतसीहश्रेयोऽर्थं
2 महं° श्रीतेजपालिन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XV.⁸

- 1 श्री⁹ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं°
श्रीआसरांगजमहं°[*] श्रीतेजपालिन श्रीजयतसीहभार्याजयतलदेवि-
2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVI.¹⁰

- 1 नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं°
श्रीआसरांगजेन महं° श्रीतेजपालिन श्रीजयतसीहभार्यासूहवदेवि-
2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVII.¹¹

- 1 श्री¹² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-
श्रीसोममहं° श्रीआसरान्वयसमुद्भवमहं° श्रीतेजपालिन महं° श्रीजयतसी-
2 हभार्यामहं° श्रीरूपादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ।[*] छ ॥

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 41 in the corridor. No. 1720 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

⁴ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

⁵ On the lintel of cell shrine 42 in the corridor. No. 1731 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

⁸ On the lintel of cell shrine 43 in the corridor. No. 1732 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ On the lintel of cell shrine 44 in the corridor. No. 1734 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 45 in the corridor. No. 1736 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹² Expressed by symbol.

No. XVIII.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोममहं
श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुताश्रीसहजलश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालिन दे-
2 वकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XIX.³

- 1 श्री⁴ ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं
श्रीलूणसीहभार्यामहं श्रीलषमादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालिन देवकुलिका
कारिता ॥

No. XX.⁵

- 1 ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुत-
महं लूणसीहभार्याश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालिन देवकुलिका
कारिता ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXI.

- 1 श्री⁶ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८० वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं
श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेव-
भ्रातृमहं श्री-
2 वस्तपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालिन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीअनुपमदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ
देवश्रीसुनिसुव्रतन्य देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XXII.⁷

- 1 श्री⁸ ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्री-
[सी]मश्रीआसरान्वयसमुद्भूतमहं¹¹ श्रीतेजपालिन स्वसुतश्रीलूणसीहसुतागउरदेवि-
श्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥[*] छ ॥

No. XXIII.¹²

- 1 श्री¹³ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंड-
प्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीआसरान्वय[समुद्भूत]महं श्री[तेजपालिन] स्वसुतावउल-
देविश्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 16 in the corridor. No. 1738 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1684 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1685 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor. No. 1686 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read °वस्तुपाल°.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor. No. 1690 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ The त of °समुद्भूत° is not quite finished.

¹² On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor. No. 1692 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

No. XXIV.¹

- 1 ॥ श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्³ १२८३ चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह श्रीश्र्वदा-
चलमहातीर्थे श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁴ श्रीचंडपठ⁵ श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁶ श्री-
सोमान्वये ठ⁷ श्रीआसराजसु[त]-
- 2 ॥ महं श्रीमालदेवमहं⁸ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं⁹ श्रीतेजःपालेन¹⁰ स्वभगिन्याः
पद्मलायाः श्रेयोर्थ श्रीवारिसेणदेवालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारि[ता] ॥

No. XXV.⁸

- 1 श्री⁷ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह श्रीश्र्वदाचल-
महातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां महं⁹
श्रीतेजःपालेन
- 2 मातुलसुतभाभाराजपालभणितेन स्वमातुलस्य महं¹⁰ श्रीपूनपालस्य तथा भार्या-
महं¹¹ श्रीपूनदेव्याश्च श्रेयोर्थ अस्यां देवकुलिकायां श्रीचंद्राननदेवप्रतिमा
कारिता ॥

No. XXVI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ ¹¹स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपात् सं १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह
श्रीश्र्वदाचल[तीर्थे]¹²
- 2 स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञाती-
3 यठ¹³ श्रीचंडपठ¹⁴ श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं¹⁵ श्रीसोमान्वये ठ¹⁶ श्रीआसराजठ¹⁷ श्रीकुमादे-
4 श्योः सुतमहं¹⁸ श्रीमालदेवसंघपतिश्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं¹⁹ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभ-
5 गिन्या वार्दजाल्हणदेव्याः²⁰ श्रेयोर्थ ²¹विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसोमंवरस्वामिप्रतिमा-
6 लंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ प्रतिष्ठिता²² श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीविजयसेन-
सु[रभिः ॥]

No. XXVII.¹⁶

- 1 [॥ श्री]¹⁷ ॥ ¹⁸स्वस्ति संवत् १२८३ चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह ¹⁹श्रीश्र्वदाचल-
तीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलू[णसीह]-

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1715 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read 'संवत्'.

⁴ Read 'श्र्वदा'.

⁵ The ते of 'तेजःपालेन' is only half finished.

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1716 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read 'श्र्वदा'.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor. No. 1707 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.

¹² Read 'श्र्वदा'.

¹³ Read 'वार्द'.

¹⁴ Read 'सोमंवरस्वामि'.

¹⁵ Read 'प्रतिष्ठिता'.

¹⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor. No. 1708 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁸ In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.

¹⁹ Read 'श्र्वदा'.

- 2 ॥ वसहिकाख्यश्रीअरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंड-
प्रसादमहं° श्री[सी]-
- 3 ॥ मान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेव-
संधपतिमहं° ॥
- 4 ॥ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिनीवाईमाउश्रेयोर्थ¹ विहर-
माण- ॥
- 5 ॥ तीर्थकरश्रीयुगंधरस्वामिजिनप्रतिमालंकता देवकुलिका इय² कारिता ॥³
॥ क [॥]

No. XXVIII.⁴

- 1⁵ [अद्येह श्रीअर्वदाचले⁶ स्वयंकारित-
श्रीलू]-
- 2 [ण]सीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीअरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ[°]
- 3 श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीमोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतम[हं°]
- 4 श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या ।⁸ सा[ऊ]-
- 5 [देव्याः श्रेयोर्थ] विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीवाहुजिनालंकता⁹ देवकुलिका कारि[ता ॥]

No. XXIX.¹⁰

- 1 ॥ श्री¹¹ ॥ ¹²स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येह श्रीअर्वदाचलमहातीर्थ¹³ स्वयं[का]-
- 2 ॥ रितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्री-
चंडप-
- 3 ॥ ठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीमोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः
सुतमहं° श्रीतेजःपाले-
- 4 न स्वभगिन्या ¹⁴वाईधणदेविश्रेयसे विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसुवाहुविंवालंकता¹⁵
देवकुलिका कारिता [॥*]

¹ Read °वाई°.² Read °कुलिकेयं.³ After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 25 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Cousens's list.⁵ The first *aksharas* of this line are illegible.⁶ Read °अर्वदा°.⁷ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁹ Read °श्रीवाहु°.¹⁰ On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Cousens's list.¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.¹² In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.¹³ Read °अर्वदा°.¹⁴ Read वाई°.¹⁵ Read °सुवाहुविंवा°.

No. XXX.¹

- 1 ॥ श्री² ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १]२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अयेह श्रीअर्बुदाचलमहातीर्थ³ स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथ-
देव- ॥
- 2 ॥ चैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञा[तीयठ° श्रीचिंडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसी-
मान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवसंघप- ॥
- 3 ॥ तिमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालिन स्वभगिन्या वार्डसोहमाया
अयेर्थ शश्वतजिनश्रीऋषभदेवालंकृता देवकुलिका कारिता [॥*]

No. XXXI.⁴

- 1 ॥ श्री⁵ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्⁶ १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अयेह श्रीअर्बुदाचलमहातीर्थ⁷ स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवचैत्ये जगत्यां⁸
- 2 ॥ "श्रीप्राग्वाटजावीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसीमान्वये ठ° श्रीआ-
सराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं°
- 3 ॥ श्रीतेजःपालिन स्वभगिन्या ¹⁰वार्डवयजुकायाः अयेर्थ श्रीवर्द्धमानाभिध-
शश्वतजिनप्रतिमालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ शुभम् भवतु । मंगलं
महाश्रीः ॥¹¹ ॥

No. XXXII.¹²

- 1 श्री¹³ संवत् १२६७ वैशाखवदि १४ गुरौ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयचंडपचंडप्रसादमहं^[°*]
श्रीसीमान्वये महं^[*] श्रीआसराजमतमहं^[°*] श्रीतेजःपालिन श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्त-
व्यमोदज्ञातीयठ° जाल्हणमुतठ° आमामुतायाः ठकुराज्ञीसंतीषाकुचिसंभूताया
सः *¹ श्रीतेजःपालद्वितीयभार्यामहं^[°*] श्रीमुहडादेव्याः [अयेर्थ] [॥*]

No. 22.—NAUSARI PLATES OF SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA;
THE YEAR 121.

By Professor E. HOLTZNER, Ph.D., HALIC (S. 1. 13)

The copper-plates which bear this inscription come from Nausari,¹⁴ the head-quarters town of the Nausari division of the Baroda State. The inscription was first published with a lithograph, by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal*

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 30 in the corridor. No. 1711 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read °अर्बुदा°.

⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 31 in the corridor. No. 1712 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read °संवत्

⁷ Read °अर्बुदा°.

⁸ Read °चैत्यजगत्यां.

⁹ Read श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय°.

¹⁰ Read वार्ड°.

¹¹ This sign of punctuation is followed by a symbol.

¹² On the ornamental niche close to the entrance doorway of the main shrine. No. 1744A of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888) lat. 20° 57', long 72° 50'

Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI. p. 1 ff. It is now re-edited from an excellent ink-impression supplied by Dr. Fleet, who contributes the following remarks on the original :—

“The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1884, when I obtained the original plates on loan for that purpose, from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

“The **copper-plates** are two in number, each about $8\frac{3}{4}$ ” long by 5” broad at the ends and $4\frac{7}{8}$ ” in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. The ring is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ” thick, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The **seal**, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Śrī-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.: total, 2 lbs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.”

The **alphabet** resembles that of other records of the early Chalukyas. The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs once (l. 12). Final forms are found of *m* (ll. 1, 2, 20), *t* (l. 13) and *n* (l. 17). The only mark of punctuation is a small vertical line after *Ścāmantaśvāmī* (l. 14). The date at the end of the inscription is expressed in words and **numerical symbols**.

The **language** is Sanskrit, mostly prose; two well known Anuṣṭubh verses occur in l. 1 f. and l. 19 f. Although the inscription is very well preserved, and though the engraving is neat and distinct, the text is full of serious blunders. As may be seen from the footnotes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and syllables are either omitted or corrupted. In line 15 a whole word seems to be missing, which cannot be supplied with certainty.¹

The inscription opens with an invocation of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu (l. 1 f.). It then states that in the family of the **Chalukyas**² (l. 5) was **Pulakēśi-Vallabha** (l. 6), “who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the collection of all hostile kings, who resembled Rāma and Yudhishṭhira, (and) who possessed true chivalry.” His son was **Dh[a]rāśraya-Jaya-simhavarman** (l. 9 f.), “whose power had been increased by (his) elder brother, the glorious **Vikramāditya-Saty[ā]śraya-Prithivivallabha-Maharājadhiraja Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka**, the fervent Mahēśvara, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father and of the holy **Nāgavardhana**, (and) who by unchecked prowess had overcome the **Pallava** family.” His son was the heir-apparent (*yuvardja*) **Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya**³ (l. 13), “who illuminated all quarters of the sky by the banner of (his) fame that was as pure as the great garland of the rays of the spotless full-moon in autumn, who was as liberal as Rajaraja (*i.e.* Kuvēra), [who resembled] the god of love in being endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, (and) who was as skilled in all arts (and) as brave as (Naravāhanadatta) the emperor of the Vidyadharas.” While residing at **Navasārikā**, he granted to the Brāhmana Bhogikkasvamin (l. 15) a village named **Āsaṭṭi-grama** (l. 16). The donee was an Adhvarya (*i.e.* a student of the Yajurveda), the pupil (:) of Kikkasvamin, the younger brother of Mairīśvara (?), and the son of [S]āmantaśvamin. The latter was the son of Agamīśvamin, who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and resided at **Navasārikā**. The village granted was included in the district (*vishaya*) of **Kaṇhavalāhāra**, a subdivision of the **Bāhirika** district (*vishaya*). According to the two last lines of the inscription, “this (edict) was written by the minister (s[ā]dhivigrah[ī]ka), the glorious **Dhana[m]jaya**,

¹ See p. 232 below, note 11.

² For this early variant of the name ‘Chalukya’ see Dr. Fleet’s *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 336, note 3.

³ On the seal, Śilāditya’s surname Śrīyāśraya is spelt *Śrī-āśraya*, without Sandhi.

on the thirteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha, in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one— 400 20 [1]”

Of the royal personages named in this grant two belong to the **Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi**. These are Pulakēśi-Vallabha, *i.e.* **Pulakēśin II.**, and his son **Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha**, *i.e.* **Vikramāditya I.** The latter is said to have worshipped the holy **Nāgavardhana**, which may be the name of a temple or of a spiritual guide,¹ and to have overcome the **Pallava** family.² He is distinguished by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *etc.*, from the remaining two princes of the Chalukya family that are referred to in the grant, *viz.* **Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman** and his son the *Yuvarāja* **Śrīāśraya-Sīlāditya**, who were not of sovereign, but of mere feudatory rank. The former of them was a younger brother of **Vikramāditya I.**, the son of **Pulakēśin II.** The grant states that “his power had been increased by his elder brother.” This seems to imply that he was entrusted by **Vikramāditya I.** with the administration of a province, which must have included **Navasārikā**, where his son resided at the time of the grant, and **Āsatṭi-grāma**, the village granted by him. Another copper-plate grant of the same **Śrīāśraya-Sīlāditya**, which comes from Surat,³ mentions the villages **Kārmanēya**, **Ōsumbhala** and **Allūraka**. Bühler has identified **Navasārikā**, **Āsatṭi-grāma** and the three last with the modern **Nausāri** (where these plates were obtained), **Asṭgām**,⁴ **Kamrēj**, **Umbhel** and **Alurā**⁵—all south of the Tapti in **Lāta** or **Southern Gujarāt**.

Altogether the grants of this Gujarāt branch of the Chalukya family are four in number.

A.—The Nausāri plates of **Śrīāśraya-Sīlāditya**, dated in the year 421.

B.—The Surat plates of the same, dated in the year 443.

C.—The unpublished **Balsār** plates of (his brother) **Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarāja**, dated in the Śaka year 653.⁶

D.—The **Nausāri** plates of **Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja**, younger brother of **Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasārāja**, dated in the year 490.⁷

According to A. and B. **Jayasimhavarman** and his son, the *Yuvarāja* **Sīlāditya**, were contemporaries of **Vikramāditya I.** (A.D. 655 to 680) in the year 421, and of **Vinayāditya** (A.D. 680 to 696) in the year 443 of an unspecified era. This can be no other than the **Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A.D. 249-50**.⁸ With this starting point the dates of the two grants of **Sīlāditya** (A. and B.) correspond to **A.D. 671** and **692**.⁹ The **Balsār** plates of **Maṅgalarāja** (C.), who seems to have governed Gujarāt in succession of his father **Jayasimhavarman** after the death of the *Yuvarāja* **Sīlāditya** (probably an elder brother of **Maṅgalarāja**), are dated in the Śaka year 653=**A.D. 731-32**.¹⁰ Like the dates of A. and B. that of D. has to be referred to the **Kalachuri era**. Accordingly, **Pulakēśirāja**, the younger brother of **Maṅgalarasārāja** (the **Maṅgalarāja** of the **Balsār** plates), was ruling in **A.D. 739**.¹¹

It remains to be added that the **Bahirkā-vishaya** and its subdivision **Kaphavalāhāra**, to which **Āsatṭi-grāma** belonged, have not yet been identified.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 123, and *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI, p. 5. The name **Nāgavardhana** appears twice in a grant of doubtful authenticity; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 123 ff. and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 357 f.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 145, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 362 f.

³ *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 211 ff.

⁴ Dr. Fleet informs me that this is a large village seven miles east-south-east- $\frac{1}{2}$ -south from **Nausāri**, and remarks that “in the *Bombay Postal Directory* the name is spelt ‘*Ashtgām*,’ which suggests *Ashtagrāma*, not *Āsatṭi-grāma*.”

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 198.

⁶ *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁷ See note 3 above.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 77; *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 219 f.; Dr. Bhandarkar’s *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 55.

⁹ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 364, No. 3, and p. 370, No. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 374, No. 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 376, No. 6.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² svasti [||*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitāṃ Viṣṇōr=vvārāhaṃ kṣhōbbhit-āṛṇṇa_{va}]m [||*]
dakṣhiṇ-ōnnata-da[ṇṇ*]shṭr-āgra-vi-
2 śā(śrā)nta-bhuvana[ṇṇ*] vapuḥ [||*] Śrīmatāṃ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūya[ṇṇa*]-
Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām(ṇām)
3 Hārīti-putrāṇām sapta-lōka-māṭribhis=sapta-Māṭribhi[r=abhi*]varddhitāsa(nām)
Kārttikēya-pa-
4 nirakṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāṇām bhagavān-⁵Nārāya[ṇa*]-prasāda-samāsādita-
varaha-la-⁴
5 ūchhanikṣhaṇē rakṣhaṇē vaśēkṛit-āsēsha-mahibhṛitām Chalikyānām=ānvayē⁵ nija-
bhūja-bala-parājit-ā-
6 khila-ripu-mahipāla-samētivirāmayudhishṭōpamāna[h*]⁶ satya-vikrama[h*] śrī-
Pulakēśi-Vallabhaḥ [||*] Tasya
7 putraḥ paramamāhēśvara-mātāpūṭi-śrī-Nāgavarddhana-pād-ānuddhyāta-śrī-Vikramāditya-
Saty[ā*]-
8 śraya-Prithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramamāhēśvara-bhaṭṭāra[k]ṇa(ṇa)⁷ anivārīta-
pauruṣh-ā-
9 kratu-⁸Pallav-ānvayēna jyāyasaḥ bhrātrā sama[bhi*]varddhita-vibhūtir=Ddhārāsraya-⁹
śrī-Jayasimha-
10 varmm[ā ||*] Tasya putraḥ śarad-amala-sakala-śāsadhara-marīchi-mālā-vitāna-
viśuddha-kīrtti-patākā-

Second Plate.

- 11 vibhāsita-lamanta-¹⁰dig-antarāhaḥ(laḥ) pradātā Rō(rā)jarāja [i*]va rū[pa*]-¹¹lāvanya-sau-
12 bhāgya-sampannah=Kāmadēva¹² sakala-kalā-praviv[ī]yaḥ pauruṣhān=Vālyādihara-chakra-
13 vartti(i)va Śrīśraya-śrī-Śīlāditya-yuvārāja(jō) Navasarikām=adhiyasat(san)[||*]
Navasāri-
14 kā-v[ā*]stavya-Kāśyapa-sagōtr-Āgāmisvāminah putraḥ Svā(sā)mantasvāmī tasya
putrā-
15 ya [||*] Mātrīsvavira[h*]¹³ [||*] tasy=ānuja-bhrātrā(trē) Kikkasvāminah¹⁴ Bhōgikkasvāminē
¹⁵Adhvaryu-[sa*]bhaḥmachārī-
16 nē Bāhirikā-¹⁶vishay-āntarggata-Kaṇhavalāhāra-¹⁷vishayē Āsaṭṭi-grāmaṃ s-ōdraṇṇam
sa-pa-

¹ From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Cancel the anusvara.⁴ Read -lāuchhan-ēkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vasikṛit-.⁵ Read =anvayē.⁶ Read probably -samētī Rāma-Yudhishṭhira-ōpamāṇah.⁷ Read -paramānvay-āntarggata-ānvay-.⁸ Read kratu-.⁹ Read =Ddhārāsraya- and see Dr. Fleet's *Dya. Kan. Distr.* p. 361 note 4.¹⁰ Read -samastā-¹¹ Compare text line 15 of the Surat plates; *Tienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 226.¹² The particle *ina* may have to be supplied here.¹³ Read either *Mātrīsvavira* or, more probably, *Mātrīsvarah*; for the latter see l. 20 of the Surat plates.¹⁴ Perhaps *śaṣṭhī* has to be supplied here.¹⁵ Here and in *vishay* (l. 16) and *vikram* (l. 17) the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.¹⁶ The first letter of *Bāhirikā* closely resembles that of *bala* (l. 5), *brahma* (l. 15) and *baṇu* (l. 19) Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *T. Bāhirikā*.¹⁷ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read the word as -*Kaṇḍavalāhāra*; but the *h* is quite distinct. The third *akṣara* may be either *va* or *dha*.



၁ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ပုဒ်ဝိဇ္ဇာ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၂ ကာသိယဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၃ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၄ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၅ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၆ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၇ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၈ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၉ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ
 ၁၀ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသယ ဘူမိ

[illegible]

- 17 rikaram udak-ôtsargga-pûrvvam mâtâpitrôr-âtmanas=cha punya-yaô-bhivridbhayê
dattavân [I*]
18 Vât-âhâ(ha)ta-dîpa-sîkhâ-chañchalâ[m*] lakshî(kshmi)m=anusmṛitya sarvvair=âgâmi-
nripatibhidhammadâyô=¹
19 numantavyah [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ rājâ(ja,bhi,h*) Sagar-âdibhi[h I*]
yasya yasya yadâ bhû-
20 mi[s=]tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Mākha(gha)-śuddha-trayôdaśyâm likhitam=
idam sandhivigrahaka-²śrî-Dhana[m*]jayêna
21 samvatsara-śata-chatuṣṭayê³ êkaviṁsaty-adhikê 400 20 [I]⁴ [II*] Ôm⁵ [II*]

No. 23.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF KUMARAVISHNU II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These copper-plates "were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of **Chendalûr** in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago." The plates passed from the ryot to the Kaimam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A. Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. The subjoined transcript is based on two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya, who also furnished me with the following description of the original :—

"The **copper-plates** are **five** in number. The first and last bear writing on the inner side only. The plates have no rims. In the upper and lower borders they are not as broad as in the middle. Their breadth accordingly varies from 8" to 8½". The height is throughout 2½". At a distance of 1" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, ¾" in diameter; and through these holes passes a circular ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), 3¼" in diameter and about ¼" thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures between 1¼" and 1½" in diameter and bears in its middle an indistinct symbol in relief. Around the margin there seems to be a legend which is too much worn to be made out. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 95 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao."

The inscription on the plates is well preserved; only a few syllables at the end of ll. 2, 3, 4, 12 and 20 are obliterated. The sign of *anusvâra* is so small that its existence on the plate remains doubtful in most cases where the context requires it. A final form of *m* occurs thrice (ll. 28, 29 and 32). The letter *t* is distinguished from *n* by a loop; but in a single case (*grâmayakunatrâ*, l. 15) the form with the loop is used for *n*. The end of a verse is marked by a double vertical line in three cases (ll. 28, 29 and 30), and the end of the inscription by five circles between double lines. Plates i., ii.b, iii.b and iv.b bear on the left margin the numerical symbols 1, 2, 3 and 4, while plate v. is not numbered at all. The language is Sanskrit prose, and four Sanskrit verses 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll. 26-32.

The inscription is an edict issued from **Kāñchipura** (l. 1) in the second year of the reign (l. 23) of the **Pallava Mahârāja Kumâravishnu (II.)** (l. 14), who was the son of the **M.**

¹ Read -nripatibhir=ayam=asmad-dâyô=; compare l. 29 of the Surat plates.

² Read sandhivigrahika.

³ Read -chatuṣṭaya êkaviṁsaty.

⁴ The figure '1' is hardly visible at all, but is secured by the preceding words and by the empty space between '20' and ôm.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

Buddhavarman (l. 8), the grandson of the **M. Kumāravishṇu (I.)** (l. 6), and the great-grandson of the **M. Skandavarman** (l. 3). It records that the king granted to a Brāhmaṇa a field in the village of **Chendalūra** (ll. 14 and 16 f.) in **Kavachakāra-bhōga** (l. 16), a subdivision of the district of **Karmā[n]ka-rāshṭra** (l. 14) or **Kammā[n]ka-rāshṭra** (l. 16).

Of the localities mentioned in this record **Kāñchīpura** (l. 1) is Conjeeveram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, and Chendalūra is **Chendalūr** in the Nellore district, the village where the plates were unearthed. **Karmānka**-or **Kammānka-rāshṭra**, i.e. 'the district named (after) Karma or Kamma,' is mentioned as **Karma-rāshṭra** in two Eastern Chalukya grants,¹ and as **Kamma-rāshṭra** in a third one.²

The wording of this inscription is very similar to that of three other Pallava grants, which belong to the reign of **Simhavarman**, viz. the **Pikira**, **Māṅgaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants.³ Nay, ll. 1-14 are almost identical with ll. 4-16 of the **Uruvupalli** grant.⁴ The names of the kings, however, differ in those three grants on the one hand and in the **Chendalūr** plates on the other, and no lineal connection can be established between both sets of kings. The name **Skandavarman** occurs in both, but **Kumāravishṇu I.**, **Buddhavarman** and **Kumāravishṇu II.**, who were the three direct descendants of **Skandavarman** according to the **Chendalūr** plates, are unknown to the three other grants. Nor do their names occur in the Pallava pedigree of the **Kāśākuḍi** plates, which begins with **Simhavishṇu**.⁵ Under these circumstances our only guide can be the palæography of those different records. The alphabet of the **Chendalūr** plates is more archaic than those of the **Kūram** and **Kāśākuḍi** plates, but resembles those of the **Pikira**, **Māṅgaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the **Pikira**, **Māṅgaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the **Chendalūr** plates ruled in the interval between **Simhavarman** and **Simhavishṇu**. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will enable us to bridge some of the gaps in the direct succession of the Pallavas, one of which is now partially filled by the information contained in the **Chendalūr** plates.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti⁷ [||*] Jitam=bhagavatā [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Kāñchi[p]urād-abhyuchchita-
śakti-
- 2 siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-[vīra]-
- 3 sya mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmanah praputrō dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ā(ō)pa[chā]-
- 4 yinō vividdha-vinayasy=ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhu(bhū)my-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-
[dharmma-sa]-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 ũchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām=pañchamasya
- 6 lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Kumāravishṇōḥ pautrō bhagavad-bhakti-sa-
- 7 mbhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=ādi-raja-pratispa[r*]ddhi-guṇa-samudayasy=āmi-
- 8 tātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Buddhavarmanah putrah prajā-samrañjana-paripālan-ōdyō-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 16.

² See p. 238 below.

³ See p. 160 above.

⁴ Only the compound beginning with *ādīrāja* is peculiar to the **Chendalūr** plates (l. 7).

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 344, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

⁶ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁷ On the left margin of plate i.

⁸ Corrected from *lōkapālōnam*.

i
 1 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 2 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 3 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 4 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக

ii a.
 1 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 2 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 3 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 4 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக

ii b.
 1 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 2 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 3 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 4 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக

iii a.
 1 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 2 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 3 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக
 4 கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக கீக

18 18
 20 20

22 22
 24 24

26 26
 28 28

30 30
 32 32

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 ga-satata-satya-vrata-dīkshītō=nēka-samara-sāhas-āvamardda-labdhā-
 10 vijaya-yaśa[h]-¹prakāśaḥ Kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasanna-dharmm-ōddharāṇa-ni-
 11 tya-sannaddhō rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigī(gī)shur-ddharmma-vijigī-²
 12 shur=bhagavat-pād-āmu[d]dhyātāḥ parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvājō bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-
 pā[da-bha]-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 13 ktaḥ sva-vikram-ākṛānt-ānya-nṛipa-śrī-nīlayānā[m] yathāvad-āhṛit-ānēk-āśvamēdhānā-
 14 m=Palavānān=dharmmamahārāja[h] śrī-Kumāraviṣṇuḥ Karmā[m*]ka-rāshṭrē
 Chendalūra-
 15 grāmē grāmēyakān=atr=ādihikṛita-sarvva-naiyōgika-vallabhāmś=ch=ājñ[ā]-
 16 payati yath=āsminn=asmābhi[h] Kammā[m*]ka-rāshṭrē Kavachakāra-bhōgē
 Chendalū-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 17 ra-grāmē rāja-vastu bhūtva sthitañ=chatu[r*]ddisam=ashṭasata-paṭṭikā-sa-
 18 mmitam [i*] samudāyatō dvātri[m*]śad-yukta-chatuśśatī(ta,-paṭṭikā-sammita[m]
 kshētra[m*]
 19 brāhmaṇāya Kaundinya-gōtrāya=Chchhandōga-sūtrāy=Ābhi-
 20 rūpā . . . -³vāstavyāya Bhavaskandatrātāya brahmadō[ya]-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 21 ma[r*]yyādayā dēvabhōga-varjja[m] hala-nyāyēna sarvva-parihār-ōpētam=a-
 22 smad-āyur-⁴bbala-vijay-aśvāry-ābhivṛiddhayē pravarddhamāna-vijaya-
 23 rājyē dvitiyē sa[m]vatsarē Kā[r*]ttikē māsē śukla-pakshasya pañchamyā[m*]
 24 sarvvam=ēta[t=*]kshētra[m] samprattan=Tad=avagamya sarvva-parihārair=ētat=
 brahmadēya-kshētra-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 25 m=pariharantu parihārayantu cha [i*] Yaś=ch=ēdam=asmach-chhāsanam=atīkrāmēt=sa pā-
 26 paś=sārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [i*] Api ch=ātra Brahma-gītāḥ ślōkāḥ [i*] Bhūmi-
 dānā-
 27 t=paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [i*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=
 na bha-
 28 vishyati || Sva-dattām=para-⁵dattām=vā⁶ yō hārēta vasundharām [i*] gavām
 śatasahasra-

Fifth Plate.

- 29 sya hantu[h] pibati kilbisham || Pū[r*]vvai[h] pūrvvataraiś=ch=aiva dattām⁷
 bhūmim harēt=tu yaḥ [i*]
 30 sa nitya-vyasanō magnō narakē cha vasēt=puna[h*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā da-
 31 ttā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
 32 tadā phalam [i*] Ēvam=ājñā(jñā)ptam=iti [i*] Gō-brāhmaṇan=naudatu [i*] Svasty-
 astu prajābhya[h*] || ॐ [i]

¹ The syllable *sa* was entered subsequently below the line.

² The syllable *ji* stands below the line.

³ Here four *aksharas* are engraved on an erasure; they look like *yul[ā]ūru*.

⁴ Originally *smadāda*⁵ had been engraved. Subsequently the first *dā* was struck out.

⁵ The *akshara mpa* seems to have been corrected from *mvā*.

⁶ Read *-dattām vā*.

⁷ The *anusvāra* has failed to come out on the photo-lithograph.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vishṇu). Hail! From the victorious **Kāñchipura**,

(L. 2.) the great-grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Skandavarman**, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 6.) the grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Kumāravishṇu (I.)**, whose mind was truthful,

(L. 7.) the son of the glorious **Mahārāja Buddhavarman**, whose mind was immeasurable,

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishṇu), the fervent **Bhāgavata**, the **Bhāradvāja**, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, the glorious **Kumāravishṇu (II.)**,—the rightful **Mahārāja** (of the family) of the **Pallavas**, who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (*and*) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,—addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village of **Chendalūra** in **Karmā[n]ka-rāshṭra** and to all officers (*naiyōgika*) and (*royal*) favourites who are appointed to this (*district*):—

(L. 16.) “In the village of **Chendalūra** in **Kavachakāra-bhōga**, (*a subdivision*) of this (*district of*) **Kammā[n]ka-rāshṭra**, the king's domain¹ in the four directions amounts to eight hundred *paṭṭikās*.² (*Of this*) a field amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty-two *paṭṭikās* has been given by Us as a *Brahmadēya*, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga*), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the **Brāhmaṇa Bhavaskandatrāta** of the **Kaundinya gōtra** and the **Chhandōga sūtra**, who resides in **Abhirūpā**—this whole field (*has been given*), for the increase of Our length of life, power, victory and supremacy, in the second year of (Our) reign of growing victory, in the month **Kārttika**, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight.

(L. 24.) “Knowing this, they must exempt this *Brahmadēya* field with all immunities and cause (*it*) to be exempted. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this (*there are*) also (*the following*) verses sung by Brahman.”

[Ll. 26-32 contain four of the customary verses.]

(L. 32.) “Thus it has been ordered (*by Us*).” Let cows and **Brāhmaṇas** rejoice!³ Let there be welfare to (*all*) men’

No. 24.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF SARVALOKASRAYA ; A.D. 673

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Like the Chendalūr plates of **Kumāravishṇu II.** (No. 23 above), these copper-plates “were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of **Chendalūr** in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago.” The plates passed from the ryot to the **Karnam** of the village, and from the latter to **Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao**, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through **Mr. A**

¹ Literally ‘that which stands having become the king's property.’

² *Paṭṭikā* seems to be the same as the Tamil *paṭṭi*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *nirantana*; see *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 359, note 12. Compare *Lakshmana-paṭṭikā*, i.e. ‘the *paṭṭikā* (belonging to) Lakshmana, in a Maitraka grant, above, p. 193, text l. 43.

³ Compare above, p. 49, note 2, and p. 148, text l. 16

Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. They are now edited from two sets of inked estampages received from Mr. Venkayya, who supplies the following description of the original :—

“The copper-plates are five in number and have no rims. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner side only. In the upper and lower borders the plates are not so broad as in the middle; their breadth accordingly varies from $9\frac{1}{8}$ " to $9\frac{1}{4}$ ". The height too gradually decreases from either margin to the middle of the plate—it being roughly $2\frac{7}{8}$ " in the margins and $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in the middle. At a distance of $\frac{5}{16}$ " from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, also $\frac{5}{16}$ " in diameter; and through these holes passes an oval ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by 3", and $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures about $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". It bears, in relief on a plane surface, the legend *Śrī-Vijayasiddh[i]* in the middle; below the legend is a seven-petalled lotus in relief; and above the legend is the crescent of the moon between two symbols which may be taken to be daggers pointing upwards. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 84 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Surjanarayana Rao.”

The inscription is carefully engraved and on the whole well preserved. The alphabet resembles that of the two published copper-plate grants of Sarvalōkāśraya's father Viṣṇuvardhana II.¹ A final form of *t* occurs in ll. 2, 33 (twice), 37. and one of *m* in l. 41. The lingual *l* is used in *Chalukyānām* (l. 5), *luṭita* (l. 22), *Koḷḷi* (l. 25) and *Kālabava* (l. 29 f.). and the Telugu *r* in ll. 25 and 29. The first plate bears on the left margin the numerical symbol '1'; but the remaining plates are not numbered.

The language is Sanskrit prose; two Sanskrit *ślōkas* 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll. 37-39. The rules of Sandhi are disregarded in the two compounds *bhagavat-śrī-* (l. 2) and *asmat-śūsanam* (l. 33), and frequently between two words (ll. 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35).

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahārāja* Sarvalōkāśraya (l. 24), son of the *M. Viṣṇuvardhana* (II.) (l. 16), grandson of the *M. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman* (l. 10 f.), and great-grandson of the *M. Viṣṇuvardhana* (I), 'who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas*' (l. 5 f.). Some of the laudatory epithets bestowed on Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Viṣṇuvardhana II. were evidently copied from inscriptions or office records of the *Pallavas*,² who had been supplanted by the Eastern Chalukyas. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman seems to have borne the surname *Simhavikrama* (l. 8), and Viṣṇuvardhana II. that of *Makaradhvaaja*.³ Sarvalōkāśraya's valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words which fill five lines (16-21), but which contain nothing of any historical interest. His surname *Vijayasiddhi*, which occurs also on the seal of this grant, is alluded to in the next compound: 'he who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (*vijaya-siddhi*) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles' (l. 21 f.).

In later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty⁴ this king Vijayasiddhi or Sarvalōkāśraya is named *Maṅgiyuvarāja*. To his reign has to be referred the date at the end of the subjoined inscription (l. 39 f.): "(This) set of copper-plates (*paṭṭikā*) was given (to the donees) on the occasion of an eclipse on the full-moon tithi of *Vaiśākha* in the second

¹ See the Plates in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 191, and Vol. VIII. p. 320.

² For the epithets *अभूषित* and *प्रतापीपन्न* in l. 6 f., *अनेकगो* in l. 9 f., *स्वबाहु* and *विधिविहित* in l. 11 f., see e.g. the *Pikira* grant of *Simhavarmā*, above, p. 161, text ll. 4, 5 f. and 2.

³ I.e. 'the god of love.' The inscription justifies this surname by asserting that the king 'had seized the countries, ear-rings (? *makara*) and banners (*dhvaaja*) of many mighty (*tunga*) enemies (l. 13 f.);' compare above, Vol. VI. p. 345 and note 2.

⁴ The first part of this compound is found also in *Pallava* grants; see e.g. above, p. 235, text l. 9.

⁵ See above, Vol. VII. Appendix, p. 93, note 6.

year of the reign of increasing victory." According to Dr. Fleet, Maṅgiyavarāja reigned from A.D. 672 to 696.¹ Hence his second year would correspond to A.D. 673, while Mr. Sewell's *Eclipses of the Moon in India* do not record any lunar eclipse in Vaiśākha between A.D. 665 and 683. They do mention a total eclipse of the moon, not in Vaiśākha, but in Jyêshṭha, on Friday, 6th May 673. Prof. Kielhorn, to whom I submitted this difficulty, has solved it by showing (see his Postscript on p. 240 f. below) that by Brahmagupta's rule the month would not be called Jyêshṭha, but Vaiśākha. Accordingly, the European date of the subjoined inscription of Maṅgiyavarāja's reign is the 6th May 673—a result which corroborates the correctness of Dr. Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.

According to l. 24 ff. "the very pious one, he who possesses the dignity of *Mahārāja*, the glorious *Sarvalôkāśraya-Mahārāja*" informs "the villagers in the village of *Chendaṭūra* in (the district named) *Kamma-rāshṭra* and all officers (*naiyôgika*) and favourites gone to this (district)" that he has granted this village to six Brāhmaṇas, who were Chhandôgas (i.e. students of the *Sāmavêda*), and each of whom received two shares of it. Five of them belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya gôtra* (l. 27) and one to the *Kālabava gôtra* (l. 29 f.). Curiously enough their proper names are not given, but only their native villages, followed in the case of the first donee by the Sanskrit word *vāstavya*, 'residing in' (l. 28), and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word *bôya*, which seems to be employed in the same sense.² The six villages in question were *Kaṭūra*, *Vaṅgra*, *Koṭṭipuro* (?), *Pidena*, *Kuriyida* and *Kodiṅki*. The phraseology of the grant portion again resembles that of the Pallava copper-plates.

L. 34.—"And the *Ājñapti* for this (grant is) the sun among men (*Narabhāskara*) who resembles the sun crowning the peak of the eastern mountain (*Udayagiri*),³ the principal mountain of the circle of the earth (which is) the family of *Ayyaṇa*, he who has been victorious in the crush of many battles, the fervent *Māhêśvara*, the glorious *A[na]ghavarman*." The edict was written by *Pāmbēya Sarvôttama Ātharvaṇa* (l. 41).

The village granted, *Chendaṭūra*, must be the same as the present *Chendalūr*, at which the copper-plates were discovered. The district *Kamma-rāshṭra*, to which it belonged, is mentioned as *Karma-rāshṭra* in two other grants of *Vishṇuvardhana II.* and *Maṅgiyavarāja*.⁴ In the *Chendalūr* plates of *Kumāravishṇu II.* the same village and district are named *Chendalūra* and *Karmâ[ṇ]ka-* or *Kammâ[ṇ]ka-rāshṭra*.⁵

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁷ स्वस्ति⁸ [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्र[॥*]णां हारी[ती]-
- 2 पुत्राणां लोकमात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां⁹ भग[वत्श्री]-
- 3 नारायणप्रसादसमुपलब्धवरवराहलाञ्छ[ना]नां
- 4 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां अनेकाश्चमेधयाजि-
- 5 नां चक्रुःक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोः श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराज-¹⁰

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 98.

² The same seems to be the case in a grant of *Vishṇuvardhana II.*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187 f.

³ This epithet may imply that the *Ājñapti* was the governor of the fort of *Udayagiri* in the Nellore district.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 16.

⁵ See p. 234 above.

⁶ From M. Venkayya's ink-impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ The two words श्री स्वस्ति are engraved on the left margin opposite lines 1 and 2.

⁹ Read लोकमातृभिर्मातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां भगवच्छ्री°.

¹⁰ The म of महाराजस्य seems to be corrected from मा.

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Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 स्य प्रपौत्रः अभ्युच्चितशक्तिसिद्धिसंपन्नस्य प्रतापोपनतराज-
 7 मण्डलस्य [प]रनृपतिमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलविदारणविधिदर्शित-
 8 सिंहविक्रमस्य सिंहविक्रमस्य रणभूषणायमान-
 9 व्रणकिणालंकृतसर्वगात्रस्य अनेकगोहिरण्यभूष्या[दिप्र]-
 10 दानैः प्रवृद्धधर्मसञ्चयस्य श्रीमतो महाराजस्येन्द्रभट्टा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 रक्तवर्मणः पौत्रः स्वबाहुवलार्जितोर्जितक्षेत्रतपोनिधेः विधिवि-
 12 हितसर्वमर्थ्यादस्य प्रतापानुरागावनतसामन्तचक्रस्य
 13 चक्रवर्तिलक्षणेपेतस्य गृहीतानिकतुंगारिवसुधा-
 14 मकरध्वजस्य मकरध्वजस्य स्वप्रभावाज्जितसकलसामन्त-
 15 मकुटतटघटितमणिकिरणारुणीकृतचरणारविन्दस्य

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 श्रीविष्णुवर्धनमहाराजस्य पुत्रः निजभुजपराक्रमाव[न]मितानिक-
 17 शत्रुसामन्तानीतद्विरदपतिमदधाराभिषेककर्मितसप्त-
 18 ऋदसुरभिरम्यांगणोपविष्टानिकराजन्यामितसमितिको-
 19 ल[1*]हलीभूतराजहार[.*] मदालसमत्तकाशिनीजनघनपयो-
 20 धरावलुप्यमानकुङ्कुमपङ्कावशेषशोभितकनकगिरिश-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 लाविशालवत्स्थलः अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्हलब्धविज-
 22 यसिद्धिः जलधिरिव रम्यतरलक्ष्मीलक्षितनिवासः मूर्त्त इव व-
 23 सन्तः समुद्र इव गुणानां दृष्टान्त इव भूमिपतीनां
 24 परमब्रह्मण्यः महाराजानुभावश्रीसर्वलोकाश्रयमहाराजः
 25 कम्पराष्ट्रे चेन्द्रोदयग्रामे ग्रामेयकानत्र गतसर्वनैयोगिक-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 26 वल्लभांश्चाज्ञापयति [11*] एष ग्रामोन्माभिः ब्राह्मणभ्यः इन्दोगेभ्यः¹
 27 कौण्डिन्यगोत्रेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः सतताविच्छिन्न[प]ञ्चमहायज्ञ-
 28 क्रियेभ्यः कटूरवास्तव्याय हे अंशे [1*] वंशत्रोयाय हे [1*] कोक्किपु-

¹ The पा of प्रतापा² seems to be corrected from पो.² Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 12 f.³ Read ऋद³ and compare *Sisupālavadha*. VI. 50⁴ The *visarga* has not come out on the accompanying Plate, though it is quite distinct on the ink-impression.

- 29 प्रीबोयाय हे [1*] पिदेनबोयाय हे [1*] कुरियिदबोयाय हे [1*] काक-
 30 ववबोत्राय¹ कोदिंकिबोयाय हे अंशे [1*] एवमेतेभ्यः ब्र[ह्म]देय-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 31 मर्यादया सर्वपरिहारीपेतो देवभोगहलवर्ज आयुर्बल[वि]ज-
 32 याभिद्वये संप्रत्तः² [1*] तदवगम्य परिहरन्तु परिहारयन्तु च [1*]
 33 ³योस्मत्शासनमतिक्र[1*]मेत् स पापः शरीरन्दण्डमर्हति [1*]
 34 अपि चात्रात्रसिद्धि[द]यगिरिशिखरमकुटायमानभास्कर इव नर-
 35 भास्करः अय्यणान्वयधरणिमण्डलकुलप[र्वत]: अनेकसमर-

Fifth Plate.

- 36 संघट्टविजयी पर[म]माहेश्वरः श्रीमद[ण]घवर्मा⁴ [1*] अपि चात्र ब्रह्म-
 37 गीता⁵ श्लो[कि] भवतः [1*] भूमिदानात्परन्द[1*]नन्न भूतन्न भवि-
 38 पापन्न भूतन्न भविष्यति [1*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत
 39 सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति किल्बिषं [1*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे हि-
 40 तीये वैशाखपौर्णम[1]स्यां ग्रहणनिमित्तं⁷ दत्ता पट्टिका [1*] स्वस्य-
 41 स्तु सर्वभूतेभ्यः [1*] पांबेयेन सर्वोत्तमेनाधर्व्वणेन⁸ लिखितम् ॥ श्री⁹ ॥—

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.

Vishnuvardhana II., the father and immediate predecessor of Maṅgiyavarāja, according to Dr. Fleets's calculations, commenced to reign some time in February-March A.D. 663, and the traditional length of his reign is nine years. A date of the month of Vaisākha of the second year of Maṅgiyavarāja's reign therefore would in the first instance be expected to fall in or near April A.D. 673; and I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of our date is **Friday, the 6th May A.D. 673** (falling in Śaka-samvat 595 expired), when there was a total eclipse of the moon, from 13 h. 21 m. to 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India. The question is, whether this day could have been described as the full-moon day of Vaisākha.

According to the rules now in force, the 6th May A.D. 673 would have been the full-moon day of the month **Jyēshṭha** (which follows upon Vaisākha); by the same rules the Śaka year 595 expired would have contained an intercalated month **Āshāḍha**. By the rules of **mean intercalation** and the ordinary manner of naming the months, the intercalated month in Ś. 595

¹ Read °गीत्राय.

² Read संप्रत्तः.

³ The [ण] seems to be corrected from द; read श्रीमदनघ°.

⁴ Read गीता श्लोकी.

⁵ The left top-stroke of ण is written upside down.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read योस्मत्शासन°.

⁸ Read गवां.

⁹ Read °नाथवर्षणेन.

expired (according to both the Ârya- and the Sûrya-siddhânta) would have been Jyêshthâ, and the 6th May A.D. 673 the full-moon day of the first or intercalated Jyêshthâ. But this very intercalated month, by an earlier—Brahmagupta's—rule, would have received its name, not from the following month Jyêshthâ, but from the *preceding* month Vaisâkha, i.e. it would have been called Vaisâkha, *not* Jyêshthâ, and, by the earlier rule referred to, the 6th May A.D. 673 would thus have been correctly described as the full-moon day of Vaisâkha (or, more fully, of the second Vaisâkha).

This date at once reminds us of the date of the Kaira plates of Dharasêna IV. (*Norcheru List*, No. 484), which quotes a 'second Mârgasîra,' and falls in A.D. 648 or Śaka-samvat 570 expired. In the case of that date, by the rules of mean intercalation and according to the Ârya- and Sûrya-siddhântas, a month was intercalated in Ś. 570 expired before the month Pausha. By the ordinary rule that month would have been called Pausha, so that there would have been two months called Pausha; but the date, in quoting 'the second Mârgasîra,' shows that there really were two months called Mârgasîra, and that therefore the intercalated month, by the earlier rule, had received its name from the *preceding* Mârgasîra.

I would besides compare the Chôja date No. 33, of the 25th November A.D. 1033 (above, Vol. V. p. 21), where the given name of the month—Mârgasîra, instead of Pausha—likewise can be accounted for only by the assumption that a month, by the rules of mean intercalation intercalated before Pausha, had taken its name from the *preceding*, not from the following month. In that Chôja date the month Mârgasîra which is quoted was the *second* Mârgasîra, just as in the date under discussion the month Vaisâkha in my opinion was the *second* Vaisâkha.

For a date (of the 5th February A.D. 817, with a lunar eclipse), which proves the observance of the rules of mean intercalation, but is otherwise of no importance here, see my *Southern List*, No. 68.

NO. 25.—TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

BY PROFESSOR R. FISCHER, PH.D.; BERLIN.

The two Prâkrit poems here edited were discovered at Dhâr, in November 1903, together with the corresponding slab of black stone which contains the *prasasti* of Arjunavarman published above, p. 96 ff., by Professor E. Hultsch. Prof. Hultsch was good enough to send me two inked estampages which had been forwarded to him by Dr. Vogel and Mr. Cousens, and one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.

Like the *prasasti*, the poems are on the whole well preserved; in the second poem however, the beginning of lines 26-38 is broken away, as may be seen from Plate iii. The inscription consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. Only one serious mistake occurs in A. verse 65, where instead of *chammakkaṇam aṇamaggo* apparently must be read *chakkammaṇam aṇamagge*.

The alphabet is the same as in the *prasasti* and has been already discussed by Prof. Hultsch. I would draw special attention to the initial *i*, *u*, *o*; to *tha*, e.g. in *thakkaṇ*, A. verse 40 (Plate i. l. 16), *tha*, A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), *thāhiā*, B. 2 (Plate ii. l. 1), *aṇathakkaṇ*, B. 40 (Plate iii. l. 14), *thāhaviā*, B. 87 (Plate iii. l. 32); to *kkha*, e.g. in *rakkhaū*, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); to *jjha*, e.g. in *majjhe*, A. 6 (Plate i. l. 3); to *śa*, e.g. in *Śivāya* (Plate i. l. 1), °*paramēśvara*°, °*śī*°, °*śātaṇ*, *mahāśrīḥ* (Plate ii. l. 42); and to *ṇa*, e.g. in *kayaṇ garuṇa* (Plate i. l. 18) and *maṇḍalaṇ* (Plate ii. l. 42). *Chchha* and *ttha*, though resembling each other, are more clearly distinguished than in the manuscripts of the Jainas, where these two letters are constantly confounded; compare, e.g. °*vitthāro* and °*chchhāya*, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); °*surichchhaṇ* and °*ttha*, A. 15 (Plate i. l. 6). There occurs in A. 87 (Plate ii. l. 34) one letter about the reading of which I am not certain. It

looks exactly like *thá* as given by Bühler on Plate v. l. 26, No. 19 of his *Indian Palaeography*; but since *thá* in all other instances (B. 2, 78, 87) has quite a different form, the reading remains uncertain. Unfortunately there is a gap just in this place.

There is much inconsistency in writing the Anusvāra and the secondary forms of *e* and *o*. Thus in B. 16 (Plate ii. l. 6) we read *paḍihantam*, but in B. 20 (Plate ii. l. 8) *paḍihantam*. In A. 52, 54 (Plate i. l. 21), *e* in *pariyattante kāle ke ke* and *o* in *jo vi hu so vi hu* are partly written in the ancient, partly in the modern fashion. Instead of the Anunāsika in combination with *r* the inscription uses throughout the group *mv*, which is also found in manuscripts (see my *Prākṛit Grammar*, § 179). Thus we have *jāehim vi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23); *hōntehim vi*, A. 84 (Plate ii. l. 32); *kaehim vi*, A. 86 (Plate ii. l. 33); *annehim vi*, A. 92 (Plate ii. l. 35); *jāehim vi*, A. 100 (Plate ii. l. 38), etc. In B. 98, 103 (Plate iii. ll. 37, 38 f.) *valuyam va* is wrong for *valayam va*. Similar mistakes, as *jam māi* instead of *jām māi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), have been noticed in the foot-notes on the text.

The orthography is that of the Jainas. Hence in the beginning of words, and generally when doubled, dental *n* is written instead of cerebral *ṇ*, with the single exception of *ṇu*, as remarked in the note on A. 5. Very often also *nha* is written instead of *ṇha*. The *ya-śruti* shows the same inconsistency as in the manuscripts.

The language of the poems is Māhārāṣṭrī. There occur, however, some forms which are Apabhraṃśa, such as *laggari*, A. 92, *milavi*, B. 108, *ēha*, B. 45, *āṇam*, B. 48, *loa*, B. 61, instead of *loo*. Blunders like *tan na* instead of *tam na* and *kayan garuḍa* instead of *kayam garuḍa* in A. 43, which occur very frequently, I am inclined to attribute to the author himself, considering the numerous cases where *hu* is written instead of *khu*, as in A. 54, B. 8, 28, 36, etc. Even faults like *thiam* instead of *thiam* in B. 36, *kim ttha* instead of *kim tha* in A. 95, *gauravam* in B. 62, *gauravam* in B. 92, *gauravid* in B. 105, where *au* is written instead of *o* (compare Hēma-chandra, l. 1), may go back to the author himself. On the whole, however, the latter must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Dēśi-words which have not yet been met elsewhere. At the same time there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration, as in A. 23 and 28, 32 and 33, 98 and 101, or with very slight modifications, as in A. 10 and 55, 14 and 101, 93 and 94. The half-verse *na ya jāo nea jamniihi* occurs no less than five times (A. 10, 16, 48, 55, 85).

The poems consist of two odes, each of 109 stanzas in the Āryā metre, to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. They have no poetical value. In the first the author varies *ad nau-seam* essentially two thoughts, viz. that nobody has carried the earth so well as the tortoise, and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of this tortoise. In the second it is said that even the tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhōja who now carries the earth. Though a very poor performance, the poems, owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode, pleased king Bhoja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself:—"Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhōja alone. By him this *Kūrmasūta* has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies" (A. 107), and:—"By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhōja has this *Sūta* been composed" (B. 109). The very fact that in the second ode king Bhōja is several times directly addressed (B. 5, 6, 7, 11, etc.) would alone suffice to prove that he himself is not the real author. Tradition has it that Bhōja was a great friend and admirer of scholars and poets, and it is well known that in legendary works like Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and Ballāla's *Bhājaprabandha* many famous poets of quite different

¹ The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhōja has been drawn up by Prof. Aufrecht, *Catalogue Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 418, and Vol. II. p. 95.

centuries are placed at his court. As yet no poems had been found which could with certainty be ascribed to the time of Bhōja. So far the new find is of some interest.

With the exception of a few stanzas, the poems are easily intelligible. It would have been a tedious task to translate them. I have therefore contented myself with mentioning in the notes all the difficulties and trying to explain them as far as possible. The abbreviation Gr. refers to my Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages, where the remaining abbreviations are explained on p. 410 ff.

TEXT OF A.

[1] श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥

इच्छ[1]ए जस्स भुअणं धरिअं एक्काए असमसत्तीए ।

उअणेत सो सुहाइं तुम्हाणं पव्वईनाही ॥१॥

सो कुम्भो वो रक्खउ कणयदिकडारदेहवित्तारो ।

जो जरढभुअणवल्लीकंदच्छायं समुज्जहइ ॥२॥

जस्स भणिएण भुअणं कुम्भप्पमुहा वि धारयन्ति [2] इमं ।

सो अकलिज्जसरूओ ससिचूडो देउ सोक्खाइं ॥३॥

कमढकुडुम्बे विउले वि पसविआ उअह एत्थ सा एक्का ।

भुअणभरस्स वि पट्ठी जीए जाएण ओडुविआ ॥४॥

कुम्भेण को ण सरिसो विणा वि कज्जेण जेण एक्केण ।

जह निअसुहस्स पट्ठी तह दिस्सा [3] भुअणभरस्स ॥५॥

एक च्चि[अ] सा धन्ना मज्जे महिलाण पसविआ कमढो ।

अइदुव्वहो वि वूढो भुअणभरो जीए जाएण ॥६॥

कमढकुले के न हुआ अप्पा वि हु दुव्वहो परं ताण ।

अविरोलं भुअणभरो उव्वूढो तेण एक्केण ॥७॥

कमढकुले जायाणं संखं को मुणइ किं तु [4] सो एक्को ।

आजमं भुअण[भ]रो उव्वूढो जेण एक्केण ॥८॥

जो कह व परिगहिओ भारो कुम्भेण निअह तस्स गई ।

जीएण समं पेच्छह पम्भुक्को पलयपेरन्ति ॥९॥

१. As in many other cases, e.g. जीए, A. 6, जणणीए, A. 46, धरणीए, A. 49, etc., the final ए of इच्छाए and एक्काए is metrically short; Gr. § 85, 375. असमसत्तीए = असमसत्तया.

२. कणयदिक = कनकाद्रि. जरढ, 'which exhibits the colour of dry earth and the bulbous root of a creeper' i.e. 'which is yellowish, or brown.'

३. Instead of कुडुम्बे read कुडुम्बे. For पट्ठी compare Gr. § 53, 358. ओडुव्वइ and ओडुव्वे occur frequently in this *Sataka*; compare A. 18, 31-33, 36, 37. In A. 44 there is a substantive ओडुव्वण. The verb means 'to place,' 'to set,' 'to locate,' and is common in Pāli. Compare Childers, s.v.; *Jāt.* 1, 143, 20; 3, 154, 6; 330, 17; *Anguttara*. III. 135, 4; *Therīg.* 73, 357, etc. In Prakṛit it must be restored in Hāla, 642, 787.

४. Observe the cerebral in the enclitic ण here and elsewhere (B. 21, 23, 37, 60, 75, 105).

५. हुआ, Gr. § 476. अविरोलं belongs to विरोलइ, Hc. 4, 121, विरोलिय, P. 191, and means 'not tossing about,' 'not shaking about,' 'not agitated,' 'quietly.'

६. गई, as संखा in A. 11, must be taken as Acc. Plur. Perhaps we ought to correct them to गई and संखं.

पायालि मज्जंतं खंधं दाऊण भुअणमुद्धरिअं ।
 तेण कमटेण सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्महिइ ॥१०॥
 [5] निअसुहकज्जे जम्मो जाणं संखा वि ताण को मुणइ ।
 परकज्जेकरसिसो कुम्मकुडुम्बे परं दिट्ठो ॥११॥
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं मज्जे महिलाण पसविआ तं सि ।
 वीसामओ वि जाओ जीए जायस्स न हु भुअणे ॥१२॥
 जे वि हु धरति धरणिं तेहिं पि समं धरिज्जे सा वि ।
 इअ एरिस[6]ववसाओ कुम्मी च्चिअ एत्थ उप्पसो ॥१३॥
 जइ जम्मो वि हु जायइ ता जायउ कमठ तुज्ज सारिच्छो ।
 परउवयारिक्कफली परंतं जाव जो पत्तो ॥१४॥
 निअजाईयसरिच्छं चरिअं निव्वडइ एत्थ पुरिसाण ।
 निअपरजाइविरुद्धं दीसइ एकस्स कुम्मस्स ॥१५॥
 [7] निअयपसवस्स गव्वं एकं च्चिअ कमठिणी समुव्वहउ ।
 जीए तणयस्स सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्महिइ ॥१६॥
 अज्जावहि अन्निट्ठं वीओ भुअणे वि नेअ उप्पन्नो ।
 एकलजुएण भुअणं कुम्मी एको च्चिअ वहेइ ॥१७॥
 सो च्चिअ वुअइ भारो वीओ खंधं न जस्स ओड्डे[8]इ ।
 कुम्मी अन्नेण समं पेच्छह जइ भारमुव्वहइ ॥१८॥
 सो च्चिअ वुअइ भारो अन्नेहिं जाइ जो न परिकलिउं ।
 अन्नेण समं वूढो वूढो वि हु सो अनिव्वूढो ॥१९॥
 जाई देव्वायत्ता चरिअं पुण होइ पुरिससाहीणं ।
 अज्झवसायं पेच्छह केरिसओ सो हु कुम्मस्स ॥२०॥
 रे देव्व [9] तं विडंवसु पुरिसो किं जाइ तुह विडंवेउं ।
 कुम्मी कओ कह तए तस्स वि चरिआइं कह पेच्छ ॥२१॥
 कुम्मेण धरा धरिआ लोओ जंपेइ नाइ इअ विलिओ ।
 अंगाइं अंगेसुं निअयाइं उअह निण्हवइ ॥२२॥
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्झवसाओ हु एत्थ पुरि[10]साण ।
 कुम्मस्स तं खु रु[अ] ववसाओ सो हु पुण तस्स ॥२३॥

१०. जम्महिइ, Gr. § 540.

११. Read °डुम्बे.

१५. निव्वडइ, Hc. 4, 62.

१७. अ° अ°=अथावधि अन्तिमं. Read बीओ, Gr. § 105. एकल is to be added Gr. § 595; एकलजुएण= एकलजुगेन, 'one-yoked,' i.e. 'quite alone.' Compare A. 74, 78, 92, and एकलपुरिओ, A. 106; compare also एअंतओ, B. 25.

१८. Read वुअइ and बीओ. For ओड्डे compare note on A. 4.

१९. Read वुअइ.

२१. Read °डंवसु, °डंवेउं, °आइ.

२२. विलिओ=व्रीडितः, Gr. § 81.

२३. चइज्जइ, V. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 86. The first verse of this stanza is repeated in A. 28.

चंकमणविरहियाणं निभरिसणं ववसिअस्स सो च्चेअ ।
 पेच्छह कमटे दोन्नि वि पेरन्तं जाव पत्ताइ ॥२४॥
 उवमाणं कह लब्भउ पेच्छह कुम्भस्स असमचरिअस्स ।
 न य जाओ न य दीसइ न य होही ज[11]स्स सारिच्छी ॥२५॥
 अन्नेण मणेण तए कुम्भो हयदेव्व सो विणिम्मविओ ।
 अवहत्थिज्जण तं पि हु चरिअं तस्सन्नहा जायं ॥२६॥
 आयारो सो रइओ अणचंकमणं च देव्व तं दिन्नं ।
 कुम्भस्स ववसिएणं सयलं तुह मत्थए पडिअं ॥२७॥
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ हु [12] एत्थ पुरिसाण ।
 कुम्भेण तं खु कलिअं हिअए वि हु जन्न सम्माइ ॥२८॥
 कुम्भो वहेइ भुअणं धुअं हि भुअणस्स उप्परे कुणसि ।
 हयदेव्व साहुचरिअं पुज्जउ किं भस्सए अन्नं ॥२९॥
 आयारो जाई वा ववसाए कारणं न पेच्छामो ।
 मुणिकच्छवे निहालह ववसायं ता[13]ए पेच्छेह ॥३०॥
 सोक्खं च[इ]ज्जण निअं भुअणस्स वि ओड्डिओ तहा खंधो ।
 रे साहु साहु कच्छव अन्नं वडुत्तणं लडं ॥३१॥
 दुज्जणजणो हु जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्डिआ भारे ।
 एअं पि हु तेण कयं वीएणं भणसु जइ भणसु ॥३२॥
 दुज्जणजणो हु जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्डिआ भा[14]रे ।
 पट्ठी वि हु ओड्डिज्जइ एअं निव्वडइ कुम्भस्स ॥३३॥
 निअसुहकज्जे सव्वो इह ववसइ तं खु कमट तेण विणा ।
 चिन्तंतेहिम्बि कच्छव न आणिओ तुह अहिप्पाओ ॥३४॥
 रित्तं भुअणकडित्तं अच्छइ रेहाहि वज्जिअं निअह ।
 वडुत्तणस्स रेहा एक्का कमटस्स तत्थ परं ॥३५॥
 [15] विहिणा तारिसओ च्चिअ [नो?] विहिओ धरउ केण अन्नेण ।
 इअ कुम्भेणं पट्ठी ओड्डिआ भुअणभारस्स ॥३६॥

२४. निभ^०=निदर्शनं. दोन्नि, i.e. अणचंकमणं and ववसाओ ? Compare A. 23, 27.

२५. Read लब्भउ.

२६. तस्स^०=तस्यान्यथा.

२८. जन्न is grammatically incorrect; read जं न. The first verse of this stanza has already occurred in A. 2.

२९. The first letter of धुअं is not quite clear; from धवलत्तं in A. 89, where the same shape of the letter occurs, it becomes certain that धु is meant. The sense is: "For thou, O fate, hast put the polar star above the earth" Compare A. 70, 72, 97. With उप्परे compare उपपरि, Hc. 4, 334, and उप्पि, Gr. § 148.

३१. For ओड्डिओ compare note on A. 4.

३२. One would expect जइ भणसि; compare A. 74. Read वीएणं.

३४. °तेहिम्बि is grammatically and metrically incorrect; read °हिं वि. Gr. § 180

३५. Read रेहाहिं or °हिं.

३६. नो is uncertain. धरउ is incorrect for धरिज्जउ

हीतेहिं अवयवेहिं पडिं ओडुवड जड न ता साहु ।
 तेहिं विण्ण वि पडिं कुम्भो ओडुवड भुअणस्स ॥३७॥
 केणावि जो न दिडो खुन्नी न कया वि एत्थ सुहु नवो ।
 परउ[16]वयरणे मग्गो पढमो कुम्भेण निम्भविओ ॥३८॥
 रे कुम्भ तं सि जाओ अवहेहिं मुहा किमेत्थ जाएहिं ।
 जस्स समप्पिअभारं सुहेहिं भुअणं पि निवसेइ ॥३९॥
 अज्झवसिअं खु तं चिअ जं न हु कइआ वि को वि अणुसरिही ।
 तं कुम्भे चिअ थकं इअरा इअर चिअ वराया ॥४०॥
 [17] निअकज्जे जाण तणू ताणं संखं पि एत्थ को मुणउ ।
 जीअं पि हु परकज्जे जस्स पुणो सो हु कमठवई ॥४१॥
 संखारहिआ जाया भुअणे अणे वि तं पि तह कुम्भ ।
 भङ्गीए पुणो भेओ अओ चिअ तुम्ह निव्वडिओ ॥४२॥
 अच्छउ भुअणुव्वहणं हिअएण वि तन्न जाइ चिन्तेउं ।
 तं पि हु कम[18]टेण कयङ्गरुआण गई असावन्ना ॥४३॥
 पट्ठीए ओडुवणे लोओ चुहुचुहइ कमठरायस्स ।
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं भग्गो न हु मुणइ केरिसयं ॥४४॥
 के के न एत्थ जाया के न हु हीन्ता खणे तहिं पि जणा ।
 मोत्तूण कमठरायं भण भुअणं केण उद्धरिअं ॥४५॥
 सामेण जस्स भुअ[19]णं सयलं अससइ कमठरायस्स ।
 को तेण हीउ सरिसो जाओ जणणीए सो च्चेअ ॥४६॥
 वहुए वि एत्थ जाया तेहिं पि हु किं पि किं पि एत्थ कयं ।
 भुअणुइरणसमत्थो एको चिअ कच्छओ जाओ ॥४७॥
 के के न एत्थ जाया चरियायारेहिं अत्थि ताण समा ।
 कच्छवसरिच्छएणं न य जाओ ने[20]अ जम्मिहिइ ॥४८॥

३७. Read हीतेहिं.

३८. Read अवहेहिं and सुहेहिं.

४०. For थक compare He 4, 16; *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3, 258 f.; 6, 84 ff.

४२. The second verse means: "In one way or another (?), however, another special lot has fallen to you."

४३. तन्न and कयङ्गरु^२ are grammatically incorrect for तं न and कयं गरु^२.

४४. चुहुचुहइ apparently means 'to shout at,' 'to applaud.'

४६. For जणणीए with short ए compare Gr. § 385 and note on A. 1.

४७. Read वहुए; the form is quite unusual and probably wrong. Compare सए, A. 109, नरए, B. 34, and Gr. § 350.

४८. Read रीहिं. अत्थि is used in the sense of सन्ति; see Gr. § 493. For न य जाओ etc. compare A. 10, 16, 55, 55.

जाओ कुम्भ तुमं चित्र अनेहिं मुहा [25] किमेत्य जाएहिं ।
 पायालि मज्जन्तं भुअणं पि हु जेण उअरिअं ॥६२॥
 के के न एत्य जाया ताणं मग्गो वि एस न हु फुरिओ ।
 परउअयरणुज्जाओ एको कुम्भो हु निप्फन्नो ॥६३॥
 परउअयरणे वहा पढमं कुम्भेण एत्य कइविआ ।
 गरुएहिं कया मग्गा पच्छा सीक्खेण गम्भंति ॥६४॥
 दन्तिकिरिपन्नएहिं देखा[26]वेक्खीए धारिआ धरणी ।।
 चक्कमणमणमग्गो निव्वडिअं एत्य कुम्भस्स ॥६५॥
 अणचंक्रमणा इअरे पढमो ववसाइआण इह कुम्भो ।
 जेण रइए हु मग्गे वहा इअराण संपन्ना ॥६६॥
 अणचल्लिराण पढमो विहिणा कुम्भो हु एत्य निम्भविओ ।
 ववसाइआण पढमो सो चित्र पेच्छेह कह जाओ [27] ॥६७॥
 धवा मि कच्छवि तुमं धन्ना जाई वि तुम्हे निप्फम्मा ।
 जीए जाएण कयन्त किं पि न जाइ जं भण्णित्तं ॥६८॥
 रे धरह धरं उअरह तिहुअणं पायडिह तह सत्तिं ।
 देक्खवेक्खीए कयं किरिपमुहा को न उअहसइ ॥६९॥
 कुम्भो धग्गे भुअणं तए समं कीस तं सि धुअ कहसु ।
 लज्जामि न विप्फुर[28]तो अह व अयासाण कह लज्जा ॥७०॥
 अणमग्गोण वि चल्लिरा धन्ना पावन्ति के वि गरुअत्तं ।
 अणमग्गचल्लिरेण वि कुम्भेण कहं जमी पत्तो ॥७१॥
 अणुकूलेण विहिणा धुअ तं जाएसु उअरि भुअणस्स ।
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं सव्वे तुम्हे तले विहिआ ॥७२॥
 कच्छवि तुमं पसूआ अन्नाओ पसविआ[29]ओ वंभाओ ।
 जीअ तणएण तुलिअ तइलीकं वोअनिरवेक्खं ॥७३॥

६२. Read अनेहिं.

६३. उज्जाओ. Gr. § 155.

६४. Read गरुएहिं. वहा = वत्तो. Gr. § 358.

६५. देक्खवेक्खीए, which occurs also in A. 69, apparently means: 'with regard to its being seen,' 'in order that it may be seen,' = दर्शनापेक्षया. चक्कमणमणमग्गो is wrong for चक्कमणमणमग्गो = चंक्रमणमार्ग, 'moving about where there was no path,' as it is clear from the preceding and following stanzas चक्कमण = चाक्रमण; compare He 4 161. निव्वडिअं. He 4. 62.

६८. कयन्त is a blunder for कयं तं.

६९. For देक्खा^० compare note on A. 65.

७०. अयासाण = अवाससाम्, Gr. § 196, 400

७१. पावन्ति, Gr. § 504 चल्लिर and वल्लिर, Gr. § 489, 596.

७३. Read बीअ^०.

सुत्थं भुञ्जं पि कयं संका धरणीए तह समुद्धरिया ।
 किं किन्न किन्न विहिअं कुम्भ तए एत्थ जाएण ॥४८॥
 खेओ सोक्खब्भहिओ भारुव्वहणे विहाइ कुम्भस्स ।
 गरुआण ववसिआणं की मज्झं जाणिउं तरइ ॥५०॥
 भुञ्जंभरुव्वहणेण वि अन्नं सोक्खं विहाइ कमठस्स ।
 [21] जं रुच्चइ तं सुहयं अन्ना हु गर्इ न सोक्खस्स ॥५१॥
 परियत्तंते काले के के हु खणा न एत्थ उप्पन्ना ।
 सी हु खणो एको चिअ जस्सिं कुम्भो समुप्पन्नो ॥५२॥
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं धन्नो जाओ वि तुज्झ सो एको ।
 तह विहुरे जेण तहा जयस्ससत्ती समुप्पसिआ ॥५३॥
 उअयारो गणियाणं जो वि हु सो वि [22] हु कुणेइ इह लोए ।
 भुअ[णस्स] वि उअयरिअं कुम्भेण परं हु एकेण ॥५४॥
 जाओ सो चिअ वुच्चइ जम्भो सहलो हु. तस्स एकस्स ।
 जस्स सरिच्छो भुअणे न य जाओ नेअ जम्महिइ ॥५५॥
 जम्मप्फलो हु जम्भो जो जायइ ह्रीउ ह्रीउ किन्तेण ।
 परउअयरणस्स कए जो जम्भो सो हु फलजम्भो [23] ॥५६॥
 पोढभरणस्स कज्जे [जे जा]या ते मुआ हु तस्मि खणे ।
 परउअयरणस्स कए जाणं जम्भो हु ते धन्ना ॥५७॥
 कमठवइ तं सि जाओ जाएहिस्मि एत्थ किं थ अन्नेहिं ।
 तं किं पि जेण विहिअं अन्नाण मणे न जम्माइ ॥५८॥
 कमठवइ किं भणिज्जउ धन्नो जम्भो हु तुज्झ एकस्स ।
 परउअयरणस्स क[24]ए अप्पा जेणं तहा खविओ ॥५९॥
 निअउअयरणस्स कए सयलो वल्लूण आयरं कुणइ ।
 परउअयरणं अप्पा कुम्भ तय च्चेअ इह विहिओ ॥६०॥
 कइआ वि जो न दिट्ठो न य निसुओ नेअ अणुहवं पत्तो ।
 सो मग्गो पटमं चिअ कुम्भेणं एत्थ कइविओ ॥६१॥

४८. Instead of किन्न किन्न read किं न किं न.

५०. Read °अहिओ. विहाइ=विभाति. तरइ. Hc. 4, 82.

५३. जयस्ससत्ती=जयस्स असत्ती, i.e. जगतोऽशक्तिः; compare Gr. § 395, 173. With विहुरे=विधरे supply the locative जम्मि or जए=जगति. समुप्पसिआ belongs to पुसइ, Hc. 4, 105, and means 'has been wiped off,' i.e. 'has been removed.'

५४. हु is a blunder for खु. Gr. § 94.

५५. सहलो=सफलः.

५६. किन्तेण is a blunder for किं तेण.

५७. हु ते metri causa for ते हु.

५८. 'हिस्मि is wrong for °हिं वि, Gr. § 180. थ, Gr. § 175. मणे Gr. § 409. जम्माइ is wrong for जं माइ.

५९. तय=त्वया is wrong for तइ or तए, Gr. § 421.

६१. कइआ, Gr. § 113. निसुओ, Désin. 4, 27; Pāyāl. 184

Scale two-fifths.

जइ भारो वि हु वुअइ ता वुअइ एत्य कुम्भारसमो ।
 एकलजएण वूढो जेण सया वीअनिरवेक्खो ॥७४॥
 कजेण एत्य उअरिं जो जायइ सो हु तय धुअ मच्चं ।
 उअरिद्धिओ वि हेडे जो ववसाएण पम्भुओ ॥७५॥
 तं कुम्भ एत्य जाओ तए जिअन्तं [30] सि एत्य रे धवो ।
 वीअधुरिएण खंधो जस्स न केणावि उडुरिओ ॥७६॥
 वंभाओ पसविआओ वि सयलाओ वि एत्य अन्नमहिलाओ ।
 विहिआओ कच्छवेणं अन्नं भणिउं न सम्माइ ॥७७॥
 अन्ने वहंति भारं विणा न वीएण ते हु कइआ वि ।
 एकलजएण भारं एको कुम्भो चिअ वहेइ ॥७८॥
 दट्ठूण कुम्भ[31]रूअं जम्भो उव्विमइ अत्तणो वि इहं ।
 दट्ठूण ववसिआइं तस्स पुणो अहिअमुव्विसइ ॥७९॥
 जम्भविणासाण कए जो जम्भो सो हु कस्स न हु एत्य ।
 जम्भफलो पुण जम्भो जाओ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥८०॥
 वीएण विणा वूढं जं वूढं तं खु एत्य मच्चिमयं ।
 अन्नमुहं दट्ठूणं जं वुअइ तं खु जाउ दहे ॥८१॥
 [32] चंकमिअन्तं वुअइ जे[ण] मगे वि दरिसिए इअरा ।
 न चयंति पयं दाउं मगे जह कमढनिम्मविअं ॥८२॥
 धरणिधरणमि हिअयं जाणं जायं खु तेहिं समयं पि ।
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो पेच्छइ एकेण कुम्भेण ॥८३॥
 कमढिणि तं सि पसूआ जीए जाएण सयलमहिलाओ ।
 होन्तेहिम्वि पसवेहिं वंभाओ हडे[33]ण विहिआओ ॥८४॥

७४. Read वुअइ, Gr § 541. For एकल^० see note on A. 17. Read वीअ^०. Instead of the second वुअइ one would expect वुअउ; compare A. 32.

७५. हेडे, Gr § 107. पम्भुओ, Gr. § 196.

७६. Read जिअं तं and वीअ^०. For second verse means: "whose shoulder has not been freed from the burden by a second one able to bear a burden."

७७. Read everywhere उ instead of अ, which is against the metre; compare Gr. § 85, 376.

७८. Read वीएण. For एकल^० see note on A. 17.

७९. The meaning of उव्विसइ is not certain. It seems to mean 'gets tedious.' I have not found the word used where.

८१. Read वीएण and वुअइ. मच्चिमय occurs again in A. 102 and B. 9; it means 'real,' 'true,' Sanskrit: मद्यन्त्य इहे, Gr. § 354; जाउ दहे=यातु इहे seems to be a proverbial saying.

८२. Read चंकमिअं तं. चयंति, Gr. 8, 70; Hc 4, 86. ८३. Read तेहि.

८४. हो^० wrong for होन्तेहिं वि. Gr. § 180. Instead of वंभाओ read उ.

[के के] न एय जाया के न हु अच्छन्ति के न होहिन्ति ।
 तह वि तुह कुम्भ तुम्हो न य जाओ नेअ जम्हिहिइ ॥८५॥
 कज्जसएहिं कएहिंवि किन्तेहिं कएहिं साररहिंएहिं ।
 एकं पि खु तं किज्जइ जह विहिअं एय कुम्भेण ॥८६॥
 दिडे मगे जो वि हु सो वि हु पायडइ निअयववसा[34]यं ।
 केणवि हु अ थाइ (?) कुम्भो चिअ पयटो ॥८७॥
 जाई अइसयहीणा रुअं पुण वोक्षिउं पि न हु जाइ ।
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं तह वि हु लहुईकया पुहई ॥८८॥
 धवला[35]ण गई एसा मुआ वि न मुअन्ति उअह धवलत्तं ।
 कुम्भस्स मयस्स वि कप्परं पि भुअणं समुव्वहइ ॥८९॥
 गरुआण गई एसा अन्ते वि [मुअ]न्ति नेअ अत्ताणं ।
 कुम्भो मओ वि पडिं न हु कइइ कह व धरणीए ॥९०॥
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो सुहिआ धरणी कया जणेण समं ।
 एहिन्तेहिं पि समं जं रुचइ होउ नं कुम्भे ॥९१॥
 उव्वूढो अनेहिंवि भारो धरणीए किं तु मिलिएहिं ।
 एकलजुअस्स घडणा लग्ग[36]वि कुम्भस्स उप्पसा ॥९२॥
 सेसकिरिक्कुम्भदिग्गयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअं लोआ ।
 अया परस्स कज्जे आजमं जेहिं तह खविओ ॥९३॥
 किरिसेसकमढदिग्गयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअं लोआ ।
 चइऊण निअयसोक्खं अया जेहिं तहा खविओ ॥९४॥
 कुम्भेण किं त्य विहिअं लोओ स[37]लहेइ लोअभणिए[ण] ।
 जेण मसेसा पुहई वूढा न हु उअह नीसेसा ॥९५॥
 लोआणं कुम्भस्स य जम्भो जम्भप्फलो विहाइ महं [1]
 कज्जेण पुणो दोन्ह वि विवरोअं अन्तरं गरुअं ॥९६॥
 विरएउ धुअं देवो भुअणस्स वि उप्परे तहा वि वला ।
 निअचरिएहिं पेच्छह कुम्भो चिअ उप्परे जाओ ॥९७॥

८५. The first verse is metrically quite incorrect. Read °सएहिं कएहिं वि किं तेहिं कएहिं. Gr. § 180.

८८. Read वी°.

८९. For कप्परं compare note on B. 45

९१. Read एहिं तेहिं.

९२. Read चनेहिं वि. Gr. § 180. For एकल° see note on A. 17. लग्गवि, Gr. § 598.

९३. Read जेहिं or जेहि, Gr. § 180.

९५. Read थ instead of त्य; compare A. 53.

९६. Read दोणह.

९७. Read वला.

[38] जइ जम्भो चिअ लब्भइ ता लब्भउ कमठजम्भसारिच्छो ।
 अफलेणं अन्नेणं लडेण व होउ न हु कज्जं ॥८८॥
 रे कमठ तुज्ज गोत्ते के न हुआ के न अत्थि होहिंति ।
 सच्चेण पुण भणामो तुज्ज सरिच्छो तुमं चेअ ॥८९॥
 ओ कमठो चिअ जाओ जाएहिंम्वि किं जणेहिं अन्नेहिं ।
 जम्भस्स किं पि [39] सरिसं जीवन्तेहिं न जेहिं कयं ॥९०॥
 जइ जम्भो चिअ लब्भइ ता लब्भउ कमठजम्भसारिच्छो ।
 लडेण व अन्नेणं न हु कज्जं तेण न हु कज्जं ॥९१॥
 पसवच्छलेण गम्भा सविआ सयलाण एत्थ महिलाण ।
 सच्चिमओ पुण पसवो जाओ कमठस्स जणणीए ॥९२॥
 इअराण पसविआ[40]ण वि गम्भा सविआ हु सयलमहिलाण ।
 सच्चेण पसविआ पुण एक चिअ कमठ तुह जणणी ॥९३॥
 अन्नाओ पसविआओ वि नेअ पसूआउ ताण गम्भचुई ।
 जाया सच्चपसवा एक चिअ कमठिणी भुअणे ॥९४॥
 भुअणे वि जा न जाओ सरिसो ता किं करेउ सो वरओ ।
 एकी चिअ वहइ भरं [41] कुम्भो वोअं अपावन्तो ॥९५॥
 एकलधुरिओ सो चिअ भारेण समं पि एत्थ जो वोअं ।
 उव्वहइ उअह भारं अन्तो उण भणिअमेत्तेण ॥९६॥
 कुम्भस्स वि वोसामो दिन्तो एकेण भोअराएण ।
 हरिजण वेरिआसं कुम्भसयं विरइअं तेण ॥९७॥
 गाहासयं न एअं गाहाण सएहिं केवलि[42]हिं कयं ।
 सयवारं एकेकं पढइ जणो जेण तेण सयं ॥९८॥
 एआइं सयाइं तए गाहाण सएहिं नेअ रइआइं ।
 सयवारं आवत्ती जेणं एआण तेण सए ॥९९॥ ॥ ॥
 ॥ इति महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवविरचितं अवनिकूर्मशतम् ॥ ॥
 ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ ॥

८८. Read लब्भइ and लब्भउ

१००. Read जाएहिं वि किं जणेहिं, and in the second verse जेहिं or जेहि.

१०१. Read लब्भइ and लब्भउ.

१०२. Read गम्भा.

१०३. Read गम्भा.

१०४. Read अन्नाओ 'आउ and गम्भ'.

१०५. वरओ=वराकः. Gr. § ५०. Read वीअं.

१०६. For एकल^० see note on A. 17. Read वीअं.

१०८. Read सएहिं^० 'नेहिं, or twice 'हि.

१०९. Read एआइं सयाइं and सएहिं, or the same without Anusvāra. सए must be taken in the sense of सयाइं

Compare वहुए, A. 47 (with note), and गहर, B. 34. तए=तया is rather singular here, since Bhō.a has not been addressed in this ode.

TEXT OF B.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

भुञ्जणाद् वहइ कन्हो वुञ्जइ तस्सेअ निअह कंकालं ।
 हिलाए जेण सो इह तुम्हाण सिवो सिवं देउ ॥१॥
 कुलगिरिणो लहुवविआ जलनिहिणी थाहिआ सकज्जेण ।
 पच्छा धरिआ धरणी सुवहा जेणं हु सा होइ ॥२॥
 कुलगिरिधरणीजलनिहिमेरुप्पमुहा नरेन्द इह [2] पढमं [1]
 लहु[व]विऊणं पच्छा धरिअं भुञ्जणं पि हिलाए ॥३॥
 धरणि चिअ ता गरुई ते गरुआ जे वहंति तं पि पुणो ।
 लहुवविअं पढमं चिअ एअं सयलं तओ वूढं ॥४॥
 धवली सो चिअ वुच्चइ भरधारणवावडेहिं [3] समयं पि ।
 उच्चलइ जो हु भरं सो एकी भीअ तं चेअ ॥५॥
 लहुवविऊणं सयलं भुञ्जणं भरधारणहिं समयं पि ।
 पच्छा वुञ्जइ भूवइ की हु गुणो चडइ इअविहिण ॥६॥
 इह अप्पस्स सयासा वुञ्जइ लहुअं इमेण विहिण्ण ।
 भण चडइ की इह गुणो भूवइ धरणीधरंतस्स ॥७॥
 धरणि तुहं गरुअत्तं कुम्पप्पमुहेहिं एत्थ जं दिव्वां ।
 लीलाए तं हु हरिअं भीएणं इअधरंतण ॥८॥
 भारस्स इह गुरुत्तं [1] धवलाहासेहिं चडइ चडवविअं ।
 सच्चिमधवलेण हिओ भारो वि हु लहइ लघुवत्तं ॥९॥
 कुम्मेण तुह गुरुत्तं करचरणविज्जिण्ण वडुविअं ।
 पच्छा सिसमुहेहिं भीएणं तं कयं पयडं ॥१०॥

१. Read 'कन्हो, कण्हो, वुञ्जइ.

२. लहुववइ is a denominative from लघु according to Gr. § 559, = *लघ्वापयति; compare § 552 and लहुवी = लघ्वा in § 139. It means 'to make light,' 'to reduce in weight,' 'to relieve.' For थाहिआ compare थाह in Gr. § 85; it means 'they have been fixed, made stationary.' हु is wrong for खु.

३. 'प्पमुहा is Acc. Plur.; Gr. § 89, 367A.

४. धवली, D'sin. 5, 57, = यो यस्यां जातावुत्तमः. Read 'डेहि. उच्चलइ, 'to remove,' Gr. § 488, 553.

५. Read 'एहि and वुञ्जइ. For इअ compare Gr. § 116.

६. Read वुञ्जइ. अप्पस्स सयासा लहुअ = आत्मनः सकाशाद्भृशं, 'something lighter than oneself;' compare B 17 चडइ here and in A 9 means 'to be found,' 'to be;' compare Hc. 4, 206, *Materialien*, s. v. *cadai*, and सचडइ B 17.

७. Read 'डेहि, and खु instead of हु. For इअ see note on B. 6.

८. धवली = धवलाभासः. चडवविअं is a double causative from चट् (note on B. 7), as दवावेइ from दा (Gr. § 552); चडइ चड means 'it becomes increased,' = वडुविअं of the next stanza. Read लघुवत्तं.

सचेण वि अइगरुआ धरणी पडिहाइ चिन्तमाणण ।
 इह पुण एसा कलिआ पडिहायइ भोअ कह लहु[5]आ ॥११॥
 चिरपरिचिआण पासा उहालसु लहुववेसु तह धरणिं ।
 तह वि तइ चिअ रत्ता अन्नस मुहं न पुलएइ ॥१२॥
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा एसो भारो हु तुम्ह पडिहन्तो ।
 पुज्जइ सव्वं दिहं तुम्हाण वि गरुडमा मुणिआ ॥१३॥
 तुम्हाण एस भारो पडिहन्तो कुम्भसेसकिरिपमुहा ।
 [6] पेच्छह इमस्स भारं भूराओ भणइ विहसन्तो ॥१४॥
 भारव्वहणसमत्था अज्जावहि जे जयन्मि विक्खाया ।
 ते वि उअ हासपयविं कुम्भप्पमुहा तए नीआ ॥१५॥
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं पसुवग्गे निवडिअस्स पडिहन्तं ।
 भुवणक्कधवल तं चिअ तए कहं कह णु अवहरिअं ॥१६॥
 निअगरुडमाए लहु[7]अं भुअणं काऊण वुअए पच्छा ।
 तुह नहुअत्तमेअं अन्नस्स न कह व संचडइ ॥१७॥
 धरणि तुमं अइगरुइं तुज्ज सयासाओ कच्छओ गरुओ ।
 भोएण सो वि जित्तो गरुआहिम्वि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥१८॥
 अमरिच्छं धरणिभरं धारय वग्गेण सह वहन्तेण ।
 अत्थि गरुआण गरुआ जणवाओ इह तए हरिओ [8] ॥१९॥
 अइदुव्वहो हु भारो धरणि त्ति जणस्स भोअ पडिहन्तं ।
 कह अक्कमेण सो चिअ तए हिओ तं धरन्तेण ॥२०॥
 कुम्भस्स सो हु दप्पो माहप्पो मो हु सेसपमुहाण ।
 धरणिं धरन्तेणं कह णु तए सो हु उप्पसिओ ॥२१॥
 धरणी तए हु धरिआ गरुअत्तं कच्छवस्स अवहरिअं ।
 अकुणन्तेण व काइस्व तस्स त[9]ए पाडिआ वट्टा ॥२२॥
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा सचेण पस्स मए हु विन्नाया ।
 अन्नह हिअयं ताणं न जाइ सयसिक्करं कह णु ॥२३॥

१२. उहालसु. Gr. § 553

१३. १४. पडिहन्तो=प्रतिभान् in the sense of प्रतिभाति.

१५. जयन्मि=जगति, Gr. § 395.

१६. For णु compare note on A. 5

१७. Read वुअए. नहुअत्त apparently belongs to णडुली or णडुली, 'tortoise,' Dēśin. 4, 20. "This thy tortoiseshell... is not at all found with any other."

१८. Read सयासाउ and compare note on B 7. जित्तो. Gr. § 194. Read गरुआहिं वि and compare Gr. § 362

For अत्थि see note on A. 48.

२१. For उप्पसिओ compare note on A. 53.

२२. Read काइं व. For वट्टा see note on A. 51

२३. जाइ=जायते, Gr. § 457. सयं=प्रतशीकार

[illegible]

अज्जावहि गरुअत्तं धरणीसरिनाहपव्वएस्स ठिअम् ।
 गरुअत्तणस्स [14] नामं एहिं ताणं हु अत्थम्विअं ॥३६॥
 गरुअत्तणं हु गरुअं एक्को वह्तिउं न जाव सक्केइ ।
 ता पुव्वेहिं विहत्तं तं पि तए लहुइअं कह णु ॥३७॥
 मह गरुअत्तं सा तह य गरुइमा दो वि तह य हरिआइं ।
 अइरडिरलहरिआहिं सरिनाहो निअह रोवेइ ॥३८॥
 तइ उप्पन्ने भूवइ गरुअत्तं ताण वि अलिअं जाव ।
 पस[15]रंतनिज्झरनिहा कुलगिरिणी ताव रोवन्ति ॥३९॥
 जत्थ पुरिसाण हिज्जइ गरुअत्तं तत्थ महिलिआण कहं ।
 अणथक्कं पुहई वि हु रोवइ सरिआण भंगीए ॥४०॥
 धरणीए तले कुम्भो कीलप्पमुहा वि लज्जिआ लुक्का ।
 जा लहुअत्तं तीए पुहईए कयं हु भोएण ॥४१॥
 जा मरिऊणं धरिआ कुम्भप्पमुहेहिं क[16]ह वि इह धरणी ।
 सा विहिआ खेळणयं भोअ तए इह धरन्तेण ॥४२॥
 धरणीए समं धरिआ कुलगिरिपमुहा हु जाव तेण समं ।
 जलनिहिणा तुट्ठेणं अज्जं वेला तुहं गहिआ ॥४३॥
 पुहईए गरुअत्तं अज्जावहि नेअ केण वि निरुइं ।
 धरिऊण तए एअं लहुईलहुअ त्ति नाम कयं ॥४४॥
 तहनमिअकप्पर[17]णं धरणी एह धारिआ कहं कह व ।
 सा नीसंका अज्जं हसेइ गिरिनिज्झरनिहेण ॥४५॥
 लहुअविआ हु धरणी कुलगिरिणी खव्विआ सरीनाहो ।
 अणगहिरो निम्भविओ कस्स निमित्तस्स मह कहसु ॥४६॥
 धरणी अज्जं हिट्ठा तइ धरिआ भोअ सन्नए एअं ।
 पुरिसोत्तिमेण रइअं लहुअत्तं गरुइमअ[18]हिअं ॥४७॥
 कमटो धरेइ धरणिं आएणं गरुइमा वि अइलहुई ।
 तइ धरिआ पुण सा वि हु पेच्छसु कं गरुइमं पत्ता ॥४८॥

३६. Read ठिअं, एहिं, खु, अत्थम्विअं.

३८. निअह, Hc. 4, 181.

४१. लुक्क, Gr. § 506. Read खु.

४३. I think we must write लहुईलहुअ=°हुआ and translate this by 'lighter than light'.

४५. कप्पर=the shell of the tortoise; compare A. 89. एह, i.e. ēha=एषा, Gr. § 263.

४६. For खव्विआ from चपय (root चि) compare णव्वइ, Gr. § 549.

४७. हिट्ठा, Désin. 8, 67. Read °अ°. गरुइमं=गरुइमं अअ°, Gr. § 178.

४८. आएणं, Gr. § 429.

३७. Read खु and पुव्वेहि. विहत्तं=विमरु.

४०. For अणथक्कं see note on A. 40.

४२. Read °मुहेहि. खेळ°, Gr. § 206.

४४. Read °लहुइलहुअ.

लहुअत्तं तुह दिन्नं मा मन्नसु धरणि भोअराएण ।
तेण धरिआ सि एअं गरुअण वि गरुडमं देइ ॥४८॥
कुम्मविणासे खुहिआ अजावहि संकिआ ठिआ धरणी ।
तइ धरिआ पु[19]ण एहिं सप्पसरा पुण व सप्पसरा ॥५०॥
लहुआविआ वि पुहई अप्पं लहुआविअं न मन्नेइ ।
न गणंति किं पि दइए रत्तुअत्ताओ महिलाओ ॥५१॥
लहुअविआ वि हु हई भोअ तए मुणइ गरुअमत्ताणं ।
महिलाण पिएण कयं सयलं लडहं पडिहाइ ॥५२॥
कुम्मेण धरा धरिआ लहुअं अप्पं सया [20] वि मन्नन्ती ।
तइ धरिआ पुण एसा दूणं अत्ताणयं लहइ ॥५३॥
जो गारओ हु दिन्नो पसूहिं सो होइ एत्थ केरिसओ ।
लहुअत्तणं तइ कयं पडिहाइ महीए अइगरुअं ॥५४॥
लहुअत्तं गरुअत्तं भारस्स चडेइ धारएण कयं ।
गरुअविआ कुम्मेण धरणी लहुआविआ हु तए ॥५५॥
गरुअत्त[21]णं पि दिन्नं पसूहिं पडिहाइ लहुडमअहिअं ।
तइ दिन्नं लहुअत्तं पडिहायइ गरुडमअहिअं ॥५६॥
मरिज्जण जो धरिज्जइ भारो इह कुम्म सो हु केरिसओ ।
अइपलहुआए तुम्हे इमीए कह कायरा जाया ॥५७॥
गरुएणं लहुअत्तं उअणीअं गरुडमं पि इह देइ ।
इअ मायरपमुहा[22]णं हिअए खिओ न तणुओ वि ॥५८॥
दाऊणं लहुअत्तं मइ धरणीगरुडमा हु वड्ढविआ ।
भूवइ पुहईए तए इअ तीए वड्ढिओ हरिसो ॥५९॥
पेच्छंताण सरूअं पुहईसरिनाहकुलगिरिमुहाण ।
गरुअत्तं पडिहायइ तइ कलिए कह णु लहुअत्तं ॥६०॥
लोअ पसिडीए कए गरुअत्तं पलहुए वि प[23]यडेइ ।
भारे कह तं सि पुणो गरुअं लहुअं हु पायडमि ॥६१॥
एआए गरुअत्तं तुम्हेहिं कुम्म पयडिअं एत्थ ।
खगगगतोलिआए पेच्छह रं गौरवमिमीए ॥६२॥

५०. Read एहिं. सप्पसरा=सप्रसरा.

५१. Read ^१लाउ ^२लाउ.

५२. लडहं=रस्यं, DeSim 7, 17.

५३. Read पसूहि.

५६. The Anusvara in दिन्न is not certain. Read पसूहि and twice ^१अहिअं, and compare note on B 47.

६१. लीअ must be taken as Nominative according to Gr. § 364. The Anusvara in गरुअं is not quite certain. Read खु instead of हु. पायडमि Gr. § 77, 491.

६२. Read गौरव^१.

केत्तिअमेत्ते भारे कन्ह तए पोरिसं पमोत्तूण ।
 रुअसयाइं कयाइं लोए लहुवाविओ अप्पा ॥६३॥
 पुहइं चेलयसरिसा कुलगिरि[24]पमुहा तहेअ पडिआणं ।
 तोलिज्जइ गरुअत्तं भुएण एअं तुमं कुणसि ॥६४॥
 भारस्स वहेणकज्जे पट्टी सीसं इहं कयं विहिणा ।
 मणिवलओ व्व धरिज्जइ भारो एसो नवा वट्टा ॥६५॥
 जं जं गरुअं जं जं च दुव्वहं जं च जं च अणसकं ।
 तं तं कुणंतएणं कन्हो लहुआविओ भोअ ॥६६॥
 इमिणा [25] गरुअत्तेणं पुहइ तए गरुइमा इमा लडा ।
 पेच्छेसु पलहुअत्तं असिणा अप्पस्स तुलिआए ॥६७॥
 मा मज्जउ जलमज्जे मा सरिनाहा मिलंतु गोत्तस्स ।
 इअ तं दयाए धरणिं लोअस्स इमस्स उव्वहसि ॥६८॥
 धरणी धरंगणसमा ककरसरिसा तहेअ कुलगिरिणी ।
 [26] हीभारे कलिए तए भोअ ॥६९॥
 सरिनाहपुहइपमुहा रुटा गरुअत्तेण इह लोए ।
 गरुआणं लहुववणे किं हु फलं तुज्ज सिज्जइ ॥७०॥
 आरोविअवडुत्ते भारे अप्पस्स गारवं लोआ ।
 देन्ति तुमं पुण साहसु विवरीअं ताण ववहरसि ॥७१॥
 लहुइं करेसु ध [27] कुणसु अन्नं पि ।
 तइ सा तहा वि रत्ता सयलं लडहं तुहं गणइ ॥७२॥
 काऊणं लहुअत्तं भोगं अप्पं तुहं पयासंती ।
 धरणी करमहकए अप्पं तुह भोअ ओप्पेइ ॥७३॥
 धरणीए लहुअत्तं तं इह निअवसु कुणसु जं महिअं ।
 तुह सत्तीए इमीए अन्नं गरुअत्तणं च . . . ॥७४॥
 [28] गोरविअं लहुअं विडलं महिं धरंतेण ।
 कइ णु तए अइचीज्जं अओ च्चिअ गारवो दिओ ॥७५॥

६३. Read कयइ and सयाइं.

६५. वट्टा = वर्मा; see note on A. 64.

६७. Between सि and आ of असिणा a kind of symbol is inserted.

७०. Read खु instead of हु.

७३. पयासंती = प्रकाशयन्ती, Gr. § 553. ओप्पेइ, Gr. § 104.

७४. निअवसु, Gr. § 553. महिअं = काङ्क्षितं; compare note on Hc. 4, 129. च . . . probably = चयित्तं.

compare B. 7, 9.

७५. अइचीज्जं = अत्युत्तमं or अत्यार्यम्, Pāṇyā. 165; Désin. 3, 14-

६४. पडिआणं = पतितानां belongs to गरुअत्त.

६६. अणसकं = अणकम्. Read करहो.

मा मन्नसु धरणि तुमं मट्टिअभारो हु जं महं गरुओ ।
 भोएण तं मि धरिआ एसो भारो तुहं गरुओ ॥७६॥
 गरुअत्तं तं मन्नसि धरणि इहं जं पसूहिं तुह दिन्नं ।
 तुह ग [29] तुमं धरिआ ॥७७॥
 जलनिहिणी थाहविआ लहुअविआ कुलगिरी तहा धरणी ।
 अज्ज वि तं किं काहिसि न याणिमो भोअ मह कहसु ॥७८॥
 पट्टोए वड्ड कुम्भो मेसो सीसेण तह रण किरि ।
 एअं तं वहु मन्नसु इअ भोओ जं करे धरइ ॥७९॥
 अइभारिआ मए कि [30] [क]मठ मा गज्ज ।
 उव्वहसु पेच्छ धरिआ भोएणं कह इमा अज्ज ॥८०॥
 मा कमठ वन्नसु गव्वं मा तं इह सेम उत्तुणो होसु ।
 धरणिभरो केत्तुलओ गरुआहिम्वि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥८१॥
 कलिअं भोएण महिं दट्ठूणं मा हु सुणह लहुअ त्ति ।
 कुम्ममुहा गरुअत्तं एआए तु [31] [॥८२॥] ।
 लहुवविउं गउरविउं भोअ तुमं चेअ एत्थ जाणिसि ।
 लहुवविआ मा वि मही वड्डविआ मा वि भत्तीए ॥८३॥
 धरणि पसूहिं दिन्नं गरुअत्तं तुह विहाइ केरिसयं ।
 लहुअन्तेणं दिन्नं भोएणं तं पि केरिसयं ॥८४॥
 हरिउणं पसुहया भोएणं धरणि जं तुमं थरिण ।
 ह . . [32] सह मच्चं तं तुहं दाउं ॥८५॥
 दुट्ठं न य विगयमि जंपसि न य किं पि कुणसि न विरुहं ।
 मउणिणं वि अरुअत्तं गरुआणं कह तुमं हरमि ॥८६॥
 लहुवविआ हु धरणीकुलगिरी मायरा वि थाहविआ ।
 एत्तुलएण कएणं किं विहिअं होइ मह कहसु ॥८७॥
 ह . . [33] काऊण कुलगिणियमसो ।
 भोअ तए पढम चिअ जह रुअ वहुसु तह एहिं ॥८८॥
 कमठकडाहठिआए गरुअत्तं तुज्ज पुहइ केरिसयं ।
 सोहिअभोअभुआए केरिसयं तं पि मह कहसु ॥८९॥

७७. Read पसूहि.

७८. For थाहविआ see note on B. 2. ७९. रण=रदेन. Read वड्ड.

८१. उत्तुणी=दृप्तः, Désin. 1, 99; *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 13, 1. Read गरुआहिं वि and see note on B. 18.

८३. वड्डविआ=*वडापिता from वड्डी=महान्, Désin. 7, 29, which has been retranslated into Sanskrit by वड्ड.

८८. Read एहिं.

धरणी ता लहुवविष्ठा कुलगिरिणी सायरा इमं गय[ण] ।

[31] तुह हिअयं कह व न हु धाद ॥८०॥

वहुत्त पमुदिन्न अवहरिज्जं महीए भोएण ।

अन्नं चिअ गुरुअत्तं दिअं जं माइ न हु हिअए ॥८१॥

केरिसयं पमुदिन्न दिअं पुरिसिहिं केरिसं होइ ।

गुरुअत्तं धरणि सुयं साहसु कह केण गौरविअं ॥८२॥

धरणिमुत्ता लहुवविष्ठा[विष्ठा] ए[?] वि सयला वि ।

पच्छा भारी वृटी भरिन्ह सच्चं दरिन्दी सि ॥८३॥

गुरुअत्तं गुरुअत्तं वृत्तिअं रोविअं हु तं अप्पे ।

परगरुद्धमाए गुरुओ अप्पा भण केरिसो होइ ॥८४॥

जी अप्पस वयासा भारी गुरुओ हु वुअए सो हु ।

धरणिवहणेण भूवइ को तुक्क [36] [॥८५॥]

कुम्भकिरिससद्दिगयपमुहे चिणिज्जं भोअ सयलपसु ।

क पौरिवं विअत्तं पमुअणं होइ मह कहसु ॥८६॥

कुलगिरितायामुद्धावसुहे लहुअसि को निवारइ ।

पगलाउवकरणेण अये भण को गुणी चडइ ॥८७॥

कह कह वि सय [३७] एय जाव रुहा ।

लहुवविष्ठा ता अन्नं वल्लभं तए समुत्तुटा ॥८८॥

अज्जावहि गुरुअत्तं लोए जाणं सुदूरमारुढं ।

ताण वि कह लहुअत्तं केदूरं पेच्छ आरुढं ॥८९॥

लहुवावसु तं धरणिं पिट्सु दण्डेण कुणसु अन्नं पि ।

जं रुद्धं तं विरयसु तइ र [38] णि ॥९०॥

कमठकडाहं फट्टं किरिणी दाढा गया हु सयसाहं ।

जीए भरेण महीए खगगगे धरसि कह तं पि ॥९१॥

गरुणं गुरुअत्तं अवहरिअं नेअ कह व फिट्ठेइ ।

तन्तस चिअ लहुअ इअराण पुणी तह वेअ ॥९२॥

८२. Read पुरिसिहिं and गौरविअं.

८४. Read खु instead of हु.

८६. विट्ठक Gr § 123, 236, 565 जिणण is derived from the stem of the present जिण-; Gr § 173.

८७. For चडइ compare note on L. 7.

८९. केदूर Gr § 177.

९०. फट्ट=फड. Desm. o. 87. =सपेस्य सर्वशरीरं फण्ड. दाढा, Gr § 76. गया सयसाहं=गता, खदगाधराण्य.

Grieve at the change, compare note on L. 6.

९२. फिट्ठेइ. Gr § 177. Read तं तस्य.

८५. For सयासा compare note on B. 7. Read वल्लभ.

८८. Read वल्लभं व.

९०. For पिट्सु see Weber on Bāla, 171.

तद् धरिओ धरणिभरो लहुओ वलय[39]म्ब तुह भुए सहइ ।
 कुम्पमुहेहिं सो वि हु चडिओ भारो व पडिहाइ ॥१०३॥
 धरणी सहावगरुआ भोएणं धारिअ ति अइगरुआ ।
 एहिं इमीए समुहं को पेच्छह पेच्छिउत्तरइ ॥१०४॥
 अलिमालहिमाइगुणे तुह आयत्ते मए हु विनायं ।
 लहुआविआ वि धरणी क[40]ह गु तए सा वि गौरविआ ॥१०५॥
 लहुआविआ हु धरणी लहुअविअं मन्नए न अप्पाणं ।
 तद् लहुअ ति एसा गरुअं अत्ताणयं मुणइ ॥१०६॥
 दिओ वि हु कहेणं इमीए इह गारओ हु खोणीए ।
 पडिहाइ नेअ गरुओ लहुअत्तं तद् कयं गरुअं ॥१०७॥
 मिलवि [41] पसूहिं धरिआ संकिअवित्तासकंपिरो थका ।
 धरणी कंप्पुम्मा अज्जपरं भोअ संपन्ना ॥१०८॥
 कुलगिरिणी भूमिहरा सयला वि हु लहुइआ इहं जेण ।
 तेण सयं निम्मविअं एअं सिरिभोअराएण ॥१०९॥ ॥

No. 26.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KILBORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 36 dates of Chôla kings. The most important of them is No. 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr. Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parāntaka I. and, together with my date No. 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. Of the other dates, one (No. 102) is of the reign of Rājendra-Chôla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Rājarāja II.; 3 dates (Nos. 103-105) belong to Vikrama-Chôla, 8 (Nos. 107-114) to Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. (Vīrarājendra-Chôladēva, Tribhuvanavīradēva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Rājarāja III., and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Rājendra-Chôla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained: at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Rājendra-Chôla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March¹ and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Rājarāja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July² A.D. 1146; Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. between (approximately) the 6th³ and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Rājarāja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.⁴

१०३. Read वलय व. सहइ, Hc. 4, 100. Read °हेहिं.

१०४. Read एहिं ṇhim समुहं=संमुखं. Read पेच्छिउं तरइ and compare note on A. 50.

१०५. Read गौर°.

१०७. Read कहेणं.

¹ See No. 102.

² See No. 108.

१०८. मिलवि, Gr. § 588. For थका see note on A. 40.

³ See No. 106.

⁴ See Nos. 129 and 119.

E. H. R. 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 265

Mr. Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the King Parāntaka I., which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. and Rājādhirāja II., because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr. Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

A.—PARANTAKA I.

101.—In the Śivalōkanatha temple at Grāmam.¹

16 Svasti śrī [||*] Kali[y*] nālyinattu nār[pa]-
 17 'ttu nālu Madirako da kō=Pparakēsaripagmay-
 18 ku yāṇḍu 55āvadu Kali[y*]a [nna] nāl
 19 padināngu-nūṛā[y*]irattu du[ba] [i]rattu
 20 muppattu ēlu
 22 i[v]v-āṭṭai Ma-
 23 [gara-nā]yarru=Chchapi-kkiṭṭai perra ²Iravadi-n[ā].

“(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 36th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai.—on the fourteen-hundred-thousand, seven[ty] [thousand] thirty-seventh day Kaliyuga on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Ma[kara] in this year.”

For the current year 4044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, which by the Ârya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which [the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Magha ended 18 h. 21 m., while] the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-saṁkrānti, according to the Ârya-siddhānta, had taken place 8 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A.D. 942, when the *ahargana*, calculated by Warren's Table, was 1477014d. 8 h. 33 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 1477015th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, the 1477037th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol. VII. p. 1. I have stated that between A.D. 900 and 935 the Chola date No. 55, which is of the 40th year of the reign of Parāntaka I., must correspond to either the 24th July A.D. 919 or the 25th July A.D. 946. The present date No. 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A.D. 943, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No. 55. And the two dates together prove that Parāntaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chōla date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No. 6 of Ś. 1030, and No. 16 of Ś. 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarājendra, which does not admit of verification.

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

102.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.³

1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tiru maṇṇ[i] vaṭara kō=
 [Ppa][ra*]kēsaripa[nma]r-āṇa śrī-Rājēnta(ndra)-Chōladēvaṅku [yāṇḍu 55āvadu]

¹ No. 735 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² Read *Irēvadi*.

³ No. 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

2 ivv-āṇḍu Mēsha-nā[ya*]ṛṛu Śiv[va[ly*]-kkilamaṇi
pṛṇṇa Śadaiya-ttir[unā]l.¹

"In [the 5th year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the glorious Rājendra-Chōlādēva,—on the auspicious(?) day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year."

According to the result previously² found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. this date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1016 or A.D. 1017. In A.D. 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday on which the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 28th March A.D. 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitra ended 21 h. 33 m. while] the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system from 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m. to 21 h. 42 m. and by the Bṛahma-siddhānta from 6 h. 34 m. to 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.—I can give no special reason why the day should be described as 'the auspicious day of Śatabhishaj.'

The date would prove that the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D. 1012.

C.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

103.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.³

1 Svasti [śrī H*] Pū-mālai midaiṇḍu
5 kō=Pparakēsaripaṇmar-aṇa Tirubhu[va*]ṇachakravattigal śrī-Vikrama-
Śrī[va[ka*]ku y[ā]ṇḍu
6 maṇḍa lēṇa[ḥa n]āyarru [p ā[rvva]-pakṣi
ya[va*] pṇṇu Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōlādēva,—on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishthya) ended 16 h. 22 m. while the *nakṣatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h. 29 m., and according to Garga for 12 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

104.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

1 Tiru[va]ṇa[pa]ra[ra]
5 kō Pparakēsaripaṇ[ma]r-aṇa Tirubhu[va*]ṇachakravattigal [Vi]krama-
Śrī[va[ka*]ku y[ā]ṇḍu
6 maṇḍa lēṇa[ḥa n]āyarru [p ā[rvva]-pakṣi
ya[va*] pṇṇu Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōlādēva,—on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

There is no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the original form of the original should have been *pū[va]-pakṣi*

¹ See also Mr. Vankar's reading to all appearances as given above, but he adds that *ten ad* may be intended.

² See also Mr. Vankar's reading to all appearances as given above, but he adds that *ten ad* may be intended.

³ See also Mr. Vankar's reading to all appearances as given above, but he adds that *ten ad* may be intended.

⁴ See also Mr. Vankar's reading to all appearances as given above, but he adds that *ten ad* may be intended.

⁵ No. 264 of the Government Epigraphists' Collection for 1904.

No. 264 of the Government Epigraphists' Collection for 1904.

105.— In the Tyāgarāgamaṇḍapa temple at Tiruvārūr.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-mādu punara . . .
 2 kō=Pparakēsaripannama-āṇḍa
 Vi[k]kirama-Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu
 tritīyayum Śēvāy-kkīlamsiyum perṇa

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Revatī, which corresponded to Tuesday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śmāṣṭa."

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1117**, which was the 22nd day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) commenced 0 h. 34 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Révati** from 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA II.

106.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvallaṅḡuḷi.¹

- 1 || Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādu[m]
 5 kō=Pparakē[sa]ripa[nma]ṇḍaṇḍa
 śrī-Rājarājadēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu padin[ā]rāva[ṇi]-
 6 [ṇ e]dirām=āṇḍu Kaṛka[ḍa]ga-nā[ya]rṇu
 ki[ḷa]mayum perṇa Pu[ṇa]rpūsaṇu nā.

"In the year opposite the sixteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rajarajadeva,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the twelfth *tithi* [of the second fortnight] of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

According to the result previously² found for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja II., this date would be expected to fall in either A.D. 1162 or A.D. 1163. For A.D. 1163 my calculation has yielded no result that could be at all acceptable. Nor can a perfectly correct result be obtained for A.D. 1162; but in this year the chance would only lie between **Wednesday, the 11th July**, and **Thursday, the 12th July**, as may be seen from the following details:—

Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, was the 15th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**. The 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended on this day 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; but the *nakshatra* was **Ārdra** (by the Brahma-siddhānta for 8 h. 32 m. according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise), followed by **Punarvasu**. On the other hand—

Thursday, the 12th July A.D. 1162, was the 16th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**. On this day the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 59 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise, but the *tithi* which ended on it, 1 h. 0 m. after mean sunrise, was the 13th, not the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha).

Obliged to choose between the two, I would decide in favour of **Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162**, and assume that in the original date the *nakshatra* **Punarvasu** has been erroneously quoted instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* **Ārdra**.

¹ No. 556 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² Read *-paḷḷattā*.

³ Compare below, No. 121.

⁴ No. 626 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁵ See above, p. 2.

I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1173 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1168, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Rājārāja II. be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

107.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.¹

- 1 [Sva]ṣṭi śrī [T] T[i]r[i]buvaṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga-Śō]la-
dēvar[akka] yāṇḍu n[ā]-
2 lāṇadu Mīṇa-nāyarṇu [pū*]rva-pakshattu pañjamiyum V[i]yāla-kkiḷamai-
yum per[ra*]
3 [U]rōṣa[ni]-nā!

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra²) ended 9 h. 25 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi for 20 h. 21 m. or 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

108.—In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

- 1 Svaṣṭi śrī [T] T[i]r[i]buvaṇach[cha][kka*]ravattiga! śrī-[Vi]rārāśē[ṇḍa]ra-
Śō[ḷa]dēvar[akka] yāṇḍu ā[rā]vadu Kaṛkaḍaga-nāyarṇu apara-pakkshat[ta*]
2 [U]rōṣa[ni]-nā!

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virārājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi the whole day. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, was the 11th, not the 12th, of the dark half (of Āshāḍha).—The result shows that in the original the 12th *tithi* was incorrectly noted instead of the 11th.

The result would also show that the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.⁵

- 1 Svaṣṭi śrī [T] T[i]r[i]buvaṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Vīrārāśēnd[i]ra-Śō[ḷa]-
dēvar[akka] yāṇḍu ā[rā]vadu Kaṛkaḍaga-nā[ya]rṇu apara-
2 [U]rōṣa[ni]-nā!

¹ No. 415 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² This *tithi* is a Kaṭikā.

³ No. 416 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ Read *śōḷa* for *śōḷa*.

⁵ No. 417 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The engraver has corrected *ni* into *nā*.

"In the sixth [year] (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōla[dēva],—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.—In the Chandramaṇḍīśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai.¹

1 k[o]ṇḍ-aru[i]ṇa śrī-Kul[ō]ttuṅga-
 Śōladēvaṅku iy[ā]ṇḍu lēvaḍu Magara-nāyya(ya)ṅṅu irubattunālān=
 diyadiyum Tīṅgal-[ki]lamaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakshattu navamiyum perṅa
 Aṇḍilattu nāl.

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take, —on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-saṁkrānti took place 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 19 h. 8 m., while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 40 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.²

1 [Sva]sti śrī [[*] Tribh[u]vanachchakkaravat[ti]gaḷ Madurai[yum] Ūlamum
 Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalai[yum]
 2 k[o]ṇḍ-arūliya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku [yāṇ]ḍu i[ru]ba[d]āvaḍu Ishaba-nāyṅṅu
 3 apara-pakkattu ēkāda[sī]yum [N]āyār[ṅu-kki]lamaiyu[m] perṅa U[t]tirāḍa[t*]ti=nāl.

"In the twentieth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ūlam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatra* on this day was Uttara-Bhadrāpadā, for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.—The result shows that in the original U[t]tirāḍa[t*]ti= is an error for Uttirāḍādi.³

112.—In the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kallā-Perumbūr.⁴

1 [Ha]ra Svast[i] ēr[i] [[*] T[i]r[i]buvāṇa[chcha]kkaṇavatt[i]gaḷ! Ma]-
 2 durai[yum] Ūla[mu]m Pāṇḍiyan m[u]ḍi-ttalaiy[u]n=
 3 [Garu*]vū[ru*]n=gōṇḍ-arūliya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku
 4 . . ḍu yāṇḍu 23vaḍu Vṛīschika-nāyṅṅu apara-pakshattu tray[ō]-
 5 daś[iyum] Tīn[ga]t-k[i]lamai[yum] [p]erṅa Viśā[gat]tu [nāl].

¹ No. 193 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² No. 430 of the same collection.

³ In the month of Rishabha an 11th *tithi* of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā (*Uttirāḍam*).

⁴ No. 585 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Îlam, the crowned head of the Pândya and Karuvûr,—on the day of Visâkhâ, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kârttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the *nakshatra* was Visâkhâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta from 1 h. 58 m., according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.—In the Kailâsanâthasvâmin temple at Kaḷḷa-Perumbûr.¹

- 1 [Ha]ra Svasti âri [||*] Tiribuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga! Madu[r]ai[yu*].
- 2 [m*] [Î]lamum Pândiyaṇ mudi-talaiyu[m*] konḍu aruli-
- 3 [ya] âri-Kulô[t]tuṅga-Ŝôladêvaṇkku yâṇḍu 25-
- 4 vadu Kaṇkadaga-nâyaṇ[ru*] [pû]rvva-paksha[t*]tu pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum Budan-kiḷa-
- [m]ai pe[ṛra*]
- 5 Utt[i]ra[ttu] nâḷ].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Îlam and the crowned head of the Pândya,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkâṭaka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 23th day of the month of Karkâṭaka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th, not the 5th, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrâvâṇa²).—Accordingly, we should have expected *chaturthiyum* in the original instead of *pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum*.

114.—In the Vêdâranyêśvara temple at Vêdâranyam.³

- 1 Svasti âr[i] [||*] T[i]r[i]buvana[ch]chakkaravattiga! Madurai[y]u[m]
- Ka[ru]vûrum Pândi[ya]ṇ muḍ[i].
- 2 ttalaiyuṇ-gonḍu virar abishêgamum visaiyar abishêgamum panniy-a[ru]ḷiṇa Tiri-
- 3 buvaṇavîradêvaṇkku yâṇḍu 3[2]vadu Daṇu-nâyaṇṇu apara-pakshattu na[va]mi-
- yum Ti-
- 4 nḡaṭ-ki[ḷa]maiym perṛa Sittirai-nâḷ].

"In the 3[2]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanaviradêva, who took Madurai, Karuvûr and the crowned head of the Pândya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Chitrâ, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the *nakshatra* was Chitrâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa).—Accordingly, we should have expected *aṣṭamiyum* in the original instead of *na[va]miyum*.

¹ No. 584 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² I.e. the *Gaṇêśa-chaturthi*.

³ No. 427 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

F.—RAJARAJA III.

115.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Agattiyānpalli.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiriba(bu)va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]rt[ti]gaḥ śrī-Rājarājadēva[k]ku
yāṇḍu iraṇ[d]āvadu Kumba-nāyaṅṅu-ppūrva-pakkasha(paksha)-dudigaiyum²
Tiṅga-kiḷamaiyum peṅga Śadaiyattu nāl.

"In the second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.—In the Āmalakēśvara temple at Tirunellikkāval.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvāṇa[ch]chakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Irāja[r]ājadēva[r]kku yāṇḍu
eṭṭāvaḍiṇṇ edirām-āṇḍu Kumma(mba)-nāyaṅṅu pūrva-pakshattu chaturdeśiyum
Nāyaṅṅu-kkila-
2 maiyum⁴ peṅga Pūrat[tu nāl].

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.⁵

117.—In the Akshayalingēśvara temple at Kivālūr.⁶

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Tiribu[va]ṇachchakkara[va]ttigaḥ [śrī-Rāja*?]rājadēvaṅṅu
yāṇḍu pa[t]tāvadu Mēsha-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu chatatthiyum Velli-
kkilamaiyum peṅga Mūlattu nāl.

"In the tenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, [the glorious Rāja]rājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² *Dudigai* is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *dviṭyā*.

³ No. 523 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ The *ai* of *mai* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

⁵ The Mīna-makrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225.

⁶ No. 517 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

118.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūli.¹

1 Tiribuvanaśa[k]karava[t]tigaḷ śiri-[Rāja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu
 12ā[va]du Śinna-nā[ya]ṛṛu apara-pakkashat[t]u² [śa]dutti[yu]m Tiṅgaḷ-
 [k]iḷamaiyum peṛṛa Utti

“In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rāja]rā[ja]dēva,— [on the day of] Utta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śimha.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227, which was the 6th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 17 h. 13 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.— The result shows that the last words of the original date must have been *Uttirattādi-ndi*.

119.— In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

1 [Sva]sti śrī [||*] Tiri[b]uvanaścha[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-Irājāirājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
 pad[i]nāgāvadu Kaṛkaḍaga-nāyaṛṛu paḍiṇālān=d[i]-
 2 yadiy-āṇa Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiy[u]m Aṇ[i]lamum=āṇav-
 āṇṇu.

“In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which was the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Thursday, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231. In A.D. 1231 the Karkāṭa-saṅkrānti took place 9 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was Thursday, the 10th July. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 15 h. 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1218.

120.— In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvāṇṇamalai.⁴

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tir[i]bu[va]nāchakkara[va]ttigaḷ śrī-Rājārājadē[vakku] yāṇḍu
 16vadu Iṣapa(ba)-nāyaṛṛu iṇu[ba]ttettān=diyadiyam Śaṇ[i]-k[ki]ḷamaiyum peṛṛa
 Mirugaś[i]rishattu nāḷ.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Mṛigaśīras, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232. In A.D. 1232 the Rishabha-saṅkrānti took place 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day of the month of Rishabha therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīras, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² Read *-pakkashattu*.

³ No. 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 485 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

121.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[ir]v[ann]achchakkaravattigai śrī-Irājāradēvaṅku yāṇḍu
18vaṇḍu Kārttigai-mādam piṇḍa padinēlāṇ(n)=diyaḍi[y]=āṇṇa Nāyaru-
kk[i]lamaiyum Rēvatium daśamiyum [p]eṇṇa
2 iṇṇu.

“In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on this day, which corresponds to the tenth *tithi*, to (the day of) Rēvati and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kārttigai.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vṛ̥schika-samkrānti took place 18 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vṛ̥schika or Kārttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 13th November. On this day the 10th *tithi* (of the bright half of Mārgaśīra) ended 2 h. 16 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati from² 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

122.— In the Akṣayaṅgēśvara temple at Kīvalur.³

- 1 Ōm svasti śrī [||*] Tr[ir]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḥ śrī-Irājāradēvaṅku yāṇḍu
pad[i]ṇ-ē[t]tāva[ḍu] Dha]nu-[n]āyaru apara-pakṣattu Nāyaru-
Nāya-
2 iṇṇu-kk[i]lamaiyum peṇṇa Atta[t*]tu nāḥ.

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanu (and the day of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti that took place 1 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Paṇṣa) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

123.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.⁴

- 1 . . . [n]achcha[k]karavatt[i]gaḥ śrī-Rājarājadēva[ṅ]ku y[ā]ṇḍu 13[ā]vaḍu
Mi[ḍu]ṇa-nāyaru=pp[ā]rva-pakṣattu tiraiyōdeśiyum Nāyaru-kk[i]lamaiyum
peṇṇa Kē[t]ai-nāḥ.

“In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Jyēsthā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āśāḍha) ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was Jyēsthā, by the equal space system the whole day,

¹ No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the *nakṣatra* (Uttara-Bhādrapada) at the commencement of the day, but with the *nakṣatra* (Rēvati) which only commenced 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos. 102, 105 and 112.

³ No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 496 of the same collection.

by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.—By the result previously¹ found for the commencement of Rājarāja's reign this day fell in the 18th, not the 19th, year of the king's reign.

124.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rāja-
- 2 rājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattu-onbādāvaḍu Vṛich-
- 3 chiga-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva- pakshattu trayōdaśiyum
- 4 Nāyaṅṅu- kiḷamaiyum [peṅṅa Aśva]ti- nāḷ.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 8 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Aśvini for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

125.—In the Vighnēśvara temple at Anbil.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*]
- 15 Ti[r]i[bu]vāṇach[cha]kkaṛavattiga[ḷ]
- 16 śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pat-
- 17 *to[n]bādāvaḍu Kumbha- nā[ya]ṅṅu pū-
- 18 [r*]va- pakshattu paṇjam[i]yum Viyāḷa-[k]ki-
- 19 lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa Rēvati- nāḷ.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 6 h. 44 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

126.—In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttēngūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvāṇachchakkara[vaṭ*]-
- 2 tigaḷ śrī- Rāsarāśadēvaṅ[ku*]
- 3 yāṇḍu 24 edirām-āṇḍu [Ma*]-
- 4 gara-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu [chatu*]-
- 5 rddasīyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyum [pe*]-
- 6 ṅṅa Uttirāḍattu nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśadhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pauṣa) ended 15 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśadhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ See above, p. 1

² No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

³ No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

* Part of the o of to is entered at the end of the preceding line.

⁵ No. 532 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

127.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvana⁵chchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 27vadu
Simha-
2 nāyaṅḡu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamai[y]um [B]udan-kiḷamaiyum perṛa Magattu
nāi.

"In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

128.— In the Védāraṇyēśvara temple at Védāraṇyam.²

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tiribuvana⁵chchakkaravattiga! śrī-Rāja[rā]jadē[va]ṅku [yā]ṇḍu
27[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-[n]āyaṅḡ[u] [apa*]-
2 [ra]-pakshattu paṇjadesāyumu Tiṅga-kiḷamai[yum] perṛa Pūsattn nā[ī].

"In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth *tithi* of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara."

In the month of Makara a fifteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king's reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D. 1243.

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign.³ For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h. 11 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.— It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D. 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.— In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tir[i]buvana[chcha]kkara[va]ttiga! śrī-Irājarāja-
2 dēvaṅku⁵ yāṇḍu [2]9[va]ḍu Miduna-ñ[ā*]yaṅḡu muppattiraṇḍ[ā]-
3 n=diyadiy=āṇa Tiṅga-kiḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshat-
4 tu pradamaiyum Pū[śa]mum āṇa aṅḡu.

"In the [2]9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² No. 495 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

³ Mr. Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes *dradu*. On the other hand, he states that *apara-pakshattu* probably is the actual reading.

⁴ No. 656 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁵ The *ś* of *dś* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to **Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245**. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June.¹ On this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Āshāḍha) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya**, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] [Ti]ribuvaṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irājarājadēvar[k*]ku
yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇu-nāyaṇṇu apara-paksha[t]tu trayō[daśi]yum
2 Anilāmum peṇṇa Nāyaṇṇu-kkiḷamai-nāi.

“In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

The date apparently corresponds to **Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245**, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra).—The word *trayōdaśiyum* of the original therefore would be a mistake for *tuvādaśiyum*.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.³

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tirubuvaṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irāśēndira-Śōḷadēvaṇṇu
yāṇḍu
2 nālāvadu Magara-nāyaṇṇu-ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Budaṇ-kiḷamai-
3 yum peṇṇa Tiruvōṇattu nāi.

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250**, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.⁴

- 1 [Ti]r[i]buvaṇachchakkaravatti[ga]! śrī-Rāśēnd[i]ra-Śōḷadē[va]rku [y]āṇḍu [o]ṇ-
2 badāvadu Magara-nāyaṇṇu pūrva-[pa]kshattu dvitīyaiyum Śev[vā-kki]ḷamaiy pe-
3 ṇṇa Śadaiyattu nāi.

¹ The Karkata- or Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.

² No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 423 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 418 of the same collection.

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h. 21 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

133.— In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttēngur.*

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Tribhu[va*]nachchakravattiga! śrī-Rājendra-Śōladē[va*]r[ku]
yāṇḍu llvadiṇ edirām=āṇḍu Kaṛkaḍaga-nā[ya]ṇṇu apara-pakshattu T[i].
- 2 ṅgaṭ-ki[la]m[ai]yum Urōsanīyum perṛa nā[.].

"In the year opposite the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight² of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which [the 11th *tithi*] of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 10 h. 59 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

134.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.³

- 1 Svasti śrī ௨ Tri[bhuva]nachchakkaravatt[iga!] śr[ī-Rājē]ndira-Śō[la]dēvarkku
y[āṇ]-
- 2 ḍu 16[āvadu] Rishaba-nā[ya]ṇṇu [p]ū[rva]-pakshattu ēkādas[i]yu[m] Tīngat-
ki[āmai]yum per[ṛa]
- 3 Uttirattu nā[.].

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rājē]ndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h. 0 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.— By the result previously⁴ found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

135.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tir[ibuva]nachcha[kka]ravattiga! śrī-⁶[Rā]śēnd[i]ra-
Śō[la]dē[va]rkkku [y]āṇḍu 1[8āvadu] Maga[ra]-[n]āyaṇṇu [a]pa[ra]-pakshattu
[du]di[ya]iyum Budan-k[i]lāmai[y]um perṛa T[i]ruvō[ṇat]tu [nā[.]].

* No. 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² The *tithi* is omitted in the original.

³ No. 460 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ See above, p. 7.

⁵ No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The *ra* of *raśē* seems to have been written twice in the original.

"In the 1[8th] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Maka]ra."

In the month of Makara a second *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 0 h. 51 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.—Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been *pārva-pakṣattu*, not *apara-pakṣattu*.

136.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

1 Svasti śrīḥ o. Tiribuvanaachchakkaravartiga! śrī-Rājendra-Śōladēvarṅku yāṇḍu
20[A]vadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyagga pūrvva-pakṣattu trayōdaśiyum Budhaṅ-
kilamāiyum [p]eṇṇa Pūarpūśattu nāḷ.

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha²) ended 19 h. 29 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 27.— DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 17.)

Of the nineteen new Pāṇḍya dates here published, Nos. 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara, Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., Māvarman Kuṣāśekhara I., and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māvarman Kuṣāśekhara I., which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-saṁvat 1229,³ has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401; and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāṇḍya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered.

No. 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpadi*.

³ This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāṇḍya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, coupled with the Śaka year 792.

A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.—In the Agastyéśvara temple at Tiruchchupai.¹

- 1 Tir[ibu]va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]tt[i]ga! śrī-Kulaśēgaradē[va]ṅku yā]ṇḍu 13 edir
14va-
2 du ²Mē[la-n]āya[ṅ]ru a]para-pakkattu pañjamiyum Budan-k[i]la[m]aiyum
peṅṅa Mu(mā)lattu
3 [n]ā!

"In the 14th opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mēla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date—'the 14th opposite the 13th year'—in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara of whom I have examined two dates, 'of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,' and of 'the year opposite to the thirteenth,' i.e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.² If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i.e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mēla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara,³ the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.—In the Agastyéśvara temple at Tiruchchupai.⁴

- 1 o|| Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvāchchakkaravattiga! śrī(śrī)-Kulai(la)[ēgara]dēva[ṅ]ku i-
2 y[ā]ṇḍu paṇḍim[ū]ṅṅa(ṅṅā)vadu Tulā-nāya[ṅ]ru . . . [pakshat]tu aṣṭami-
3 yum Viyāla-kkilama(mai)yum peṅṅa Pūṣattu nā!

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the . . . fortnight of the month of Tulā."

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Kulaśēkharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśēkhara is identical with Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara. A date of that king's 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, not of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

¹ No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² The *la* of *Mēla* is entered below the *m* of *mē*.

³ See above, Vol. VI. pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2.

⁴ In the Pāṇḍya date No. 14, above Vol. VI. p. 307, Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is simply called the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva.

⁵ No. 132 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th *tithi* of the [dark] half (of Kārttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. *before* mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*, not the 8th.

B.— MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

46.—In the Sundarēśvara temple at Madura.¹

120 śrī-kō Mā.²
 121 ṛapaṇmar=āṇa ³Trabhuvaṇa-
 122 chchakkaravattigaḷ Śṇā-
 123 ḍu koṇḍu Muḍigo[n]-
 124 ḍasōlapurattu vīrar=ava-
 125 ⁴bhishēgamum vijaiya[r=a-
 126 ⁴va]bhishēgamum pa[n]ni-
 127 [y-a]ruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-
 128 yadē[vaṅku] yāṇḍu 1-
 129 5vadu Dhanu-nāyaṅṅu a-
 130 para-pakshattu trayōḍa-
 131 śiyum Śevvāy-kkiḷa-
 132 maiyum perra [Vi]śā-
 133 gattu [n]ā[ī].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who took the Chōḷa country and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍigonḍa-śōlapuram,—on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

I have previously⁵ found that Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgasīra) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.— MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

47.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁶

1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] [Kō Mā]ṛapaṇ[mar Tirubu]vaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-
 Kulasēgaradē[va]ḷḷku yāṇḍu 40vadu Miṇa-nāyaṅṅu apa[ra]-pakshattu
 dasamiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kkiḷa[m]aiyum perra Tiruvōnattu nāḷ
 2 i-ṇṇālvadu Śakādhī(tī)tam 1229.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Miṇa . . . this day (*i.e.* year) corresponds to Śaka 1229 expired."

¹ No. 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² The *ś* of Mā is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

³ Read *Trabhu*.

⁴ Read *abhiśhēga*.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

⁶ No. 551 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

Above, Vol. VI. p. 310, No. 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308 (in Śaka-saṃvat 1229). This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-saṃvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 11 h. 29 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmin temple at Tiruppullāṇi.¹

- 1 k[ō] Māṇapaṇ[ma]r=ā[ṇa] Tribhu[.
gal [e]mmaṇḍalamum koṇḍ-arul[i]ya śr[i]-Kulaśēgaradēva[~~ku~~] yāṇḍu
[2]vadu Kaṇkaḍaga-nāyaṇṇu mudal tiyad[i]yum
2 [ttu] a[shṭam]i[yu]m [Ti]ṅgal-ki[la]maiym Śi[ttirai]yum peṇṇa
nāl.

“In the [2]2nd year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman [*alias* the emperor of the three worlds], the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day which corresponded to (the day of) [Chi]trā, to a Monday, to the eighth *tithi* of the [fortnight], and to the first solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka,² and on which the 8th *tithi* of the [bright] half (of Āshāḍha) ended 19 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ temple at Śiṅgavaram.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] kō Māṇapaṇmar Tribhuvaṇa-
chchakkaravatt[i]ga[ḷ] [śrī]-Kulaśēgara[d]ēvaṇku yā-
2 ṇḍu 30āvadu Śimha-nāyaṇṇu=ppūrvva-pakṣhattu ēkādaśa(śi)yum peṇṇa
Mu(mū)lattu nāt=.

“In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Śimha.”

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A.D. 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śravana) ended 18 h. 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Āṇaikāṭṭa-Perumāḷ temple at Kaḷappāl.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrīh — [K]ō [M]āṇapaṇ[mar] Tiri[ḷ]uvaṇa-chchakkaravatt[i]gal śr[i]-Kulaśēgara-
dēvaṇku[ku] yāṇḍu 3[4]vadu Kaṇkaḍaga-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakṣa[ttu] tr[i]t[i]-
yaiyyum Śaṇ[i]-kkaḷamaiyum peṇṇa Maḡattu uāl.

“In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Maḡhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

¹ No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana-saṃkrānti took place 9 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

³ No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 661 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

The date apparently corresponds to **Saturday**, the 8th July A.D. 1301, which was the 12th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the *nakṣatra* was **Maghā**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, *tithi* of the bright half (of **Śrāvaṇa**).—Accordingly, the word *tr[ī]t[ī]yāyiyum* of the original seems to be a mistake for *dvitīyāyiyum*.

51.—In the **Paśupatiśvara** temple at **Allūr**.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kô [M]ārapanmar=āṇa
- 2 Tiribuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga-
- 3 | śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku y[ā]-
- 4 ṇḍu 29vadu Kaṅkaḍa-
- 5 ga-nāyaṅṇu apara-pakshattu tra-
- 6 yōdesiyum Śaṇi-k[i]lamaiyum pe-
- 7 ṅṅa Puṇapūṣattu nāḷ.

“In the 29th year (of the reign) of king **Māṇavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulaśēkharadēva**,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

For the 29th year of **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.**³ this date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1296 or A.D. 1297; but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 39th year of the king's reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to **Saturday**, the 9th July A.D. 1306, which was the 12th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āshāḍha**) ended 8 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** the whole day, according to Garga from 2 h. 38 m., and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.** must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

D.—**JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.**⁴

52.—In the **Dēvanāyaka-Perumāl** temple at **Tiruvēndipuram**.⁵

- 1 @ Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṛ=Chchaḍai[pa]ṇmar Tiribuvana⁶chchakkaravattigal śrī-
Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 10[āvadu] pattā[va]ḍu Kaṅkaḍaga-nāyaṅṇu
- 2 apara-pakshattu paṇjamiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kilamaiyum peṅṅa Rēvati-nāḷ.

“In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king **Jatāvarman** (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva**,—on the day of **Rēvati**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

For **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.**, whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276,⁶ this date corresponds to **Monday**, the 23rd July A.D. 1285, which was the 27th day of the month of

¹ No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² Part of the *ḍ* of *yō* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

³ For **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II.** the date would be incorrect.

⁴ No. 56 may be a date of **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.**

⁵ No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁶ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Karkātaka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 9 h. 4 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be incorrect.

53.— In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr.¹

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[i] [[*] Kôṛ=[Ch]chadaipaṇma[r]=āṇa [Tiribuva]ṇachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ
2 śrī-Śundira-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 1[1]vadu Mrichchiya-²nā
3 [ya]ṅṅu apara-pakshattu shashti(shṭi)yum [Buda]ṇ-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pū-
4 śattu nāl.

"In the 1[1]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vṛiśchika,³ and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h. 52 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But by the previously⁴ found result this day would fall in the 12th, not the 11th, year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.⁵

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

54.— In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālaiyārkōvil.⁶

- 1 [śrī]-kô=Chchadaipa[ṇ]mar=āṇa stri(tri)[bhuva]ṇa-
chchakka[rava]ttigaḷ [śrī]-Śundara-Pāṇḍi-
2 yadēvaṅku iyāṇḍu 12vadu Simṇa(mha)-nāyaṅṅu [3]1 tēdi⁷ [apa]ra-[pa]ksha[t]tu
tṛi[tī]yai[yu]m Buda-
3 ṇ-kiḷa[m]aiyu[m] peṇṇa Irēba(va)di-nāl.

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simha."

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287, when the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the 30th, not the 31st, day of the month of Simha, the Simha-samkrānti having taken place

¹ No. 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² Read *Vṛiśchika*.

³ The Vṛiśchika-samkrānti took place 17 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A.D. 1287.

⁴ See above, Vol. VI, p. 314.

⁵ Mr. Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9. And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A.D. 1294, which was the 14th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h. 17 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise. Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. it would be incorrect.

⁶ No. 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁷ The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.

8 n. 15 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshēśvara temple at Achcharapākkam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṟ=Chataṇmar Tiri[buvaṇa]chchakaravatti śrī-Śu[n]dara-
[Pāṇ]ḍiyadēva[r][k*]ku yā[n*]ḍu 13ku edir [2āva]du Kaṇ-
2 ṇi-nāyaṟru apara-[pa*]kshattu Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷa[m]aiyu[m*] saptamiyum perṟa
Rō[śa]ṇi-nā[.].

“In the [2nd] opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā.”

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th tithi of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the nakshatra was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.²

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dārūkāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] K[ô= Chchaḍ]aiṇmar=â[ṇa] Tribbuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḷ
śrī-Sundira-[P]āṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu
2 9[āvadu] oṇ[ba]dāvadu [M]ēsha-[nā]yaṟru pū[rva]-pakshattu tṛiti(tī)yaiyum
Veḷḷi-kkiḷamaiyum perṟa Kāṭṭa(tti)gai-nā-
3 [.].

“In the 9th—ninth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. According to the previously obtained result,⁵ the 9th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 25th April A.D. 1259; but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date would be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd tithi of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the nakshatra was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, not the 9th, year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

If the date were one of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It would be correct for

¹ No. 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² The Kanyā-saṁkrānti took place 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.

³ No. 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁴ The ā of nā- is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first **Vaiśākha**) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Kṛittikā** exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of **Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.**

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of **Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.**, or the 10th (or 11th) year of **Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.**

E.—KONERANMAIKONDAN¹ VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57.—In the Vṛiddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇāvāśal.²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śakābdam
- 2 1339ṇ mēl śri-
- 3 Kōṇēraṇmaiko[n]-
- 4 dān=Tribhuvāṇachakravatti
- 5 śri-Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēvar
- 6 [2āvadu e]dir 15 Makara-nāyagṇu
- 7 pūrvva-pakṣhattu pañjamiyum
- 8 Budha-v[ā*]ramum peṇṇa Uttara(ra)-
- 9 t[ā]di-nāl.

"In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (*of the reign*) (of) the glorious **Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ**, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva**, (*which was current*) after the Śaka year 1339,—on the day of **Uttara-Bhadrapadā**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**."

For Śaka-saṃvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418**, which was the 17th day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Māgha**) ended 11 h. 12 m., while the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Bhadrapadā** for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

58.—In the Virattānēśvara temple at Kilūr.³

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ Tribhu[va]ṇachakravattiga! śr[i]-
Vikk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku
- 2 yāṇḍu Sāvadu Karkadaga-nāyagṇu pūrvva-pakṣhattu pañjamiyum Vel[li]-
kk[i]lamaiyum [p]eṇṇa
- 3 Attattu nāl.

"In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of **Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ**, the emperor of the three worlds the glorious **Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1408, and it actually corresponds to **Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408**, which was the 30th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 18 h. 16 m., while the *nakṣatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to **Garga** for 9 h. 51 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ or Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ.

² No. 612 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 287 of the same collection.

59.—In the Śivāṅkurēśvara temple at Tirthanagari.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [—] Kōṇēr[i]-
 2 mēlkonḍ[ā]n Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigal
 3 śrī-Vikkira[ma*]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu nā-
 4 l[ā]vadu Kumba-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu triti(tī)yaiyum
 5 N[āya]ṇṇu-kkilamaiy[n]m peṇṇa Uttirattu nāl.

“In the fourth year (*of the reign*) of Kōṇērīmēlkonḍān, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikra[ma]-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a *tithi* of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni; and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalguni instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadā. For the month of Kumbha² of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405.

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third *tithi* instead of the second (*dvitīyayum*).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṇērīmēlkonḍān Vikrama-Pandya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

F.—MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

60.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Teṇkāsi.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Ko Maṇavarmmar=āna Tribhuvanaścha(cha)kravattigal śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu iraṇḍāvaḍiṇṇu edir pad[i]ṇṇonrāvadu Karkkaṭaka-nāyaṇṇu muṇṇi-āṇḍiyaiyum pū[rn]aiyum Sōma-vāramum peṇṇa Tiruvō[ṇa]ttu nāl.

“In the eleventh opposite the second year (*of the reign*) of king Maṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon *tithi* and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkkaṭaka.”

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkkaṭaka-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkkaṭaka. The 30th day of the same month

¹ No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² For the month of Makara and the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalguni.

³ No. 196 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

therefore was **Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455**, and on this day the full moon *tithi* (of Śrāvana) ended 21 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śrāvana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

61.—In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālaiyārkōvil.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō [M]āra[pa]ṇmar-āṇa [Tri]bhuva[na]śa[kra]vatti[gal] śrī-
[Vi][ra*]-Pā[n]ḍiyadē[va]rku [y]ān[du] 14va[du] Ma[gara]-nā[ya*]rṇu
[a]para-pakshattu=[ppaṇ]jam[i]yum Nā[ya]rṇu-kkīlamai[yum] peṇṇa Attattu
2 nā.

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vi[ra]-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Makara**.”

If the day given under No. 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1456. And the date would actually be correct for **Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457**, which was the 21st day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

62.—In the Virattāṇēśvara temple at Tiruvadi.

- 2 [K]ō M[āra]paṇmar T[ri]bh[uvana]
3 chchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-V[i]ra-Pā-³
4 nḍiyadēvaṇku yān-
5 du paṇḍiālāvaḍu Miṇa-nāya-
6 ru apara-pakshattu prathamai-
7 [yu]m Śaṇi-kk[ila]mai[yu]m⁴ [peṇ]ṇa Attattu nā.

“In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mina**.”

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1456 or 1457; and the date would actually be correct for **Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457**, which was the 16th day of the month of **Mina**, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h. 21 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

The results set forth under Nos. 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, **Maravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya**, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I may state here that I have a date,⁵ which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, i.e. the 19th year, and of Śaka-samvat 1361, of a king Māravarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Tirunelvēli-Porunmāl, the glorious **Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva**. This king would have commenced to reign about A.D. 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya of Nos. 60-62.

¹ No. 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No. 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

³ The secondary *d* is repeated at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ The word Śaṇi-kk[ila]mai[yu]m is entered above the line.

⁵ No. 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895. Compare also Mr. Venkayya's Report for 1904-05, p. 53.

NO. 28.—BETUL PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA;
THE GUPTA YEAR 199.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER; NAGPUR.

These plates were found by me in the possession of Sahib Lal Singh, Malguzar of Betul in the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, in March 1905. Sahib Lal Singh, though belonging to an old respectable family, is a Kurmi—a prominent cultivating caste of Northern India, who of course are not entitled to accept any charitable gifts. The plates clearly do not belong to his family, and Sahib Lal Singh is unable to explain how it came by them. His forefathers belonged to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and came to Betul five generations ago. They left their native place in the Unao district in Oudh about 180 years ago and are believed to have lived in the Hoshangâbâd, Narsinghpur and Nâgpur districts. Apparently they brought the plates with them, having obtained them somewhere in Narsinghpur which adjoins Jabalpur.

These are two copper-plates, with a hole ($\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter) in each for the ring or seal, which is lost. The first plate measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $5\frac{1}{8}$ " and the second $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", the weight of each being 12 ozs. 6 drs. and 13 ozs. 17 grs. respectively. Both the plates are quite smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on one side only, and some of the letters show through on the backs of them; and but for a fault in the second plate, which has caused a hole $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter in the last line, obliterating portions of the numerical symbols of the year (which has been fortunately stated in words in the beginning), the inscription throughout is very legible. I have deciphered the text from the original plates, an impression of which was very kindly made for me by Mr. H. Cousens. At Prof. Hultzsch's instance Mr. H. Krishna Sastri prepared fresh impressions, which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The letters are smaller—about $\frac{1}{6}$ "—at the beginning of each plate. They gradually grow bigger, attaining the highest size—about $\frac{1}{2}$ "—at the end.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 13, 17, 25, and of *t* in ll. 21 and 25. Orthographical peculiarities are the use of *i* before *sa* in ll. 12 and 14, and of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara* (ll. 2, 3 (twice), 29) and *parivrājaka* (l. 5). The letter *t* is doubled in *gōttra* (l. 5, but not in l. 15), *puttra* (ll. 6, 16, 28), *pauttra* (l. 16) and *pōttrōr* (l. 12). The last line contains the numerical symbols for 100, 10, 90 and 9, the two last of which, as stated before, are partially obliterated. The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting four benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in ll. 21-27.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* and is dated in the year 199 of the Gupta era (A.D. 518-19), in the Mahāmārgasirsha-samvatsara, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika, without specifying the fortnight and the week-day. Another grant of the same king, which was found near Khoh by General Cunningham in 1879 and is dated in the Gupta year 209 (A.D. 528-29), was republished by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 112 ff. The text of both inscriptions is very similar, and both were written by the same *Īśvaradāsa*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of half of the village *Prastaravātaka* and a quarter of *Dvāravatikā* in the province of *Tripurī* by the *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* to the *Brāhmaṇ Bhānusrvāmīn* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. The value of the inscription chiefly lies in the mention of geographical names, as, with regard to the history of the donor himself, it adds nothing new to what is given in the Khoh plates. The genealogy of the *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* in both

is the same, and in both he is stated to be ruling the **Ḍabhālā-rājya**, which had come to him by inheritance together with all the country included in the **eighteen forest kingdoms**. The present inscription goes to show that Tripurī was a province of the **Ḍabhālā kingdom**. We know Tripurī well.¹ It was the name of the capital of the Haihayas or Kalachuri kings—the present **Tewar**, six miles from Jabalpur,—and it apparently also gave its name to the surrounding province. If this be correct, as is very probable, the Kalachuri domination in the country about Jabalpur disappears at least between A.D. 475 and 528, when the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* ruled the country, as proved by their inscriptions actually found. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur may have been dominant at that time in Mahākōsala, but not in the northern country about Tripurī. Dr. Fleet says that “in **Ḍabhālā** we have undoubtedly the older form of **Ḍahala**. **Ḍāhāla**, **Ḍahāla** or **Ḍahalā**, which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kālīñjar.”² This gives a clue to the identification of Prastaravāṭaka and Dvāravatikā, which I take to be the present **Patparā** and **Dwārā** near Bilahrī, 9 miles from Murwārā town and about 60 miles from Tewar—the old Tripurī. Prastaravāṭaka probably was corrupted into Pattharvāṭak or Pattharwārā, which finally became Patparā, conveying the same meaning in the local patois as its Sanskrit equivalent, *viz.* ‘a stony tableland,’ and Patparā is a stony tableland up to this day. On the site of this Patparā, which had the palace of Kāmkaṇḍalā, there appears to have been formerly a village, as foundations of numerous buildings are still found. Patparā is only a mile off from Bilahrī, and the ruins of temples and buildings commence at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the present Bilahrī village. That names of villages ending in *vāṭaka* or *pāṭaka*, which may have been corrupted into *vārā* or *wārā*, were common on the Bilahrī side, may be inferred from the Bilahrī inscription,³ which mentions Khailapāṭaka, Dhangapāṭaka, Ambipāṭaka, *etc.* One of these, Khailapāṭaka, General Cunningham identified with the present Khailwārā or Kailwārā, 6 miles from Bilahrī, and I think Dhangapāṭaka is perhaps represented by the present village Thanaurā, about 4 miles from Bilahrī, the name having been corrupted into Dhanwārā, Thanwārā, and finally Thanaurā. Within a radius of 20 miles from Bilahrī, one may find such villages as Gulwārā, Murwārā, Kailwārā, Nambwārā, Kanhwārā, Bharwārā, *etc.*, the *word* of which is apparently a corruption of the old *vāṭaka*. The village Dwārā stands on the same tableland as Patparā, being 5 miles east from the Kāmkaṇḍalā buildings and between 3 and 4 miles from the Bilahrī village. The Malguzar of this village is still a Brāhmaṇ and has held it for several generations. He does not however belong to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. He is a Garga and may have been engrafted when the male line of Bhānuśvāmin became extinct, the village going to a female heir and consequently by her marriage to a different *gōtra*, or it may have changed hands since. Dvāravatikā may therefore be confidently identified with this Dwārā. The six inscriptions of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* were found either at Khoh, Majhgawan or Bhumarā, which places are all quite close to Uchchakalpa or the present Uchahrā, the capital of the Nagode State, where another family, that of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, closely connected with the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* both chronologically and territorially, ruled. Uchahrā is about 60 miles from Bilahrī, and we know from the Bhumarā pillar inscription, edited by Dr. Fleet⁴, that that village formed the boundary between the two territories. This would show that the **Ḍabhālā** country was almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the present Jabalpur district to the north and extended to about 120 miles from Tripurī town, the villages granted in the present inscription being situated midway between Tripurī town and the boundary of the **Ḍabhālā** kingdom in the north. This will clearly show that the present inscription does not really belong to Betul. As Dr. Fleet remarks (*loc. cit.*), “copper-plates, being small and portable, are

¹ See General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 54.

² *Gupta Inscr.* p. 113 ff. In the *Vikramakalīśvarīya* (XVIII. 93 and 95) **Ḍahala** and **Ḍahāla** occur almost side by side, indicating that the two forms were indifferently used.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 251 ff.

⁴ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 111.

always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified."

One knotty problem however remains yet to be solved. What were the eighteen forest kingdoms included in the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas'* dominions? These must have been contiguous to Dabhāla, and as such the choice seems to lie between the ancient Gaur country, latently known as Gondwanā, on the one hand and the Baghelkhand and Chutiā Nāgpur country together with Chhattisgarh on the other. All this country formed part of the Gupta empire. "The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rājputāna and Mālwā, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might."¹ With regard to the conquest of South Kosala or Chhattisgarh and the forest tribes Mr. Smith (*op. cit.* p. 248) narrates the details thus: "The invader (Samudragupta), marching due south through Chutiā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kōsala in the valley of the Mahānadi, and overthrew its king, Mahēndra. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces." Now these backward parts originally constituted what were known as *Athārāgarh*, *i.e.* the eighteen forts or forest kingdoms, to-wit: Raigarh, Raigarh, Bāndh, Bairakhol, Sonpur, Patnā, Bargarh, Phulpur, Bera Sāmbār, Kāmāra, Nāvāgarh, Nāvāgarh, Sambalpur, Chandrapur, Baul, Athmālik, Gangpur and Pona. Of these the first eight are still feudatory states, the next four *gachāwāls* and the next two Government *chāwāls*, all attached to the Central Provinces.² On the abolition of the south frontier agency in 1887 Bāndh and Athmālik were transferred to the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls of Orissa. Gangpur and Pona were attached to Chutiā Nāgpur. Bargarh, being confiscated for rebellion, was given over to the Raja of Raigarh. Again, among the Orissa tributary states there are eighteen *gachāwāls*, though they are somewhat too far away from the Dāhal country. Chhattisgarh, *i.e.* the thirty-six forts, included twelve eighteen forts, *i.e.* eighteen *gachāwāls* in one group subordinate to the senior branch of the Harbhāyas ruling at Ratanpur, and the same number in the second group held by the junior branch living at Raipur. So the grouping of states or estates into eighteen would appear to be customary and traditional towards Chhattisgarh. As regards the western Gaur country, which included the present districts of Bolnā, Chhindwār, Seon and Mandlā, there is no record or tradition of its ever having been divided into eighteen forest kingdoms. It therefore seems very probable that the eighteen forest kingdoms of the inscription lay somewhere in the direction of Chhattisgarh, which was subjugated by Samudragupta as mentioned before. As the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas'* owed allegiance to the Gupta kings, it seems within the range of probability that these kingdoms were handed over to them, unless greatest diffidence that I hazard this conjecture, and I am not at present prepared to be dissuaded exactly the eighteen forest kingdoms. I however hope that the information which I have partly acquired from my personal acquaintance with the country, may perhaps prove of some use to an antiquarian willing to solve the question.

¹ Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 250 f.

² Since I wrote the above, Pānna, Bairākhel, Sonpur, Patnā, Bera Sāmbār and Sambalpur have been transferred to Bengal.

³ General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 159.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥

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TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² namô [bha]gavatê Nārāyaṇāya [I*] Svasti [I*] Śrīmati pravarddhamāna-
vijaya-
2 rājya(jyê) sambatsara-³śatê navanavaty-uttarê Gupta-na(nri)pa-rājya-bhuktan
Mahā-
3 mārḡgaśirsha-sambatsarê⁴ Kārttika-māsa-daśamyām⁵ asyām sambatsara-⁶māsa-
4 divasa-pūrvvāyā[m*] chaturdśa-vidyāsthāna-vidita-paramārthasya Kapilasy=ēva
5 maharshêḥ sarvva-tatva(ttva)-jñasya Bharadvāja-sagotrasya nripatiparibrāvrājaka-
6 Suśarmmanah kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-Dēvāḍhya-puttra-pranaptra mahā-
7 rāja-śrī-Prabhāñjana-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-Dāmōdara-naptrā gō-sahasra-
8 hasty-asva-hiraṇy-ānēka-bhūma(mi)-pradasya gura-pitri-mātri-pūja(jā)-tatparasasy=ānēka-
9 samara-śata-vijayinah s-āṣṭādaś-ātavi-rājy-ābhyantaram [Ḍa]bhālā-rajyam sama-
10 nupālayi[shpō]r=ānēka-guṇa-vikhyāta-yasasah śrī-mahārāja-Hastinah sutēna
11 varṇṇ-āśrama-dharma-ssthāpan-ābhiratēna parama-bhāgavatēn=ātyanta-putri-bhaktēna
12 sva-vaṇśa-mōda-⁷karēṇa mahārāja-śrī-Samkshōbhēna(na) mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha
puny-ā-
13 bhividdhy-artham Tripuri-vishayē Prastaravātaka-grāmasya⁸ arddham Dvāravati-
14 kāyāś=cha chaturthō=nsah⁹ ēvam=étau pūrvv-āghāṭa-parichehhēda-maryyā-

Second Plate.

- 15 dayā Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Mādhyandina-Vāji(ja)saucya-sabra[hma].
16 chārinē brāhmaṇa-Bhānusvāminē puttra-pautr-ānvay-ōpabhogyau¹⁰ étau
17 s-ōdraṅgau s-ōparikarau¹¹ a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvaśyan¹² chōra-drōhaka-varjyam¹³ tāmra-
18 śāsana¹⁴ āgrāhārau atisrīṣṭau [I*] Tad=usmat-kul-ōtthair=mmat-pādapind-ōpa
19 jivibhir=vvā kālāntarēshv=api na vyāghāṭah karāṇiyah [I*] Évam=ājñā[jña]pt[ē] yo=
20 nyathā kuryāt=tam=aham dēhāntara-gatō=pi mahat=āvadhyānēna nirdhābham [I*]
Uktā=cha
21 bhagavatā paramarshiṇā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*] Pūrvva-dattam divyabhyō
yatnāt¹⁵
22 raksha Yudhisṭhira [I*] mahi(hi)m=mahimatām śrīśṭha dānaś=chhryō-
nupālanam [II*] Bahubhi¹⁶
23 vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih¹⁷ tasya
24 tasya tadā phalam [II*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svargga(eggō) madat. bhūmih-
dah [I*] āchchhētā
25 ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Bhūmi-pradānam=na param
pradānam¹⁸
26 dānād=viśiṣṭam paripālanam=tu [I*] sarvvē=tisrīṣṭām paripālya bhūmim nripī
27 Nrig-ādyāḥ¹⁹ tridivam prapannā iti [II*] Likha khitāñ=cha Jivita-naptrā Bhṛṅga-
28 dāsa-puttrēna vyāpāraṇāy²⁰ Īśvaradāsēna [I*] Dātakah Puna-
29 rvvasuh [I*] Sambatsara²¹ 100 [90 9] Mahāmargga-varshe²² Kārttika dī
10 [II*]

¹ From the original copper-plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read *sambatsara*.⁴ Read *-sambatsarē*.⁵ Read *-daśamyām*.⁶ Read *sambatsara*.⁷ Read *sva-vaṇśa-mōda*.⁸ Read *-grāmasy=ārdham*.⁹ Read *=nsa*.¹⁰ Read *chhōgyā*.¹¹ Read *karāṇiyah*.¹² Read *-varjyam*.¹³ Read *varjyam*.¹⁴ Read *śāsana=āgrāhārau*.¹⁵ Read *chhōgyā*.¹⁶ Read *Bahubhi*.¹⁷ Read *bhūmih*.¹⁸ Read *pradānam*.¹⁹ Read *-ādyāḥ*.²⁰ Read *vyāpāra*.²¹ Read *Sambatsara*.²² Read *Mahāmārgga[śirsha*]-varshē*.

TRANSLATION.¹

(Line 1.) *Om*. Reverence to the divine Nārāyaṇa! Hail! In the glorious, augmenting and victorious reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the Mahāmārgaśīrsha-saṁvatsara, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika,—on this (*tithi*, specified) as above by the *saṁvatsara*, month and day,—by the Mahārāja, the illustrious Saṁkshōbha, who is born in the family of the kingly ascetic Suśarman, who had learnt the whole truth of the fourteen receptacles of science,² who, like the great sage Kapila, knew all the first principles,³ (*and*) who was of the Bharadvāja gōtra;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dēvādhyā;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhañjana;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmōdara;—who is the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, of elephants, horses, gold and many lands, who was earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother, who was victorious in many hundreds of battles, who sought to govern properly the kingdom (*rājya*) of Dabhālā together with (*all the country*) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms, (*and*) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life, who is a most devout Bhāgavata, who is extremely devoted to (*his*) ancestors,⁴ (*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race;—(*by him*)—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself—half of the village Prastaravātaka and a quarter of Dvāravatikā in the province (*vishaya*) of Tripuri,—in accordance with the usage of the specification of (*their*) ancient boundaries,—are granted by a copper charter as *agrahīras* to the Brāhmaṇ Bhānuśvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, a student of the Mādhyaṇdina-Vājasaneyā (*śākhā*),—to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, sons' sons and (*further*) descendants, with the *udraṇya* and the *uparikara*, (*and* with the privilege that they are) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves and mischief-doers.

(L. 18.) Therefore even in future times no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by My feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 20.) And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—

[Here follow four of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) And (*this charter*) has been written by virtue of (*his*) office by Īśvaradāsa, the grand-son of Jivita (*and*) the son of Bhujāṅgadāsa. The *Dātaka* (*is*) Punarvasu. In the year 100 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 9, in the year Mahāmārga[śīrsha], on the 10th day of Kārttika.

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖRTINGEN.

The date of the above record, being of the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199, would be expected to fall in A.D. 518, and I shall be able to prove that it did fall in that year. But its exact European equivalent cannot be given with absolute certainty.

¹ Since the text is almost identical with that of the Kīṭh copper-plates of the Gupta year 239, I have adopted *mutatis mutandis*, Dr. Fleet's translation as given in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 115 f.

² [See Yājñavalkya, I. 3:—*Purāṇa-nyāya-mīmāṃsā-dharmasāstri-śāstra-miśrītāḥ śāstrāṇāṁ vidyānām dharmasya cha chaturdaśa* :—E. H.]

³ [This reference to the (twenty-five) *tattvas* of the Sāṁkhya doctrine and to its founder Kapila deserves to be noted.—E. H.]

⁴ [With the epithet *atyanta-pitṛi-bhaktēna* compare *pitṛi-bhaktah*, the legend on the seals of the copper-plate grants of the two Kālīṅga kings Nandaprabhāñjanavarman and Chandraavarman; above, Vol. IV. p. 143.—E. H.]

In the Gupta year 199, corresponding to the expired year 3619 of the Kaliyuga, a month by the rules of mean intercalation would have had to be intercalated before the month Kārttika. Judging from other dates, I consider it highly probable that in the period to which our date belongs the rules of mean intercalation *were* observed, and that moreover a month, by those rules intercalated before the proper Kārttika, would have received its name from the preceding month Āśvina. Assuming this to have been actually the case, the Gupta year 199 would have contained only one month called Kārttika, and the month Kārttika which is put down in the date would be the ordinary Kārttika of our Tables. But the possibility is not excluded that the intercalated month might have been called Kārttika too, and in that case the term *Kārttika* of the date might be taken to denote either the *first* Kārttika (which would be the month Āśvina of our Tables) or the *second* Kārttika (*i.e.* the ordinary Kārttika of the Tables).

At first sight, another difficulty is presented by the circumstance that in line 3 of our record the *tithi* of the date is simply described as 'the tenth *tithi* of the month Kārttika' (*Kārttika-māsa-daśamī*), without any indication as to which lunar fortnight the *tithi* must have belonged to. But this difficulty, in my opinion, is removed by the fact that at the end of the record, where the date is repeated in figures, the same *tithi* is described by the expression *Kārttika-dī 10*. In the Khôh plates of Samkshôbha of the Gupta year 209 (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 114) we find the *tithi* described, in lines 2 and 3, as *Chaitramāsa-śuklapaksha-trayôdaśī*, and in line 24 as *Chaitra-dī 28*; and in the Majhgawâm plates of Hastin of the Gupta year 191 (*ibid.* p. 107), in line 2 as *Māghamāsa-bahulapaksha-tritīyā*, and in line 20 as *Māgha-dī 3*. The manner in which the Khôh plates are dated has been taken to prove that the month Chaitra of those plates was the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra; and the dates of both records indicate that it was the custom to quote, when a date was repeated in figures, the number of *tithis* elapsed since the commencement of the month, irrespectively of the lunar fortnights. Applying this to the date under discussion, we conclude from the statement *Kārttika-dī 10* that since the commencement of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika there had elapsed 10 *tithis*, or, in other words, that the tenth *tithi* of the month Kārttika, quoted in line 3, was the 10th *tithi* of the first or *dark half* of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika (the *Kārttikamāsa-bahulapaksha-daśamī*).

From what has been stated above, it follows that the *tithi* of our date is the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of, probably, the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of our Tables, but that possibly it may be the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina of the Tables. On the first alternative the date would correspond to **Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518**, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika ended 8 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; on the second alternative to **Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518**, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina (*i.e.*, possibly, the first *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) ended 13 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise. It will be shown now that, in either case, the Jupiter's year in which the date fell was a **Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha** year, as required by the wording of the original date.

The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit has fully explained that a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha¹ year occurs when Jupiter at his heliacal rising (*i.e.* his first appearance in the morning after his conjunction with the sun) is in either of the *nakshatras* Mrigaśīras and Ādrâ, *i.e.*, when at his heliacal rising his true geocentric place (or true longitude), according to the equal space system, is between 53° 20' and 80°, according to the Brahma-siddhânta between 52° 42' 20" and 72° 28' 12.5", and according to Garga between 53° 20' and 73° 20'. Now in the time immediately preceding the 15th September (and the 15th October) A.D. 518 Jupiter was in conjunction with the sun at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518, when his own true longitude was 51° 3', and that of the

¹ For the similar years, which have been hitherto found in five inscriptions, see especially the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, Introduction, p. 105.

sun $51^{\circ} 2' 52''$.¹ And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May,² when his true longitude was $54^{\circ} 21'$ (while that of the sun was $64^{\circ} 23' 35''$), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was $54^{\circ} 35'$ (while that of the sun was $65^{\circ} 20' 31''$). Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A.D. 518 Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than $53^{\circ} 20'$ —by all three systems of the *nakshatras* rose heliacally in the *nakshatra* Mrigashiras, and that therefore the year which then commenced was a **Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha** year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A.D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place some time before sunrise of the 17th June A.D. 519,³ and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A.D. 519,⁴ when a Mahā-Pausha year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, a Mahā-Māgha year commenced on the 3rd August A.D. 520, and a Mahā-Phālguna year on the 4th September A.D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A.D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to **Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518**, but may possibly correspond to **Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518**.

No. 29.—TRIPLICANE INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

Madras was "a mere fishing village up to the year 1639 A.D., when the English⁵ became possessed of it by a grant from the puppet sovereign Śrīraṅga of Vijayanagara, then at Chandra-giri."⁶ Some of the suburbs of Madras are, however, very ancient. Leaving aside **St. Thomé** connected with the St. Thomas legends,⁶ **Mailapur** (or Mayilāppūr) and Tiruvāmūr (Tiruvāṇmiyūr) are mentioned in the Tamil poem *Dēvāram* composed in the 7th century A.D.⁷ The former is also believed to have been the residence of the immortal **Tiruvalluvar**,⁸ a couplet of whose is quoted in the ancient Tamil work *Maṇimēgalai*.⁹ Tiruvallikkēni (the modern **Tripligane**) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaishnavas known as *Nālūyiraprabandham* by the saints Pēyālvār,¹⁰ Tirumaliśai-Ālvār¹¹ and Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, the last of whom informs us that the (Pārthasārathisvāmin) temple was founded by an unnamed king of the Tondaiyar, i.e. by a **Pallava** king.¹² **Egmore** (Eḷumbūr in Tamil) is mentioned in records of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. and was apparently the headquarters of a subdivision (*nāḍu*)

¹ The calculations which have yielded the above results have all been made according to the Sūrya-siddhānta. By the Ārya-siddhānta, at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 43'$, and that of the sun $51^{\circ} 4' 18''$; and at mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 57'$, and that of the sun $52^{\circ} 1' 36''$. This shows that, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, the conjunction would have taken place between one and two hours before mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518.

² At mean sunrise of the preceding day, the 24th May A.D. 518, the true longitude of Jupiter was $54^{\circ} 3'$, and that of the sun $63^{\circ} 26' 38''$.

³ At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was $85^{\circ} 33'$, and that of the sun $85^{\circ} 58' 33''$.

⁴ At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was $88^{\circ} 45'$, and that of the sun $90^{\circ} 18' 3''$.

⁵ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 175.

⁶ The Roman Catholic Church at St. Thomé is believed to be built over the grave of St. Thomas; *ibid* p. 176. Rāmārāya of Vijayanagara is said to have led an expedition against the place in A.D. 1558; Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 193.

⁷ The saint Tiruñānasambandar is reported to have revived at Mayilāppūr a dead girl, whose bones had been preserved by her father in a pot. The temple is called Kapālīcharam (i.e. Kapālēśvara) in the hymn composed by the saint. Jairas and Buddhists seem to have lived at that time in the vicinity of Mayilāppūr.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 221.

⁹ *Essay on Tamil literature* by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri of Madras, No. I. p. 33 f.

¹⁰ *Iyarpā*, III. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.* IV. 35.

¹² *Peri, atirumoli*, verse 130.

in the district called Puliyūr-kōttam.¹ Nuṅgambākkam occurs in a copper-plate inscription belonging to the time of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I.² The Tamil *Dēvāram* contains a hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr composed by Tiruñānasambandar.³

The Pārthasārathisvāmin temple at Triplicane contains (1) the subjoined Pallava inscription;⁴ (2) a number of fragments of Chōla records built into the floor in various parts of the temple;⁵ (3) a mutilated epigraph of the Pāṇḍya king [Māra]varman Kulasēkhara;⁶ and (4) a few Vijayanagara inscriptions. Some of the Chōla fragments belong to the time of Kulōttuṅga III. and Rājārāja III.⁷ The Pāṇḍya epigraph mentions Tirumayilāppūr (i.e. Mailapur) in Puliyūr-kōttam⁸ and (the temple of) Telliyāsinga-Nāyaṇār in Eḷumūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam.⁹ The Vijayanagara records belong to the time of Sadāśiva, Raṅga and Venkatapati.¹⁰ Two of the suburbs, viz. Puduppākkam and Vēppēri, and three of the outlying villages, viz. Śembiyam, Naḍumbarai and Veysarpāḍi,¹¹ were granted to the Triplicane temple during the Vijayanagara period, while a pious Vaishṇava made some additions to it in or before A.D. 1564-5 during the reign of Sadāśiva.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone built into the floor close to the entrance into the *garbhagrīha* of the temple. As people walk on it very frequently, the stone has become much worn, and the writing has suffered considerable damage. Very few *aksharas* are, however, really doubtful, though some are broken.

The alphabet is Tamil, with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha characters. The following is a list of the latter:—*svasti śrī, Pallavakulatīla*^o (line 1); *Bhīradvāja-gōṭṭr-ālamkārapatiy-ākiya* (l. 1 f.); *śrī-Dantivarmma-Mahārāja* (l. 2 f.); *varshavarddhana* (l. 3); *mṛi* of *tiruvamṛidu* (ll. 7 and 14 f.); *śarmma* (l. 11 f. and twice in l. 12); *svāmībhōga* (l. 14); *ddharma* (l. 15); *ha* of *lōha*, *tshi* of *ratshi*^o (l. 17); *ndharmma*^o (l. 18); *ratshi*^o (l. 18 f.); *svasti* (l. 19).—The *puḷḷi* (or *virāma*) is marked in a large number of cases and is denoted by a short vertical line added at the top of the letter. One graphic peculiarity deserves notice. When lingual *ḥ* and rough *r* are doubled, the symbol for the secondary *i* or *u*, which is now placed over the second letter or by its side, is, in this inscription, added, in most cases, so as to include the first as well. In other words, the two letters are treated as a group. In line 9, double *kki* is written similarly as a group. Two forms of *ṇ* occur, one with the central loop

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 133.

² This inscription has recently been discovered at Tiruvālaṅgaḍu near Arkonam and will be published in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. Part III.

³ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 132.

⁴ No. 234 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903-4*, paragraph 25.

⁶ No. 238 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903. It is dated in the 4[9]th year of the king's reign and may perhaps belong to the "Kales Dewar" of the Muḥammadan historians; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, paragraph 13.

⁷ Nos. 241 and 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903 are two of them. In some of them Tiruvānmiyūr (the modern Tiruvāmūr) is said to have been in Kōttūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam alias Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-vaḷanāḍu.

⁸ Called after Puliyūr, which is close to Madras; above, Vol. IV. p. 8, note 1. According to an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I., Tiruvorriyūr, 6 miles north of Fort St. George, belonged to Puḷal-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puḷarkōttam, which was called after Puḷal near Madras on the road to Nellore; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 132.

⁹ Mention is also made of Ayanapuram in Tuḍarmuṇṇi-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puḷarkōttam alias Vikrama-Chōla-vaḷanāḍu. Ayanapuram is the name of a shrotriem village to the west of Madras (No. 72 on the Sydapet taluk map).

¹⁰ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903-4*, paragraph 25. The inscription of Raṅga is in Telugu, while the rest are all in Tamil.

¹¹ Called Veshārupāḍi in the inscription. The modern name connects the village with the sage Vyāsa or some person called after him. Vēḷśāru, which occurs in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I. at Tiruvorriyūr, is perhaps an older form of Veshārupāḍi; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 134.

fully developed and the other without it. The former is more common, while the latter occurs at least twice.¹ The vowel *u* is added to the consonant *t* in two different ways: one, as in modern Tamil, with a vertical stroke going upwards, and the other without it. The latter is perhaps meant to be Grantha, though it is used in Tamil words also. The *akshara lu*, which occurs twice (ll. 8 and 16), differs from the modern form of it in the vertical stroke of the *u*-symbol being omitted as in *tu*.

The inscription consists of 19 lines of Tamil prose and is dated during the reign of king **Dantivarman-Mahārāja**, who was "the ornament of the **Pallava** family" and belonged to the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**. There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the **Pallava** dynasty. The only other record of **Dantivarman-Mahārāja** hitherto known is mutilated,² and the description of the king which we find in the Triplicane inscription is there missing. It is therefore uncertain if the two kings were the same. In any case, as the name **Dantivarman** does not occur in the hitherto known genealogies of the **Pallavas**, and as the alphabet of the Triplicane inscription does not look very ancient, it may be concluded that the **Dantivarman-Mahārāja** of the subjoined record was later than the **Pallava** king **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**, who fought against the **Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II.** (A.D. 733-34 and 746-47).³

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the **Pallavas** of **Conjeeveram**, who probably ceased to be a ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D.⁴ The **Gaṅga-Pallavas** appear to have taken their place, though the exact period when this happened is not yet known. Leaving out **Vijaya-Narasimhavarman**⁵ and **Vijaya-Īśvaravarman**,⁶ whose relationship to the main line is not yet ascertained, four **Gaṅga-Pallava** kings⁷ are known, viz. **Danti(vikrama)varman**, **Nandi(vikrama)varman**, **Nṛpatuṅga(vikrama)varman** and **Kampa(vikrama)varman**. The last was probably a brother of the third⁸ and might have been his co-regent in a portion of the **Pallava** dominions; but he is not mentioned in the **Bāhūr** plates of **Nṛpatuṅga**.⁹ Adding together the latest known years of the other three (**Dantivikramavarman** 51 years,¹⁰ **Nandivikramavarman** 62 years,¹¹ and **Nṛpatuṅga-vikramavarman** 26 years¹²), we get 139 years. The **Chōla** king **Parāntaka I.** was actually ruling over the dominions of the **Gaṅga-Pallavas**, and therefore it may be supposed that the overthrow of the latter by the **Chōlas** took place during the reign of his predecessor **Āditya I.** Accordingly, the event may be placed roughly in A.D. 900.¹³ Deducting the total duration of the reigns of the **Gaṅga-Pallava** kings, we obtain roughly A.D. 760 as the date of the accession to power of the first king **Dantivikramavarman**. This event cannot be placed earlier, because the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III.** is reported to have levied tribute from **Dantiga**, the ruler of **Kāñchi**, about A.D. 804, and this **Dantiga** has been identified with the **Gaṅga-Pallava** king **Dantivikrama-**

¹ Compare Prof. Hultsch's remarks in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

² Compare Prof. Hultsch's remarks in *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 344, note 3.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 157.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. pp. 178 and 360, and Vol. VII. p. 22 f. Dr. Fleet thinks that **Vijaya-Narasimhavarman** was the earliest of the **Gaṅga-Pallavas**, and that his initial date must be placed somewhere about A.D. 760 to 770; above, Vol. V. p. 160.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 23 f.

⁷ **Skandaśishyavikramavarman** of the **Rāyakōṭa** plates was also a **Gaṅga-Pallava**. He is said to have belonged to the family of another **Skandaśishya**, who was the son of the **Mahābhārata** hero **Āśvatthāman** by a **Nāga** woman; above, Vol. V. p. 52. We have however no clue as to the time when **Skandaśishyavikramavarman** lived. Neither are we told what relationship he bore to the main line.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII. p. 196.

⁹ Extracts from this inscription were given by Prof. Hultsch; above, Vol. IV. p. 180 f.

¹⁰ No. 262 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

¹¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

¹² Above, Vol. IV. p. 132.

¹³ See the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 10.

varman.¹ It thus appears extremely doubtful if there could have been any interval between the date of Nandivarman Pallavamalla² and the accession of Dantivikramavarman.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Gaṅga-Pallavas annexed the entire dominions of the ancient Pallavas already during the reign of the first king Dantivikrama. It looks as if the expansion of the former was gradual and reached its highest point during the reign of the last king Nṛipatuṅga.³ We may therefore conclude that the **Dantivarman-Mahārāja** of the subjoined inscription, who could not be a Gaṅga-Pallava, belonged to the family of the original Pallavas of **Conjeeveram**, who seem to have continued in some form or other down to a very late period,⁴ and that he reigned as an independent king in a portion of the ancient Pallava dominions before they were completely occupied by the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

At **Uttaramallūr** in the Chingleput district are two inscriptions, one dated in the 7th year of the reign of **Dantivarman**,⁵ and the other in the 9th year of **Dantippōttaraśar**.⁶ The former records that a certain Brāhmaṇa purchased land for building a tank, and the latter registers an endowment for the removal of silt in the tank called **Vayiramēga-taṭāka** at **Uttaramallūr**. It is just possible that Dantivarman is only the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king **Dantippōttaraśar**, and that the tank referred to in both of these inscriptions is the same. Even if this surmise should not prove correct, the fact that the earliest **Uttaramallūr** inscription mentioning the **Vayiramēga-taṭāka** belongs to the time of the Pallava king **Dantippōttaraśar** may be taken—at least provisionally—to show that the tank probably came into existence during his time, and that its name was derived from **Vayiramēga**,⁷ one of his *virūdas*.

If the foregoing inferences are confirmed by future researches, they would establish that the Pallava king **Dantippōttaraśar** (or **Dantivarman**) bore the title **Vayiramēga**. We have at present no materials to decide if this **Dantippōttaraśar** is identical with the **Dantivarman-Mahārāja** of the Triplicane inscription, though the similarity of the names and the undisputed Pallava origin of both are in favour of the identity. The Vaishṇava saint **Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār** refers to a king of the **Tōṇḍaiyar** (*i.e.* a Pallava king) named **Vayiramēgaṇ**.⁸ Another unnamed Pallava king is mentioned by the same saint as the founder of the Triplicane temple, as I have already pointed out.⁹ In the hymn dedicated to **Paramēśvara-Viṇṇagaram** (*i.e.* the **Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāl** temple) at **Conjeeveram**,¹⁰ reference is made by the same saint to several battles fought by an unnamed **Pallava** king. These three Pallava kings appear to be distinct.¹¹

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 181, and Vol. V. p. 159. I think the possibility of **Dantiga** being the same as the **Dantivarman** of our inscription is not altogether excluded.

² The latest known record of his reign is dated in his 50th year; above, Vol. IV. p. 137, and Vol. V. p. 157, note 7.

³ This may be concluded from the fact that Nṛipatuṅga's inscriptions are found over a larger extent of country than those of the other two; see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-04, paragraph 13.

⁴ We hear of a queen named **Mārambāvai** of a certain **Nandippōttaraiyan**, who belonged to the **Pallavatilaka** family. This queen appears to have been living at the time of the early Chōla king **Rājakesarivarman**; *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900-01, paragraph 10, and above, Vol. VI. p. 321. An inscription of **Dantivarman**, "born in the **Pallavatilaka** family which rose from the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**," has recently been discovered at **Tiruveḷḷarai** in the **Trichinopoly** district (No. 541 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905). Thus, along with the **Gaṅga-Pallavas**, the regular **Pallavas** seem to have continued in the **Tamiḷ** country down to the **Chōla** conquest. The exact relationship which the latter bore to the original **Pallavas** of **Conjeeveram** is not known. Perhaps the descendants or successors of the **Dantivarman-Mahārāja** of the Triplicane inscription (who bore the title **Pallavakulatilaka**) spoke of themselves as belonging to "the family of **Pallavatilaka**" in order to distinguish themselves from the **Gaṅga-Pallavas**.

⁵ No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

⁶ No. 74 of the same collection.

⁷ This is the **Tamiḷ** form of the Sanskrit **Vajiramēga**.

⁸ *Periyatirumōḷi*, verse 180.

⁹ See page 290 above.

¹⁰ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 344, note 3.

¹¹ In verse 479 of the *Periyatirumōḷi*, the same saint refers to a **Tōṇḍai-maṇṇavan**, *i.e.* a **Pallava** king, who might be one of these three.

The first, Vayiramēgaṇ, was apparently the saint's contemporary, while the builder of the Triplicane temple must have lived prior to him. The military exploits of the third seem to have been fresh in the saint's mind, and if this impression of mine be correct, the former might have lived a short time before the latter.

It is not impossible that Vayiramēgaṇ,¹ the Pallava contemporary of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, is identical with Dantippōttarasaṅ, during whose reign the Vayiramēga-taṭśka at Uttaramallūr appears to have been built. If the battle of Mannai mentioned in verse 3 of the Paramēśvara-Vinnagaram hymn² be the same as that fought at Manṇaikūḍi by the Pallava general Udayachandra against the Pāṇḍyas according to the Udayēndiram plates,³ it may be concluded that the saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār must have lived soon after the reign of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla. If this surmise prove correct, Vayiramēgaṇ, the contemporary of the saint, must have been one of the immediate successors of Nandivarman.

The facts and inferences above set forth would yield the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. for the period of the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār and of his Pallava contemporary Vayiramēgaṇ. The same would be the approximate date of the construction of the Vayiramēga-taṭśka at Uttaramallūr, and probably also of the subjoined inscription. It is sufficient to note that palaeographical considerations do not militate against this conclusion.

Against this date of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār may be urged the Vaishṇava tradition that he was later than the saint Nammālvār.⁴ And the latter would appear to have lived subsequent to the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa, whose accession took place in A.D. 862-63,⁵ as mention is made in the existing text of the *Tiruvāymoli* of the village Varaguṇamaṅgai,⁶ called evidently after Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya. This argument would bring Nammālvār down to the 10th century A.D. and make the interval between him and Rāmānuja (11th century A.D.) very short. Vaishṇava tradition asserts that this period was occupied by Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār and several *āchāryas*, the earliest of whom must have lived long after Tirumaṅgai.⁷ Apart from this objection, there is some reason to suppose that the *Tiruvāymoli* known to Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār is different from what has come down to us. The *āchārya* Nādamuniḡal, who probably lived in the 11th century A.D.,⁸ was informed by Vaishṇavas⁹ both at Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore district and at Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birth-place of Nammālvār, that they had only heard of the name *Tiruvāymoli*. It had disappeared somehow, and no copy of the work existed at the time. At

¹ From the Kaḍaba plates of Prabhūtavaraṇa (above, Vol. IV. p. 336) it may be concluded that Vayiramēga was a surname of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga (A.D. 754). It is claimed for this king that he subjugated the ruler of Kāñchi. The genuineness of the Kaḍaba plates is, however, open to question (*ibid.* p. 333), and we must have indisputable evidence of the occupation of the Pallava country by Dantidurga before we admit that the tank at Uttaramallūr could be called after him, or that reference could be made to his prowess in a Tamil hymn.

² In certain copies of the *Nāḍiyiraprabandham* the place is called *Manneyil*, which makes its identification with Manṇaikūḍi less probable.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II. p. 372.

⁴ The *Tiruvāymoli* composed by Nammālvār had to be recited in the Śrīraṅgam temple according to certain arrangements made by Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār.

⁵ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II., paragraph 25.

⁶ Verse 897. Śrīvaramaṅgai or Śrīvaramaṅgalam mentioned in the same poem (verses 509 to 519) is probably identical with the village of the same name founded by the Pāṇḍya king Jatilavarman (called Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ in the Tamil portion) according to the Madras Museum plates; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 74.

⁷ This is clear from the fact stated later on that the *Tiruvāymoli*, which had been known to Tirumaṅgai, disappeared during the time of the first *āchārya* Nādamuniḡal, who was informed that it had been lost 'a long time ago.' The mere name and a single hymn of the poem were all that remained of it at the time.

⁸ Nādamuniḡal is said to have visited Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram founded by Rājendra-Chōla I. (A.D. 1011-12 to at least 1033).

⁹ Nādamuniḡal was led to make this enquiry on hearing a hymn of the *Tiruvāymoli* (beginning with *aravamudē*, the 48th decade of the existing text) recited in the Viṣṇu temple at his native place by certain Vaishṇavas from Ālvār-Tirunagari.

Âlvâr-Tirunagari Nâdamuniḡal was directed to recite twelve thousand times, with his mind concentrated on Nammâlvâr, a poem (beginning with *Kuṇṇinuṇ siruttâmbu*) composed by Madurakavi Âlvâr, Nammâlvâr's elder contemporary and disciple. He was told that Nammâlvâr would then appear to him in a vision and grant what was required. Accordingly, Nâdamuniḡal's 'eye of knowledge' was opened, and he was initiated into the *Tiruvâymoli* and other 'mysteries' by Nammâlvâr. No reference is, however, made to the recovery of any manuscript of the poem. If this tradition be true, the only conclusion warranted by historical criticism is that Nâdamuniḡal himself composed almost the whole of the existing text of the *Tiruvâymoli*.¹ I would, however, consider this surmise as purely provisional until the date of Nammâlvâr is established from independent sources. At any rate, the tentative period of Tirumaṅgai-Âlvâr obtained in this paper need not be altered in the light of any conclusions based on the existing text of the *Tiruvâymoli*.

The object of the subjoined inscription is to record that the priests² (*kulaṅḡilâr*) of the Triplicane temple had mortgaged a field, belonging apparently to the temple, and that, in consequence, the equivalent of the interest on forty-five *kâḍis* of paddy fell short in the rice offerings presented to the god. A certain Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyariyaṇ gave thirty *kâḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṇḡus* of gold and redeemed the mortgaged field. Thirty *kâḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṇḡus* of gold were therefore equal to forty-five *kâḍis* of paddy. Thus paddy was sold at the rate of three *kâḍis* for one *kaḷaṇḡu* of gold. We do not know at present how much a *kâḍi* contained. It is mentioned in a Gaṅga-Pallava inscription at Ukkal, in a Chōḷa copper-plate grant preserved in the Madras Museum, and in two stone inscriptions at Conjeeveram.³ The interest on forty-five *kâḍis* of paddy apparently amounted to 5 *nāḷis* every day or 18½ *kalams* per year. The five *nāḷis* of paddy were converted into two *nāḷis* of rice to be offered to the god at night. If this failed, the master's share (*svâmi-bhōga*) in certain other fields was to be utilized for the offering.

A lamp-stand, cup and pot are particularly mentioned as deserving to be taken care of, probably because they were special gifts of the donor Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyariyaṇ.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pa[l]lava-kula-tilada⁴ [Bh]āra-
- 2 dvāja-gôṭr-ālakāra-patiy=ākiya⁵ śrī-
- 3 Dantiva[rm]ma-mahārāja[r]ku varsha-varddhana-
- 4 m [yā]ṇḍu pa[n]ṇiraṇḍāvad[u T]iruvalli-
- 5 kkēṇi kulaṅḡi[l]ārgaḷ [Ka]rumārachchēri-ppula[m]
- 6 or[r]i-iṭṭu nārpaṭṭ[aiṇ-g]āḍi n[el po]li-ūṭ[ṭa] Tiru-
- 7 vaḍigaṭku tiruvamriḍu muṭṭa=Pugaḷttunai-Viṣ[ai]-

¹ Internal evidence in support of this surmise is not altogether wanting. Unlike other hymns, each decade of the *Tiruvâymoli* consists, not of ten verses, but of eleven, the last of which declares it to be ten out of the thousand composed by Nammâlvâr. In the Śaiva *Dēvāram* the last verse of each hymn furnishes the name of the composer, while each hymn of the other Vaishṇava *Âltārs* contains generally ten verses. At any rate none of them had determined beforehand the total number of verses which he should compose. It is worthy of note that in the poem, which Nâdamuniḡal was required to recite twelve thousand times, the number of verses composed by Nammâlvâr is given as one thousand. In verse 573 of the *Tiruvâymoli* occurs the following—*ninn-ilangu-muḍiyināy* = irubattōr-kāl = araṣuḡalai katta *venri-nāṇ-maḷurā*, etc. The portion in roman type occurs in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. These two points do not prove anything by themselves. But taken with the surmise based on tradition they are not altogether meaningless.

² The word *kulaṅḡilâr* occurs also in No. 168 of 1904 in connection with a Śiva temple at Tiruvakkara. It means literally 'temple proprietor' and may denote either the temple authorities or the temple priests.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 8 and note 8.

⁴ *Tilada* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *tilaka*.

⁵ The *k* of *ākiya* is written in Grantha.

- 8 **yarayan** muppadiṇ **kāḍi** nellum aṇ-kalañju¹
 9 poṇṇuṇ-guḍuttu miṭṭu-ttanad=ākki nārpa[t]-
 10 t[ai]ṇ-gāḍiyun=niśadi aṇṇāḷi nellāl=irunnā-
 11 ḷi² tū-kkuttal-ariśi[y]āl=irā-ppōṇagañ=[Ja]ṇga[śa]-
 12 rmmaṇuṇ=Jatṭisarmmaṇum ḷaiya-Śatṭisarmmaṇuṇ=gā-
 13 tṭuvārāṇā[r*]gal[l*] muṭṭil[l=Av]ippulattun=Dattan-pula-
 14 ttuṇ=Gā[rai]kilā[ṇ-pu]la[t]tum svāmi-bhōgattu=tṭiruva-
 15 [m]ṇidu kātṭuvōmāṇōm [l*] i-ddharmmatt-uḷḷā[r] yāva-
 16 rēṇuṇ=gō=chchēvadu śeyidu śeluttav=oṭṭi kuḍut-
 17 tōm [l*] [ḷa]-vīlakkum vaṭṭi[l*] lō[ha]-ppāṇaiyum ratshippe-³
 18 du [l*] **Pugaḷttunai-Viś[ai]yaraiaṇ** ⁴ndharmmam idu [l*] idaṇai ra-
 19 tshittār=¹āḍi iraṇḍum eṇ muḍi-mēḷiṇa [l*] svastī ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **twelfth year** of the increasing years of the glorious **Dantivarman Mahārāja**, who was the ornament of the **Pallava** family (*and*) the lord adorning the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**,— the priests of the **Tiruvallikkēni** (*temple*) having mortgaged the field in **Karumārachchēri**, the offering for the god accruing from(?) the interest of forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy fell short. **Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyaraiaṇ** gave thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kalañjus* of gold, redeemed (*the field*), and made (*it*) his own. With two *nālis* of clean pounded rice (*made*) from five *nālis* of paddy, (*the interest on*)⁵ forty-five *kāḍis* (of paddy) per day, **Śaṅgaśarman**, **Śatṭisarman** and the younger **Śatṭisarman** shall present the night offering. If (*this*) fails, we shall present the offering out of the master's share in **Avippulam**,⁶ **Dattan's** field and **Kāraikilāṇ's** field. Having agreed that any one concerned in this charity might do what the king could and carry it out, we gave (*it*). The *ḷa*-lamp,⁷ the cup (*and*) the metal pot have to be taken care of.

This (is) **Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyaraiaṇ's** charity. The two feet of those who protect this (*charity*) shall be on my head. Hail !

No. 30.— TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D. ; ROSTOCK.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller **Kharōshthī** inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years. Whoever has had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity and penetration of scholars like **Bühler**, **Senart** and others. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single **Kharōshthī** inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every detail. Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined inscription. It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its first purely mechanical reproduction.

¹ Read *aiṇ-galañju*.

² Read *rakshi*°.

³ The word *kāḍiyun* in l. 10 appears to be used in the sense of *kāḍiyin*.

⁴ *Avippulam* means literally "oblation field." The produce from this field was evidently used for oblations.

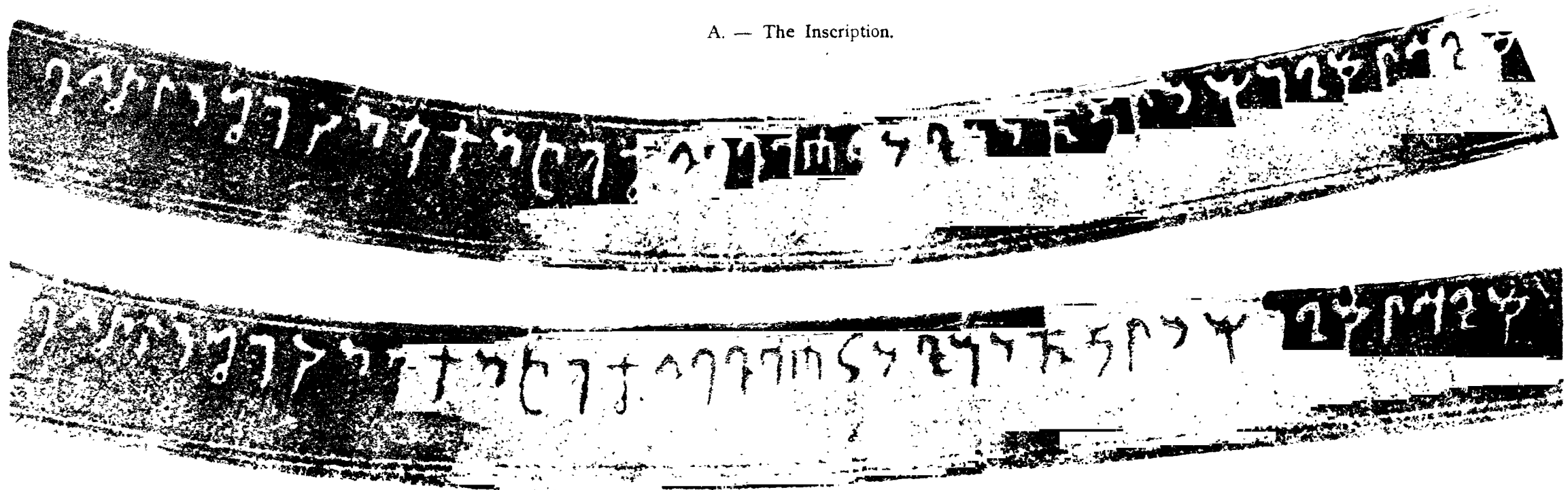
⁵ For the explanation of this term see above, Vol. VII. p. 134.

⁶ Read *iru-ndli*.

⁷ Cancel the letter *u*.

The Taxila Vase.

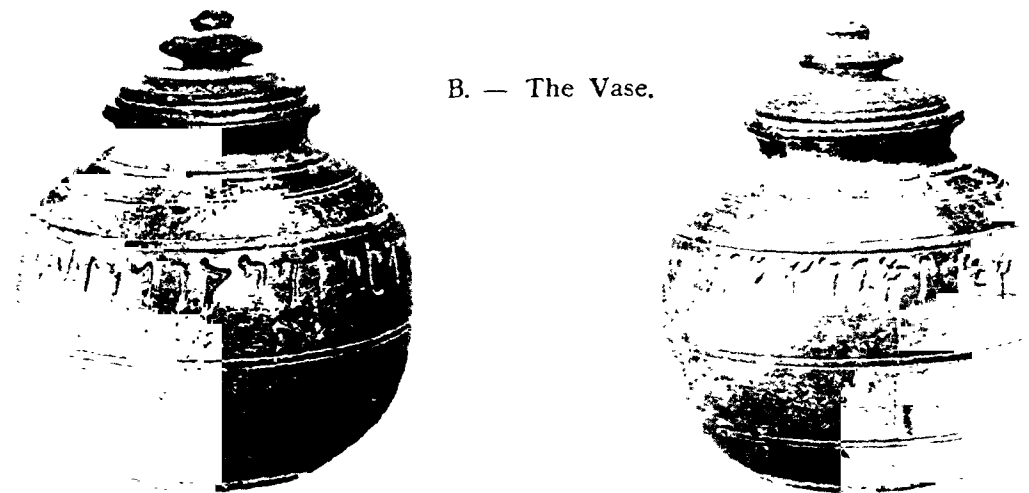
A. — The Inscription.



Full-Size.

From two inked estampages by Mr. Ram Singh, Lahore.

B. — The Vase.



E. Hultzsch.

From photographs by Mr. Ram Singh.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

The inscription is engraved round a steatite vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Peshawar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stûpas near Shâhpur; but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. p. 24, and Plate iii. fig. 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXII. p. 151, and added a correction *ibid.* p. 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, *ibid.* p. 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II. p. 125, and Plate lix. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr. Vogel, by Mr. Ram Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

TEXT.

Sihilēṇa Siharachhitēṇa cha bhratārehi Takhasīlāe ayam thuvo pratithavito savabuddhāṇa puyae.

TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihila (Simhila) and Siharachhita (Simharakshita) this Stûpa was erected at Takhasīlā (Takshasīlā) in honour of all the Buddhas.

REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ", take an intermediate position between those of the Asôka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Asôka characters are less numerous and less marked; but the *la* with its hook bent down and rounded and the *sa* with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shâhbâzgarhi and Mansehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transliteration of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read *Sihilēṇa*, *Siharachhitēṇa* and *savabuddhāṇa*; but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between *na* and *ṇa*, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual *ṇa*. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of *ṇ* instead of Sanskrit *n* in the word *Śakamunīsa* (l. 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one *n*-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, p. 453, Mr. Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of five *mātrās* with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run:—

Sihilēṇa Siharachhitēṇa cha
ayam thūvô pratithāvitô

bhrâtārēhi Takhasīlāe |
savvabuddhāṇa pūyāe ||

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings *Gihilēṇa* and *bhatārehi*. The correct readings *Sihilēṇa*, which can only stand for *Sihilēṇa*, and *bhratārehi* would imply that

the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six *mātrās*, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial *bhr* was removed by the *caesura* standing between *cha* and *bhratarehi*. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr. Thomas' suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No. 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1308.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; MADRAS.

These plates were discovered at *Śoraikkāvūr* near Kuttālam, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr. O. N. Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long, 4" broad, and $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick. The ring is 1" in diameter, and the whole set weighs $16\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. with the ring, which alone weighs $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamil numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and barring slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation; nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskrit verses which give the genealogy of prince Virūpāksha, a passage in Tamil prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the shares of land granted among the donees, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in Sanskrit, once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god Śrī-Harihara and is in Kanarese characters, the alphabet of the Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamil characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamil inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between *r* and the secondary form of *ā*; the secondary *ā*, *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on; e.g. *syā* in line 23, *bhu* in line 115, *hyā* in line 116, *vā* in line 132, *mā* in line 138, *bā* in line 146; *ā* in line 15, *ṇ* in line 28; *ko* in line 129; *rai* in line 53, *kai* in line 128; *dhau* in line 18, *ḍau* in line 164. In line 70 the *lu* of *padimālukku* is engraved below the line; in line 57 the letter *ku* is corrected into the symbol of the secondary *ā*; and in line 26 *viśarā* is written as *pāsarā*. The Grantha letter *t* is used for the Tamil *ṭ* in the words *utpaṭa* and *Āti* occurring in lines 68, 121 and 138.

The inscription belongs to the time of Virūpāksha (v. 5) or Vira-Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar (l. 43 f.), the son of Harihara (II.) (v. 4) or Vira-Harihara-rāya (l. 42) of the first Vijayana-gara dynasty, and records the grant of the village of Śiraikkāvūr (v. 10, ll. 53 f. and 60 f.) together with $10\frac{1}{4}$ *velis*¹ of land adjoining it, under the name of Vijayasudarśanapuram, to

¹ In the Tamil portion this is given as $10\frac{1}{4}$ *velis* (ll. 52 f. and 67 f.).

fourteen Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*. This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in Śaka 1308, the Kshaya-saṁvatsara,—i.e. two years later than his Ālampūṇḍi grant.¹ Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8 f. and ll. 45-49):—

“The date, for Śaka-saṁvat 1308 expired, which was the year Kshaya, regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387. On this day the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna and the *karṇa* Nāga ended 7 h. 35 m., the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 19 h. 3 m., and the *yōga* Vaidhṛiti from 6 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month Paṅguni (Chaitra).”

Both the Ālampūṇḍi and Śoraikkāvūr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with Saṁgama, the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virūpāksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again Kāmākshi, the wife of Saṁgama, and Mallādēvi, the wife of Harihara II., are referred to. While in the Ālampūṇḍi grant Mallādēvi is spoken of simply as belonging to ‘the family of Rāmadēva,’ in the present record she is described as his ‘grand-daughter’ (son’s daughter) in the beginning (v. 5); but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama *Nārāyaṇivilāsa* by Virūpāksha,² makes Mallādēvi the daughter of king Rāma. In a supplementary note on the Ālampūṇḍi grant,³ Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallādēvi may have been the daughter of the Yādava king Rāmachandra. Adverting to this Mr. R. Sewell writes as follows:⁴—

“The plate in question asserts that Mallādēvi belonged to ‘the race of Rāmadēva,’ while the drama (*Nārāyaṇivilāsa*) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Rāma, calling Virūpāksha the ‘daughter’s son of king Rāma;’ and from this Mr. Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Rāmachandra of the family of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Rāmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Rāmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallādēvi, or Mallāmbikā, though she may have been ‘of the race of,’ was not the daughter of, king Rāma,—if Rāma was identical with Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri.”

The present plates add a further relationship, viz. that Virupāksha was the son of the son’s daughter (*pautrī*) of Rāmadēva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,⁵ we may conclude that Virūpāksha was the great-grandson of king Rāmachandra.

In the present record Virūpāksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father; for the Śaka year 1308 falls in the reign of Harihara II.⁶ From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 224 ff.

² *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts* by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No. I. p. 90.

³ Above, Vol. V., Add. and Corr., p. v.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 19.

⁵ [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri (the Rāmadēva of verse 5) may have had an (otherwise unknown) son named Rāmabhūpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallādēvi, the mother of Virūpāksha.—E.H.]

⁶ In the Tiruvilimilalai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II., and in which his son Virūpāksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Muṇaiyadaraiyan made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvilimilalai is only a mile distant from Tiruppāmburam mentioned in our record.

month Bhâdrapada of the year Târaṇa (Śaka 1326).¹ The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa.² Another record from the Shimoga district states that in the month Kârttika of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Târaṇa, **Bukka II.** was on the throne.³ This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Harihara's death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Ēkâmrânâtha temple at Conjeeveram.⁴ It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II. Again we learn that the coronation of Dēvarāya I. took place in Śaka 1328, in the month Kârttika of the year Vyaya.⁵ Evidently therefore Bukka's reign must have come to a close at this time. But it must also be noted that in the month Mârgaśira of the year Târaṇa, Śaka 1327, **Virûpāksha** is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara.⁶ This reign overlaps that of Bukka II. Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virûpāksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virûpāksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II., ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of Bukka II. This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I. Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harihara II. there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus:—Bukka II., Virûpāksha, Bukka II. once again, and Dēvarāya I. Virûpāksha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time.

Besides calling Virûpāksha the lord of the **Tuṇḍira, Chôḷa and Pāṇḍya** countries (v. 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Ālampūṇḍi grant. He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Râmanâtha (at **Râmēśvaram**). He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Brâhmanical faith (*śūdra-mârḡa*, v. 7).⁷ He is stated to have gilded (the *umbil* of the temple at) **Śrīrangam** and the 'Golden Hall' (at **Chidambaram**), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chôḷas.

As regards the donees, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaishṇava names; and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrīvaishṇava *Āchârya-puruṣas*.⁸

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, **Śīraikkāvûr**, the village granted, is the same as the modern **Śoraikkāvûr** where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttalam Railway Station. **Tiruppâmpuram** (v. 10, ll. 49 f. and 65) is now known as **Tiruppâmbapuram** and is about 9 miles west of the Nannilam station, also in the Tanjore district. I am unable to identify Eḷu nūḷi in **Eḷumuri-parru** (ll. 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskrit as **Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit**⁹ (v. 9), while **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanâḍu** (ll. 59 and 63 f.), a district of **Chôḷa-maṇḍalam** (l. 58 f.), is Sanskritized as **Ujjivana** (v. 9).

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (ll. 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained.

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tirthahallî taluka, No. 129.

² *Id.* Vol. II No. 126.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tirthahallî taluka, No. 11.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 36, note 3.—Compare also above, Vol. VI, p. 329 f.—E. H.]

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Hassan taluka, No. 133, p. 85.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tirthahallî taluka, No. 196.

⁷ Compare above, Vol. III, p. 118 and note 4.

⁸ *Viz.* Vēḷagōmapurattâr (ll. 75 and 79), Gōmatattâr (l. 82 f.), Vangiipurattâr (l. 90 f.), Uruputtattâr (l. 97), Sōrtaiyâr (l. 111), and Kārambaḷebettu (l. 104)

[For *nivṛit*, 'a division,' see verse 9 of the Ālampūṇḍi plate.—E. H.]

TEXT.¹*First Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 [Śubham=a]stu [|*] Ōmkâr-âmkura-dam[shṭr]-
 2 [āya sa]kal-âmnâya-ghôshinê [|*]
 3 â[dyây=a]s[tn na]mas=tasmai Varâ-
 4 hâya [ma]haujasê || [1 ||*] Âdhâra-śa-
 5 ktim=ambhōdhi-mêkhalâm ratna-ga-
 6 rbhinîm [|] Hara-mûrttim Harêh kântâ-
 7 m Bhûtaadhâtîm=upâs[ma]hê || [2 ||*] Âs[i]-
 8 t Sôm-ânva[y]-ô[ttamisaḥ] Kâmâ-
 9 kshî-Saṁgam-âtmajaḥ | B[u]k[ka-bhû]pa i-
 10 ti khyâtô râjâ Raghur=i[v=âparaḥ] || [3 ||*]
 11 Asti râjâdhirâ[ô=sya] putrô
 12 Harihar-êśvaraḥ | yash=shōda[śa-ma]-
 13 hâdâna-sukrit-âmṛita-sâ[garah] || [4 ||*] Sa
 14 pautryâm Râmadêvasya [Mall]â-
 15 dêvyâ[m*]² mahâśayam |(l) Virûp[â]ksha-ma-
 16 hi[p]âlam labdhavân=atma[sa]mbha-
 17 vam || [5 ||*] Sa Kuntaḥ-êndus=Tuṇḍ[ira-Chô]-
 18 [la]-Pâṇḍya-k-hitiśvaraḥ | san[nidhau]³
 19 [Râma]nâthasya tulim=ârû[ḍhava]-
 20 n=dhanaiḥ |[6 ||*] Sa gô-saha[sra-dô]
 21 vêda-mâ[rgga]-sthâpana-[tatparaḥ] [|*] Śrî-
 22 raṁga-Kâñchanasabhâ-puna[r-ut]bhâ.⁴
 23 [saua]-kshamaḥ |[7 ||*] Danaśla[gh]yê [Śa]kasya-
 24 â[bde] Kshaya-samvatsarê [śu]bhê [|]

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 Pâ(phâ)lgunê māsya-amāvāsy[âm]
 26 tithau Saumyasya pâ(vâ)[sa]ré || [8 ||*]
 27 Vaidhṛiti-ṣṛiśi Rêvatyâm [ka]ra-
 28 nô⁵ Nâga-nâmni saḥ | Chôlêsh[u]
 29 Saptakhaṇḍ-âkhyâ-nivṛity=Ujjîva-
 30 n-âhvaṇḍ |[9 ||*] Chiraik[kâ]vûr=iti
 31 gr[â]man=Tirupp[â]mpura-s[i]mani | [pâ]-
 32 d-ôn-aikâdaśa-vṛiti-kshêtra-[sa]-
 33 m[gha]ṭit-ântikam |[10 ||*] Kṛita-prasastiḥ [Vi]-
 34 ja[ya]suda[r]śana[pu]r-âkhyayâ [|] chatu-
 35 [r]dlaśabhyô viprêbhyah prâdâ[d=u]-
 36 daka-pûrvvakam |[11 ||*] Samast-ôpâ[dhi]-
 37 rahitas=sarvva-mânyatayâ sthiraḥ | [va]-
 38 rddhatâ[m]=agrahârô-yam=â-cha[ndra]-ravi-
 39 târakam || [12 ||*] Svasti śrî-vijay-âtmbhu.⁶
 40 daya-śrîman-mahâmaṇḍaliśvaran r[â]-

¹ From the original plates.² The *ê* of *dê* is at the end of l. 14.³ The third member of the syllable *dhaui* is at the beginning of l. 19.⁴ Read -*udbhâ*.⁵ The *ê* of *ṇê* is at the end of l. 27.⁶ Read -*dbhyu*.

41 jādhirājan rājaparamēśvaran
 42 śrī-Vira-Harihararāya-kumāra-śrīma-
 43 [n-ma]hāmaṇḍaliśvaran śrī-Vira-Vi-
 44 ruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar pri[thvi]-rājya-
 45 m paṇṇiy=aruḷāṇiṇṇa Śak-ābda[m]
 46 1308ṇ mēl=chchellāṇiṇ-
 47 ra Kshaya-samvatssaram¹ Paṅguni-mā-
 48 sam amā[vā*]syaiyum Budhan-ki[la]-
 49 maiyum peṇṇa Rēvati-nāḷ Tiru[p]-
 50 pāmpurat[til vaḍa]-vayalil Puḷudi-

Second Plate ; First Side.

51 vaṇa-Pperumāl jivitan=tiṇandu
 52 iluvaiyāl vēli patt-a-
 53 raiyē² araikkāl kūḍiya Śiraikkā-
 54 vūr=āṇa Vijayasudarśanapurattu nā-
 55 nā-gōtrigaḷ āna³ bhaṭṭagaḷukku [u]-
 56 daka-pūrvvam=āka⁴ sarvvaṁmānya-agra[hā]-
 57 ram=ā[ga*] [Rā]hu-⁵śāntya-arttham=āka⁶ dharmma-[śā]-
 58 sanam (p)paṇṇi=kkuḍutta Sō[la-ma]-
 59 ṇ[ḍala]m Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷa[nāḍu]
 60 Elumuri-ppaṇṇu kiḷ-kūṇu agaram [Śi]-
 61 raikkāvūr nāṅg=ellai[kk=ut].
 62 ppatta⁷ naṇjai puṇjai nattaṅga[1]
 63 sakala-prāptigaḷum Uyyakko-
 64 ṇḍa-vaḷanāḍu Elumuri-ppaṇṇu=kkīḷ.
 65 kūṇu Tiruppāmpuram vaḍa-vayalil [Śi]-
 66 raikkāvūr ellaiy=uḍaṇ kū[ḍiṇa]
 67 nilam patt-araiyē araikkāl
 68 vēliyum utpata⁸ [nā]nā-gōtrigaḷ āṇa
 69 bhaṭṭagaḷukku¹⁰ nichchayitta bhāgam 1[4] [11*]
 70 Inda bhāgam padinālukku¹¹ vagai [1] Ā-
 71 trē-¹²gōtrattu Āpastamba-[sūtra]-
 72 ttu Udāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]tra-
 73 n [N]ārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Ā-
 74 trē-¹²gōtrattu Āpastamba-sū-
 75 trattu Vēdagōmpurattu Tiruva-
 76 raṅga-Nārāyaṇa-[bhaṭṭa]ṇ putraṇ
 77 Gōvinda-¹³bha[ṭṭaṇ bhāgam]—1—Ātrē-¹³

Second Plate ; Second Side.

78 gōtrattu Āpastamba-sūtrat-
 79 tu Vēdagōm[pu]rattu Lakshmaṇa-

¹ Read -samvatssaram.

⁴ Read =āga.

⁷ Read =utpatta.

¹⁰ Read bhaṭṭargaḷukku.

¹² Read Ātrēya.

² The ai of rai is at the end of l. 52.

⁵ The ā of rā is corrected from ku.

⁸ Read utpada.

¹¹ The syllable lu is engraved below the line.

¹³ The first member of the syllable gō is at the end of l. 76.

³ Read dāa bhaṭṭargaḷukku.

⁶ Read =dga.

⁹ Read nāna.

- 80 bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa-
 81 ṇ bhāgam—1—Kaṇḍinnya-gōtra-
 82 ttu Āpastamba-sūtrattu Gō-
 83 maṭṭattu Karuṇākara-bhaṭṭaṇ [pa]traṇ
 84 Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—
 85 Parāśara-gōtrattu Ā[pa]stamba-
 86 sūtrattu I[ru]malapō[śaṇ] Āk-
 87 ¹koṇṭavilli-sōma[yā]ji-²[pu]-
 88 traṇ Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakshyamāna-
 89 r bhāgam—1—Vatssa-³gō[tra]ttu Ā-
 90 pastamba-sūtrattu Vaṅgippu[ra]-
 91 ttu Bhagavān-bha[t]ṭaṇ putraṇ Śrīra-
 92 mgarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Vat-
 93 ssa-³gōtrattu Āpa[sta]mba-sū-
 94 trattu Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa-
 95 [ṇ] putraṇ Yajñamūrtti-bhaṭṭaṇ bh[ā]-
 96 gam—1—Vatssa-³gōtrattu Ā[pa]-
 97 stamba-sūtrattu Uṇṇuppuṭṭūr [Nā]-
 98 rāyana-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Dāmō[dara]-
 99 bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Bhāradvāja-g[ō]-
 100 trattu Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Ku-
 101 rōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ [Śrī]-
 102 raṇ[ga*]nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—[Bhāradvā]-
 103 ja-[gō]trattu Āpasta[m]ba-sū[tr]attu
 104 Kārambicheṭṭu Mabādēva-bhaṭṭaṇ
 105 putraṇ Yajñātma-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—

Third Plate; First Side.

- 106 Saṃkṛiti-gōtrattu Āpastamba-
 107 sūtrattu Iruṅgaṇṭi¹ Dēvarā-
 108 ja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bha-
 109 ṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Śaṭa[ṭha]ma[r]śhaṇa-gōtrat-
 110 tu Bōdhā[ṣa]na-sūtrattu Irāyūr
 111 Śōṭṭai ⁶Nṛittarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śr[i]-
 112 raṇga[nātha]-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Viśvā-
 113 mitra-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana-sūtrat-
 114 tu [Ś]ēñālūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putra[ṇ]
 115 ⁶Maṇṭalapurusha-somaṇḍāyār bh-
 116 āgam—1—Sāva[rṇi]-gōtrattu Drāhy-
 117 āya[ṇa]-sūtrattu Gaṃgōli [S]ōma-
 118 nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrīparvata[nātha]-bha-
 119 ṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Āga bhāgam—14—[Iu]-
 120 da bhāgam paḍiṇālu pērkkuṃ Pra[bhava]-
 121 varuṣam Āṭi-⁷māsam pūrvva-paksha[tt]u pra-
 122 thamai mudal-āga śuṅgam [ubhaya]-mārggam⁸

¹ Read *konda*°.

² Read *Vatssa*.

³ Read *Nṛitta*°.

⁷ Read *Ādi*.

² The letter *y* is entered below the line

⁶ Read *gandī*.

⁶ Read *Mandala*°.

⁸ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I p 81, l 6a.

- 123 idaitturai puramb=āga [sa]kala-su-
 124 varp-ādāyam sakala-bha[k]t-ā[d]āyam
 125 śekku-kkaḍamai ve[ṭṭi]-vari katti-
 126 gai avasaram vāsal¹ oṭṭu ō[lai] e-
 127 [lu]ttu rājasam paṭṭaya-kāṇik-
 128 kai² t[ō]raṇa-kāṇik[kai] [śem]bo-
 129 ṇ-var[i āsu]podu ma[kka]l pēra³l ko-
 130 [lu[m] vilaiyāseṇu araśu-pē[ru]
 131 pāḍi-kā[va*]l ariśi-kāṇam araimaṇai-
 132 y-ū[li]yam [maga]mai talaiyārikkam v-
 133 āsal-ppa[ṇam] pul-vari aḍai[ppu]-ttā-
 134 [vu u]ḷavaṇ sōḍi kār-aḍai māv-a-
 135 ḍai⁴ kuḷav-aḍai oḷu[kku-nir-nilai-nir]-p-
 136 pāṭṭam ta[ri]-kkaḍamai [ka]ṭṭ-āyam [ti]-
 137 rigaiy-ā[yam] sōḷaku . . [ṇavāvi]-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 138 ruttup[paḍi] Āṭi-Kāttigai-⁵[ppachchai] m-
 139 āṇāvi-ttēvai Pi[la]iyā[ri*] nō-
 140 ṇbi tiruḷakk-eṇ[ṇai]-ttē-
 141 vai paṭṭi-tteṇ[ḍa]m kurra-tteṇ-
 142 ḍam āl-amaṇji āṇ-adaipp-uḍaiyar k-
 143 āṇikkai maṇṇum eppēr paṭṭa variga-
 144 [um nidhi-nikshōpa-jala-pāshāṇa-
 145 m⁶ akshaṇi-āgāmi-siddha-[sā]ddhyam p[ū]-
 146 rrv-āyam apū[rvv-āya]m utpaṭṭa sarvva-b-
 147 ādhā-parihāram=āga] ā-cha[ndr-ārka-sthāyi]-
 148 y-āka⁷ sa[rvva]m[ānaya-agra]hāram=āga [kuḍu]-
 149 ttina [||*] [Sukha]mē bhujittu=kkol-
 150 lavam [||*] Sa[rvva]mānyam pūrvva-mariyādā [||*]
 151 Dāna-pā[ḷana]yōr=munaddhyō dānāt⁸
 152 śrō[yo=nupā]ḷanam | dā[ṇa]t=[sva]-
 153 rrgam=avā[ṇōti pā]ḷanād-ach[yu]tam [pa]-
 154 dam— [13 ||*] S[va-dattām para]-dattām vā yō [ha]-
 155 rōta va[sundharām] [||*] shash[ṭ]im var[sha]-sa[ha]-
 156 srāṇi [viśṭhāyā]ū=jāyatē kṛimih [|| 14 ||*] E[k=ai]-
 157 va [bha]gini lōkē sarvvēshām=ēva bhūbhujā-
 158 [m] | na bhōgyā na kara-[ggrā]hyā vipra-datt-
 159 ā vasundharā— [15 ||*] Sāmī[nyō]=yan=dharma-sēt[u]⁹
 160 nṇipāpār kâlê kâlê [pā]ḷan[ī]yō
 161 bhavattih¹⁰ | sarvvān=ētān bhāvinah pā-
 162 rtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-
 163 mabhadrah [|| 16 ||*] Pantro B[u]kka-[na]rēndra-ya
 164 danhitro¹¹ R[āma]-bhūpatēh | vidyatē hi [Vi]-

¹ *Vāsal* is corrected from *vachchal*.

² The *ai* of *kai* is at the end of l. 127.

³ The third member of the syllable *ko* is at the beginning of l. 130.

⁴ The *ai* of *ḍai* is at the end of l. 134.

⁵ Read *Adi-Kārttigai*.

⁶ Read *-pāshānam*.

⁷ Read *=āga*.

⁸ Read *dānāch=chkrēyō*.

⁹ Read *-sētura*.

¹⁰ Read *bhavadbhūh*.

¹¹ The first member of the syllable *dan* is at the end of l. 163

165 [rū]pākshō rājā Harihar-ātmajaḥ [|| 17 ||*] Śubham-a-
 166 s[ta]—
 167 Śrī-Harihara [|| *]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, and v. 2 the goddess of the Earth.

(V. 3.) There was a king called **Bukka**, who was the son of **Kāmākshi** and **Samgama**, and an ornament of the race of the **Moon**.

(V. 4.) His son is the **Rājā** **rāja** **Harihara**, who performed the sixteen great gifts.

(V. 5.) He had by **Mallādēvi**, the son's daughter of **Rāmadēva**, a son named **Virūpāksha**.

(V. 6.) He, the moon of the **Kuntaḷas** and the lord of the **Tundīra**, **Chōla** and **Pandya** countries, had, in the presence of (*the god*) **Rāmanātha**, weighed himself against gold.

(Vv. 7-12.) In the **Śaka year** (*expressed by the chronograms*) **danaślāghya** (*i.e.* 1308), in the auspicious **Kshaya-samvatsara**, in the month **Phalguna**, on the new-moon day, on a **Wednesday**, while (the *nakshatra*) was **Revati**, (the *gōpa*) **Vaidhṛiti** (and) the *Vara* **Naga**.—he, the donor of a thousand cows, the establisher of the Brāhmanical faith (*śāstra-mārga*), who was able to regild (the *vimāna*) at **Śrīraṅgam** and the **Golden Hall** (at **Chidambaram**).—gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya* (and) an *agrahāra*, to fourteen Brāhmanas the village of **Vijayasudarśanapuram**,¹ (*which was made up of*) **Chiraikkāvūr** in **Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit**, (*a subdivision*) of **Ujjivana** in the **Chōla** (country), and of a field of ten and three quarters *ṛṇis*² on the outskirts of **Tiruppāmpuram**.

(Ll. 39-55.) On the day of (the *nakshatra*) **Rēvati**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the new-moon (*tithi* in the solar) month **Paṅguni** (*of*) the **Kshaya-samvatsara** which was current after the **Śaka year** 1308 (*had passed*).—while the *Mahā-mandalasvara* **Vira-Viruppanna-Uḍaiyar**, the son of the *Mahāmandalasvara* **Rājā** **Chirāṅga Rājā** **Rājā** **Vira-Harihararāya**, was pleased to rule the earth.—(he) gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, in order to propitiate (*the bad influence of*) **Rāhu**, by a religious edict, (*the following lands*) to the **Bhattas** of various *gōtras* (living) in **Śiraikkāvūr** alias **Vijayasudarśanapuram** which included ten and five-eighths *ṛṇis* (of land) in the northern fields of **Tiruppāmpuram**.—excluding the possessions of (*the gods*) **Paṇḍivaṇa-Perumāl**.—

(Ll. 58-69.) The wet land, dry land and house sites, with all acquisitions, enclosed within the four boundaries of **Śiraikkāvūr**, a village (*belonging to*) the eastern group (*of*) **Elumuri-parru**, (*a subdivision of*) **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanaḍu** (*in*) **Śōḷa-maṇḍalam**, together with ten and five-eighths *ṛṇis* of land bordering on **Śiraikkāvūr** (*and situated*) in the northern fields (*of*) **Tiruppāmpuram** (*in*) the eastern group of **Elumuri-parru**, (*a subdivision of*) **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanaḍu**, were assigned in 14 shares to **Bhattas** of various *gōtras*.

¹ [Professor Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions **Sudarśanacharya** who wrote the *Āpistambagrihyasūtratīkā* and the *Śrutaprakāśikā*. The *Vadagalai-Gurupirampiriprattāḍa* records that the latter work consists of notes taken by **Sudarśanabhāta**, the grandson of **Paṇḍarabhāta**, from the discourses of the **Vaiṣṇava** teacher **Ambāśāchārya** on the *Śrībhāṣya*. According to the *Vadagalai* tradition **Sudarśanabhāta** was an elder contemporary of the great **Vēlāntadēśika**, who is believed to have been a friend of the **Vēlānta** scholar **Vidyāranya**, and who is said to have composed a verse in praise of the **Vijayanagara** officer **Gōpāna** (*op. cit.* Vol. VI. p. 322). It thus appears that, in case the author of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* was not living at the time of the **Soraikkāvūr** grant, his memory must have been quite fresh in the minds of **Vaiṣṇavas**. And as most of the donees of the grant are **Vaiṣṇavas**, it is not unlikely that the granted village was called **Vijayasudarśanapuram** after the *Āchārya*, provided **Vijayasudarśana** was not a surname either of **Virūpāksha** or of his father **Harihara** II.—V. V.]

² [For *ṛṇi* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *ṛṇi* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 364, note 3.—E. H.]

(Ll. 70-119.) The recipients of these fourteen shares were :—

| No. | Name of the donee. | Father's name. | Gōtra. | Sūtra. |
|-----|------------------------------|---|------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . | Uḍāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭa . | Ātrēya . . . | Āpastamba. |
| 2 | Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa . . . | Vēdagōmpurattu Tiruvaraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa. | Do. . . . | Do. |
| 3 | Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa . . . | Vēdagōmpurattu Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa. | Do. . . . | Do. |
| 4 | Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭa . . . | Gōmaṭhattu Karuṇākara-bhaṭṭa. | Kauṇḍīya . . . | Do. |
| 5 | Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakṣyamāṇa . | Irumaḷapō[śan] Ākkoṇḍavilli-sōmayājin. | Parāsara . . . | Do. |
| 6 | Śrīrangarāja-bhaṭṭa . . . | Vaṅgippurattu Bhagavān-bhaṭṭa. | Vatsa | Do. |
| 7 | Yajñamūrti-bhaṭṭa . . . | Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa . | Do. . . . | Do. |
| 8 | Dāmōlara-bhaṭṭa . . . | Uṇupputtūr Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa | Do. . . . | Do. |
| 9 | Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa . . . | Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa . | Bhāradvāja . . . | Āśvalāyana. |
| 10 | Yajñātina-bhaṭṭa . . . | Kārambicheṭṭu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa. | Do. . . . | Āpastamba. |
| 11 | Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa . . . | Iruṅgaṇḍi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa . | Saṁkṛiti . . . | Do. |
| 12 | Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa . . . | Iṛayūr Śōṭtai Nṛittarāja-bhaṭṭa. | Śāṭhamarshaṇa . | Bōdhāyana. |
| 13 | Maṇḍalapuruṣa-sōmayājin . . | Sēṇalūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa . | Viśvāmitra . . . | Do. |
| 14 | Śrīparvatanātha-bhaṭṭa . . . | Gaṅgōḷi Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭa . | Sāvarni | Drāhyāyana. |

(Ll. 119-149.) We (*vis.* Virūpāksha) gave these shares to (*these*) fourteen persons as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, including all taxes.¹ (*and including*) hidden treasure, deposits, water, stones, permanent profits, future profits, established income, feasible income, old taxes and new taxes (*to have effect*) from the first (*tithi*) of the first fortnight (*of the solar*) month Āḍi (*in*) the Prabhava year.²

Vv. 13-16 contain the usual imprecations and benedictions.

(V 17.) There exists king Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara, the son's son of king Bukka, (*and*) the daughter's son of king Rāma.

No. 32.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF SRIGIRIBHUPALA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1346.

By M. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., HIGH COURT VAKIL, MADRAS.

The finding-place of these plates is not known. But from Mr. Sewell's description of them³ it appears that they were preserved in the office of the Head Assistant Collector of North Arcot.

¹ These taxes (ll. 122-143) are left untranslated.

² Prabhava is the name of the cyclic year immediately following Kṣhaya, in which the grant was made see ll. 24 and 47 of the text.

³ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 12.

Hence it is likely that they were found in the North Arcot district. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum, and I edit the inscription on them from two ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, with the permission of Government.

The copper-plates are three in number. The inscription is engraved on both sides of each of them. The second and third plates are marked at the left top corner of their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 3 respectively. The first two plates measure 9' by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", while the dimensions of the third and last plate are $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ring, if any, on which the plates were strung, is lost; and they are now kept together by a string passed through the ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, bored on the top of each plate.

The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved is Grantha; but in the following cases Tamil letters have been used:—*ñ*, *g*, *ḍ* and *ṇā* of the word *Vēṅgaḍaṇātha* in line 102; *tiru* of *Tiruvēṅkata* in l. 108; *Piḷḷai* in l. 112; *peru* of *P-rumkai* in ll. 115 and 121 f.; nearly the whole of the phrase *Kuppan=ullittārukku* in l. 123; and *r* of *Nāyinār* in l. 130. The colophon *Śrī-Triyambaka* is written in Kannada characters. A few peculiarities of the alphabet are worth noting. The secondary *ā*-symbol is added near the bottom of the consonant in a few cases; compare *jā* and *nā* in the word *prajñān* in l. 34, *nā* of *nāthasya* in l. 40, *nānā* in l. 44, and *samastānām* in l. 46. The guttural *ṇ* of *Śārṅgiṇōḥ* in l. 65 resembles *ṇya*. The subscript consonant in conjunct letters is in some cases added by the side of the first instead of at the bottom as in modern Grantha; compare *bḍē* in *Śakasy=ābḍē* in l. 56, *bḍu* of *pratyabḍa* in ll. 67 and 81, *ṇgi* of *Śārṅgiṇōḥ* in l. 65, and *stā* of *samastānām* in l. 46. Final *m* is in some cases not distinguished from *ma*; but, in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily, the distinction has been introduced into the text; compare e.g. *m* in *Lakṣmīm* (l. 3), *sambhūtam* (l. 5), *vaibhavam* (l. 5 f.) and *bhūṣhaṇam* (l. 7) with *m* in *°paham* (l. 4), *sampa°* (l. 19), *°ratim* (l. 38) and *grāmam* (l. 51). The group *ṛṇṇa* is written somewhat like *ṇṇa*; compare *sampāṛṇṇu* in l. 59 and *viṣṭirṇṇam* in l. 54. The letter *di* of *Dīvākara* in l. 113 resembles the Tamil vowel *i* of the 12th century A.D. The conjunct *rgga* is also peculiarly shaped; see *Bhārgava* in ll. 108, 112 and 124. The difference between the vowel *ri* and the secondary consonant *r* is marked by making the *r*-symbol end in a loop in the former case; compare *prithivim* in l. 37, *nivrid* in l. 49, *Bhriḡu* in l. 57, *ṛittair* in l. 72, and *vyāṛittair* in l. 72 f. with *samprīpti* in l. 56 f., *grāmam* in line 62 f., and *pratyekam* in l. 76, etc. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the hard dental *t* is used for the soft *d* in *Patma°* (l. 17), *vidvatbhīr* (l. 45), *Chitambara°* (l. 77 f.), *Utbāhu°* (l. 120) and *bhavatbhīḥ* (l. 146). The form *raṇna* is used for *ratna* in l. 27, and the lingual *l* for the dental *l* in *bhūpālō* in the same line. Both these forms are probably due to the influence of Kanarese, which may also account for the change of *ḍ* into *ḷ* in *Paḷuvāt-kōṭṭa* (l. 48). *Bā* is substituted for *vā* in the word *Bādḥāla* in l. 120. As a rule *n* is doubled when it occurs in conjunction with *d*; see *Gōvinḍa* in l. 89, *Utbāhusunḍara* in l. 120 f., and *Skandda* in l. 126.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Nearly one-half is in verse, and the other half, enumerating the donees and the shares which each of them received, is in prose. In only one place a Tamil phrase, *Kuppan=ullittārukku*, occurs (l. 123). The inscription uses abbreviated forms for the *gōtras* and *sūtras* of the donees, except in the case of the chief person, *Sampatkumāra-paṇḍita* (ll. 133-135).

The record begins by tracing the first Vijayanagara dynasty from the Moon, in whose lineage *Yadu* is said to have been born (v. 5). In the race of *Yadu* was born *Samgama* (I.), whose son was *Bukka* (I.) (v. 6). His son was *Harihara* (II.) (v. 7). His son was *Dēvarāya* (I.), and his son *Vijayabhūpati* (v. 8) or *Vijayabhūpāl*¹ (v. 9), who had two sons.

¹ He is also called *Vijayabhūbhuj* (v. 16), *Vijayarāj* (v. 21) and *Vijayarāya* (v. 24).

Dēvarājendra (v. 10) or Dēvarāya (II.) (v. 11) and Śrīgiriśvara (v. 10), Śrīgiriśvara (v. 12) or Śrīgiribhūpāla (v. 13). The former, being the elder, succeeded to the throne (v. 11), while the second went over to Maratakapuri and was ruling the country of which it was the capital (v. 12). He made the subjoined grant of land to Sampatkumāra-panḍita¹ and his relatives and other learned men with him, on a Friday coupled with the Rēvati *nakṣatra*, on the Uthāna-dvādaśī *tithi*, in the cyclic year Krôdhin corresponding to the Śaka year 1346. The Śaka date is expressed by the chronogram tattvâlôka (v. 19), the same as that of the Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II.,² which were issued in the month of Āṣāḍha. Our record belongs to the month of Kārttika; for the Uthāna-dvādaśī is the twelfth *tithi* in the bright half of the month of Kārttika, when Vishnu is said to rise from his four months' sleep. It is otherwise called *Prabhôlita*.³ Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—

"On the *uthāna-dvādaśī-tithi* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI p. 135. For this *tithi* of Śaka-samvat 1346 expired, which was the year Krôdhin, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 3rd November A D. 1424, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise."³

The chief donee Sampatkumāra-panḍita, is described as a very learned medical man, whose father Gōvinda-panḍita (v. 14) was also well versed in the Āyurveda and in the Vēdāṅgas. The village Nipataṭaka (v. 17), the gift of which is recorded by the present inscription, had been given away to the same donee by (the donor's father) Vijayabhūhuj (v. 16). So we may infer that by some means or other it had lapsed in the interval. It is said to have been watered by the Nāgakulyā channel (v. 18), a branch of the Kāvērīpāka channel (v. 17), and was situated in Kalavā-nivrit⁴ (Kalavai-pattu in Tamil), a division of Paḷuvūt-kōṭṭa (Paḷuvūr-kōṭṭam). When the village was granted, its name was altered into Vijayarāyapura (v. 24) or Vijayarāpura (v. 21), evidently in honour of its original donor Vijayarāya.

As regards the name Śrīgiribhūpāla, a word of explanation is necessary. Śrīgiri is another form of Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district. The god of the temple at that place is called Mallikārjuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikārjuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet into its equivalent Śrīgiribhūpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him, makes it possible that Śrīgiribhūpāla was the same person as the Pratapadēvarāya who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II. as the younger brother of the king. For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Devarajendra and Śrīgirindra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratapadēvarāya, he must be another brother of Dēvarāya II., not hitherto known. Śrīgiribhūpāla (*alias* Mallikārjuna) is of course distinct from Mallikārjuna *alias* Immaḍi-Dēvarāya, who was the son of Dēvarāya II.,⁵ and whose dates range from Śaka 1370⁶ to Śaka 1387.⁷

As regards the places mentioned in this grant, Maratakapuri is already known to us from the expression Maratakanagara-pranta occurring in the Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II., and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has suggested that it may be identical with Viriñchipuram in

¹ See vv. 16, 21 and l. 135.—[*Sampatkumāra* is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil *Śivapillai*, the name of the god at Mēlukōte in the Mysore State. It seems therefore possible that the chief donee belonged originally to the Kanarese country, and his father's native place, Rumbhāmāyūranagari (v. 13), may have to be looked for in the same country. One of the minor donees, Hampana-bhatta (l. 93), was evidently called after the Pampāpati temple at Vijayanagara.—V. V.]

² Above, Vol. III p. 35.

³ For another date of exactly the same *tithi*, but with a wrong week-day, see *Southern List*, No. 488."

⁴ Compare above, p. 300, note 9.

⁵ Compare Appendix II. p. 15, No. 21.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Seringapatam tārika, No. 11.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 321 f.

the North Arcot district.¹ *Kalavā-nivṛit* is derived from the town of *Kalavai* in the Arcot tāluka of the North Arcot district.² For *Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam* see above, Vol. IV. pp. 82, 138, 180, 271; Vol. V. p. 50; Vol. VII. p. 192; and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89. The name of the village granted, *Nipataṭāka*, is evidently a Sanskrit translation of a Tamil name which should be *Kaḍappēri*.³ As a matter of fact there is at present a village called *Kaḍappēri* in the *Wālājāpēt* tāluka of the North Arcot district, which is situated five miles east of the anicut or masonry dam across the *Pālār* river, and two miles south-west of *Kāvēripāk* itself. It is situated on the *Kāvērippākkam* channel which at present takes off from the *Pālār* river on the southern side of the anicut, and is irrigated by a branch from it. It thus retains its ancient name, notwithstanding the attempt of a king to impose on it a new one.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 भूवराहाय नमः ।
- 2 शुभमस्तु । विनायकाय नमः ।
- 3 लक्ष्मीम् पद्मऊयत्वाद्यमन्त-
- 4 रायतमोपहम् । प्रथमद्वन्द्व-
- 5 सम्भूतम् प्रणयाद्वैतवै-
- 6 भवम् । [१*] करुणामयवामांगं क-
- 7 व्याणगुणभूषणम् । वन्दे चन्द्र-
- 8 कलाकल्पम् महस्त्रितयलोचनम् । [२*]
- 9 भुवः प्रेमपरिषृंगपुष्पाङ्क-
- 10 तवाहवे । नमो वराहवपु-
- 11 षे श्रीवैभवपुषे त्विषे । [३*] व-
- 12 न्देनन्तफणाभूषां स्यन्दन-
- 13 'मैरुधन्वनः । मेदिनीं हरिदोस्तम्-
- 14 'ब्रमेघनादानुलामिनीम् । [४*] आ-
- 15 सीत् सीमान्वये रम्ये यदुः पर-
- 16 मधार्मिकः । अंशावतीर्णी यद्व-
- 17 शे भगवान् 'पद्मलोचनः । [५*] त-
- 18 त्कुले संगमो राजा सम्भूत्
- 19 सम्पदात्रिधिः । विक्रमैकरसस्त-

¹ Above, Vol. III. Additions and Corrections, p. vii.

² Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 271.

Nipa is the name of a tree, *Nauclea Cadamba*.—[An inscription of *Vira-Kampana-Udayar* at *Kāvēripākam* registers the sale of the village of *Kaḍappēri* in *Kalavai-pargu*, a subdivision of *Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam*; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, p. 34, No. 386 of 1905.—V.V.]

⁴ From ink-impressions.

⁵ The *ś* of *mmś* is at the end of l. 12.

⁶ Read 'लक्ष्मी'.

⁷ Read पद्म°.

- 20 स्य बुक्कभूपोभवत् सुतः । [६*] श्री-
 21 सर्वमंगलोपेतो राजा ह-
 22 रिहरेखरः । सिद्धसारस्वतस्मा-
 23 च्छाल्लोकेशस्तत्तनूभवः । [७*]
 24 ¹देवरायमहाराजस्तस्मादजनि
 25 पार्थिवः । यस्य पुत्रीभवद्दीमा-
 26 न् राजा विजयभूपतिः । [८*]

First Plate; Second Side.

- 27 सोयं विजयभूपाळो² रत्नसिं-
 28 हासनम् भजन् । कटके भूभृताच्चक्रे
 29 सिंहासनजुषो द्विषः । [९*] श्रीदा-
 30 र्थ्यैर्धैर्यशौर्याणामावा-
 31 सौ³ वासवोपमौ । अभूतान्दे-
 32 वराजेन्द्रश्रीगिरीन्द्रौ तदात्मजौ । [१०*]
 33 देवरायो महाराजः पुरोजन्म-
 34 तया तयोः । प्रजानां सुकृतोन्मे-
 35 षैः प्राप सिंहासनं परम् । [११*] पु-
 36 रोम् मरतकाख्यान्तु सम्प्राप्य श्री-
 37 गिरीश्वरः । शशास पृथिवीमेनां
 38 सुत्रामेवामरावतीम् । [१२*] सोयं श्री-
 39 गिरिभूपालोः⁴ कार्श्यपान्वयज-
 40 न्ननः । रम्भामयूरनगरीनाथस्य गु-
 41 णशालिनः । [१३*] सर्वायुर्विद्वेदां-
 42 गसरस्वत्पारदृश्वनः । गोवि-
 43 न्दपण्डितेन्द्रस्य तनूजाय यशस्वि-
 44 ने । [१४*] ⁵नानान्वयायैर्विप्रेन्द्रै-
 45 र्विद्वत्भिर्ब[र्]त्नवैरपि⁷ । समेता-
 46 य समस्तानाम् भिषजामग्रयायि-
 47 ने । [१५*] दत्तम्⁸ सम्पत्कुमाराय पूर्व

¹ The *ś* of *śś* is at the end of l. 23.

² The *ś* of *śau* is at the end of l. 30.

³ Read 'निवृद्धि'.

⁴ Read दत्त.

⁵ Read 'भूपालो रत्न'.

⁶ Read 'भूपालः कार्श्यपान्वय'.

⁷ Read नानान्वय ये.

⁸ The *ś* of *śś* seems to have been added subsequently.

- 48 विजयभूभुजा । पकुवूत्कोट-
 49 तिलकं कलषानीवृदुत्तमम् । [१६*] कावेरिपा-
 50 ककुल्यांशप्राप्तजीवनवर्द्धितम् ।
 51 ग्रा[म]म्^१ नीपतटाकाख्यम्^२ काञ्चणी-
 52 यगुणान्वितम् । [१७*] आप्लाव्यमान-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 53 सस्याख्यम्^३ नागकुल्याप्रवा-
 54 हतः । विस्तीर्णं सीमया बद्धम्
 55 विविधोद्यानशोभितम् । [१८*] तत्वा-
 56 लोके शकस्याब्दे सम्प्रा-
 57 प्ते क्रोधिषत्सरे । भृगुवा-
 58 सररेवत्यामुत्थानद्वादशीति-
 59 थौ । [१९*] द्विरण्योदकसम्पूर्ण-
 60 धारापूर्वकमादरात् । तमग्र-
 61 हारमाकल्पं सर्वमाश्रमदात्
 62 पुनः । [२०*] ततस्त्रयम्पत्सुतो ग्रा-
 63 ममेनं विजयरा[ट]पुरम् । ष[ट]पञ्चाश-
 64 त्संख्यभागं कृत्वा तत्रै^४
 65 शशाङ्किणोः । [२१*] द्वौ^५ भागौ^६
 66 विदधे किञ्च कामाक्षीधर्मम-
 67 ण्डपे । प्रत्यब्दन्दिजभुक्त्यर्थ-
 68 म् भागमेकमकल्पयत् । [२२*] स्वार्थ-
 69 न्द्वाविंशतिम्^७ भागान्निधाया-
 70 त्रानयं सुधीः । सोदरेभ्यवा-^८
 71 वबन्धुभ्यो म[नी]षिभ्यश्च दत्तवा-
 72 न् [२३*] अभिजनविद्यावृत्तैर्व्या-
 73 वृत्तैरेष भूषितो विप्रैः ।
 74 आकल्पमग्रहारो जीयान्ना(म)-

^१ Read ग्रामं.

^२ Read सस्याख्यं.

^३ The secondary *ś* of *su* is omitted in the original.

^४ Read सोदरेभ्यः स्ववन्धुभ्यो.

^५ The first three letters of this line are engraved upon an erasure.

^६ Read °काख्यं.

^७ Read तत्रै.

^८ Cancel the *ś* after भागौ.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 75 न्ना¹ तु विजयरायपुरम् । [२४*]² अतः
 76 परम् प्रत्येकम् भागनिर्णय³ उच्य-
 77 ते । ग्रामदैवतस्य श्रीचितम्ब-⁴
 78 रनाथस्य शिवस्त्रीको भागः ।
 79 गोविन्दनाथाख्यस्य विष्णोरे-
 80 को भागः । कामाक्षीधर्ममण्ड-
 81 पे प्रत्यन्दन्दिजभुक्त्यर्थम् भा-
 82 गम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः उमाप-
 83 तिभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप य-
 84 जुः चन्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य
 85 आप यजुः पुण्डरीकाक्षभट्ट-
 86 स्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः[.]⁵ दे-
 87 वराजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आ-
 88 प यजुः लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य भागम् ।
 89 काश्य आप यजुः ⁶गोविन्दभट्टस्य
 90 भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप यजुः भास्कर-
 91 भट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वा आप
 92 त्रिवेदिवामनभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। आ-
 93 त्रेय आश्वल ऋक् हम्पणभट्टस्य
 94 भागम् ।१। आत्रेय आश्वल ऋक् विज-
 95 येश्वरभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। कौशिक⁷
 96 आप यजुः मार्ताण्डभट्टस्य भाग-
 97 म् ।१। षष्ठम[ष] वो शौरिराजभट्टस्य
 98 भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप यजुः लक्ष्म-
 99 णभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप

Third Plate; First Side.

- 100 यजुः भास्करभट्टस्य भागम् ।२। क[१*]⁸श्य
 101 आप यजुः ⁹एकान्तभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।

¹ Corrected from ना.² Read निर्णय.³ Read श्रीचिटम्ब.⁴ The *visarga* seems to be an interlineation.⁵ Read गोविन्द.⁶ The secondary *ś* of *au* is omitted in the original.⁷ Read षष्ठे.⁸ Read एकान्त.

ii a.

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i b

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0
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0
2
4
6

ii a

54
56
58
60
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68
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72
74

E HULTZSCH.

SCALE .6

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA.

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

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 78...
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- 102 भारद्वाज आप यजुः वेङ्गडनाथ-¹
 103 दीक्षितस्य भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप
 104 यजुः समरपुंगवभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।
 105 वत्स आप यजुः यज्ञनारायणभट्ट-
 106 स्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आप यजुः का-
 107 ऋहस्तिनाथपावनाशयोर्भागम्² ।१।
 108 भार्गव आप यजुः तिरुवेकटभट्टस्य³
 109 भागम् ।१। वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् वरद-
 110 राजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। भारद्वाज आ-
 111 प यजुः पापनाशस्य भागम् ।०॥०।
 112 भार्गव आप यजुः आण्डान्⁴ पिळ्ळै
 113 भागम् ।०॥०। बोधा यजुः दिवाकर-
 114 न् पुत्रन् चन्द्रभट्टस्य भ[१*]गम् ।०॥०। भार्ग-
 115 व आप यजुः पेरुंक्कै⁵ देवरा-
 116 जस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज आप यजुः
 117 श्रीरुद्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०।०। काश्यप आ-
 118 प यजुः श्रीरंगनाथस्य भागम् ।०।०।
 119 वत्स आप यजुः त्रियम्बकस्य⁶ भागम् [१*]०॥०।
 120 वाधूल⁷ आप यजुः उत्वाहुसुन्द-⁸
 121 रस्य भागम् ।०।०। भार्गव आप यजुः⁹ पेरुं-
 122 कै वेकटस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज
 123 आप यजुः कुप्पनुळ्ळिट्टारुक्कु¹⁰ भागम् १
 124 भ[१*]र्गव आप यजुः श्रीमूलपुत्रन् गु-
 125 णीतुंगन् भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आ-
 126 प यजुः¹² स्कन्दकुमारस्य भागम् ।०॥०। निद्र-¹³

¹ The letters *Vēṅgaḍanā* are Tamil.

² पावनाश is the vulgar Tamil form of the Sanskrit पापविनाश. The form पापनाश occurs in line 111.

³ The letters *tiru* are Tamil.

⁴ Read *Andān*; the word *Piḷḷai* is written in Tamil.

⁵ The letters *peru* are Tamil; read *Perungai*.

⁶ Read त्र्यम्बकस्य.

⁷ Read वाधूल.

⁸ Read उत्वाहुसुन्दरस्य.

⁹ The *visarga* is engraved above the line. The letters *peru* are Tamil; read *Perungai*.

¹⁰ The whole of this name is written in Tamil, except the letter *nu* which is Grantha.

¹¹ The *ś* of *śó* is at the end of l. 124.

¹² Read स्कन्द°.

¹³ [Read निद्रुव° and compare Apastamba's *Śrautasūtra* edited by Prof. Garbe, XXIV. 9, 14.—E. H.]

- 127 पकाश्य आप ¹श्रीरंगउपाध्यायस्य
128 भागम् १०१० वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् विशेष-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 129 ह्यपुत्रवरदराजस्य भागम् १०१० वा-
130 मिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् नारयिनार² पुत्रन्
131 अनन्तनारायणस्य भागम् १०११
132 वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् अनन्तनाराय-
133 णभट्टस्य भागम् १०११ काश्यप-
134 गोत्रस्य आपस्त[म्*]वसुवस्य यजुः(ः)-
135 व्वेदिनः सम्पत्कुमारपण्डितस्य
136 भागम् १२२१ काश्यप आप यजुः
137 सम्पत्कुमारतनयस्य श्रीनिवा-
138 सभट्टस्य भागम् १६१ स्वदत्ताम् प-
139 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म्*] ।
140 षष्टिं वर्षमहस्राणि ³[वि]ष्ठायाञ्चा-
141 यते क्रिमिः । [२५*] स्वदत्तात्⁴ द्विगुणम् पु-
142 ण्यम् परदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्ता-
143 पहारेण स्वदत्तम्⁵ निष्फलम् भ-
144 वेत् । [२६*] सामान्योयम्⁶ धर्मसेतु-
145 र्वृपाणां काले काले पालनी-
146 यो भवत्भिः⁷ । सर्वानितान् भा-
147 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो⁸
148 याचते रामभद्रः । [२७*]
149 श्रीत्रियंबक⁹ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Salutation to Bhūvarāha! Let there be prosperity! Salutation to Vināyaka!

(Verse 1.) May that primal one (Vināyaka) increase (*our*) prosperity, who dispels the darkness of obstacles, who was born of the primal pair (Śiva and Pārvatī), and who is possessed of an unparalleled wealth of kindness (*to his devotees*)!

¹ Read श्रीरंगोपा°.

² The syllable [ri] is a subsequent addition.

³ Read स्वदत्तं.

⁴ The *ś* of *yś* is at the beginning of l. 148.

⁵ The *r* of *Nāyinar* is Tamil.

⁶ Read स्वदत्ताद्.

⁷ Read °भूयो.

⁸ In Kannaḍa characters; read श्रीरंगं वक्.

⁹ Read भवतिः.

(V. 2.) I salute him (Śiva), the left half of whose body is the very embodiment of mercy (Pārvatī), who is adorned with good qualities, whose ornament is the moon's digit, and whose eyes are the three lights (*viz.* sun, moon and fire) !

(V. 3.) Salutation to that effulgence whose form is that of a boar, whose arm bristled (*with pleasure*) at the loving embrace of the earth (*when he brought her up from the bottom of the sea*), and which increases (*our*) happiness and plenty !¹

(V. 4.) Salutation to the earth which is an ornament on the (*expanded*) hood of Ananta, (*which served as*) a war-chariot to him (Śiva) who had the Mēru (*mountain*) for his bow (*at the time of burning Tripura*), and which is the pea-hen on the pillar of the arm of Hari (Vishṇu) !

(V. 5.) In the beautiful race of the Moon was Yādu, of exceeding virtue, in whose lineage the lotus-eyed lord (Vishṇu) was born as a partial incarnation (*viz.* Kṛishṇa).

(V. 6.) In his race arose king Saṅgama, who was a storehouse of all prosperity. His son was king Bukka, who was the very essence of valour.

(V. 7.) His son was king Hariharēśvara, who was endowed with fortune and with all auspicious things, who was fully accomplished in learning, and who was verily the lord of the world !²

(V. 8.) From him was born the king Dēvarāya-Mahārāja, whose son was the wise king Vijayabhūpati.

(V. 9.) This Vijayabhūpāla, being seated on the jewel-throne, caused (*his*) enemies to occupy the dens of lions on the sides of mountains.

(V. 10.) He had two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrigirindra, who resembled Vāsava (Indra) and were the abodes of generosity, fortitude and valour.

(V. 11 f.) The Mahārāja Dēvarāya, being the elder of these two, ascended the exalted throne owing to the fructification of the good deeds of (*his*) subjects; but Śrigiriśvara, having obtained the city called Marataka, ruled this earth just as Sutrāman (Indra) (*rules the city of*) Amarāvati.

(Vv. 13-20.) In the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) tattvālōka (*i.e.* 1346), in the year Kródhin, on a Friday, under (the *nakshatra*) Rēvati, on the *tithi* (called) Utthānadvādasi, this Śrigiribhūpāla again granted, out of respect, as *sarvamānya*, by pouring out a full stream of water with gold, to endure till the end of the Kalpa, this *agrahāra*, (*viz.*) the village named Nipatatāka, the front-ornament of the Paḷuvūt-kōṭṭa,³ the best (*village*) in Kalavānivṛt, which is irrigated by the water obtained from a branch of the Kāvērīpāka channel, which possesses desirable advantages, which is rich in crops flooded by the waters of the Nāgakulyā, which is of wide extent with vast boundaries, which is adorned with various gardens, and which had been granted before by Vijayabhūbhuj to Sampatkumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* and relatives, who was the foremost among all physicians, and who was the renowned son of the great Gōviṇḍa-paṇḍita, who was born in the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was the lord of the city of Rambhāmāyūra, who was possessed of (*good*) qualities, and who had seen the further shore of the ocean of the whole Ayurvēda and the Vēdāṅgas.

¹ There is a play upon the word *śṛī*, suggesting that Vishṇu in his boar-incarnation, while rescuing one of his consorts, *viz.* the Earth, was not inattentive to his other wife.

² There is a subtle suggestion in the use of the attribute *śṛī-sarvamāṅgal-ōpāta*. The king's name (Harihara) being composed of that of Vishṇu and Śiva, there is an appropriateness in his being said to be joined to Śṛī (Vishṇu's wife) and Sarvamāṅgalā (Pārvatī, Śiva's consort). So he is also 'verily the lord of the earth,' *viz.* Vishṇu whose other consort is the Earth.

³ This represents the Tamil *Paḷuvār-kōṭṭam*.

(V. 21 f.) Afterwards Sampatsuta,¹ having divided this village **Vijayarātpura** into fifty-six shares, gave thereof two shares to (*the temples of*) Śiva and Viṣṇu, and set apart one share for the yearly feeding of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāmākṣī-dharma-maṇḍapa*.

(V. 23.) This wise man reserved twenty-two shares for himself and gave the remaining ones to his brothers, relatives, and learned men.

(V. 24.) May this *agrahāra* named **Vijayarāyapura** prosper till the end of the Kalpa, adorned by holy Brāhmaṇas of good lineage, learning and virtuous conduct!

(L. 75.) Hereafter follows the assignment of the shares to each individual.

| No. | Name of donee. | Gōtra. | Sūtra. | Śākhā. | Share. |
|-----|---|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | The temple of Śrī-Chidambaranātha Śiva in the village. | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| 2 | (The temple of) Gōvindanātha Viṣṇu | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| 3 | For feeding Brāhmaṇas yearly in the <i>Kāmākṣī-dharma-maṇḍapa</i> . | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| 4 | Umāpati-bhaṭṭa | Kāśyapa . . . | Āpastamba . . . | Yajus . . . | 1 |
| 5 | Chandra-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 6 | Puṇḍarikākṣa-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 1 |
| 7 | Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 1 |
| 8 | Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | [2*] ² |
| 9 | Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 10 | Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 11 | Trivēdi-Vāmana-bhaṭṭa | Bhāradvāja . . . | " . . . | ... | 1 |
| 12 | Hampaṇa-bhaṭṭa | Ātrēya . . . | Āśvalāyana . . . | Rich . . . | 1 |
| 13 | Vijayēśvara-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 1 |
| 14 | Mārtāṇḍa-bhaṭṭa | Kauśika . . . | Āpastamba . . . | Yajus . . . | 1 |
| 15 | Śaurirāja-bhaṭṭa | Śaṭhamarṣhaṇa . . . | Bōdhāyana . . . | ... | ½ |
| 16 | Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa | Vādhūla . . . | Āpastamba . . . | Yajus . . . | ½ |
| 17 | Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa | Kāśyapa . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 2 |
| 18 | Ēkāma-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 19 | Vēṅgaḍanātha-dikṣita | Bhāradvāja . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 20 | Samarapūṅgava-bhaṭṭa | Vādhūla . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 21 | Yajñanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa | Vatsa . . . | " . . . | " . . . | |
| 22 | Kāṣhastinātha and Pāvanāśa | Bhāradvāja . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 1 |
| | | | | Carried over . . . | 19½ |

¹ I.e. Sampatkumāra of v. 16.

² The number of shares is missing; but, adding up the other shares and deducting them from the total 56 (v. 21), we arrive at the figure 2 for this donee.

| No. | Name of donee. | Gótra. | Sūtra. | Śākhā. | Share. |
|-----|---|------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------|
| | | | | Brought forward . | 19½ |
| 23 | Tiruvēṅkaṭa-bhaṭṭa . . . | Bhārgava . . . | Āpastamba . | Yajus . . . | 1 |
| 24 | Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa . . . | Vāsishṭha . . . | Bôdhāyana . . | Rich . . . | 1 |
| 25 | Pāpanāsa | Bhāradvāja . . . | Āpastamba . . | Yajus . . . | ½ |
| 26 | Āṇḍāṇ Pillai | Bhārgava . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 27 | Chandra-bhaṭṭa, son of Divākara . | ... | Bôdhāyana . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 28 | Peruṅgai Dēvarāja | Bhārgava . . . | Āpastamba . . | " . . . | ¼ |
| 29 | Śrī-Budra-bhaṭṭa | Bhāradvāja . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ¼ |
| 30 | Śrīraṅganātha | Kāśyapa . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ¼ |
| 31 | Tryambaka | Vatsa . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 32 | Udbāhusundara | Vādhūla . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ¼ |
| 33 | Peruṅgai Vēṅkaṭa | Bhārgava . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ¼ |
| 34 | Kuppan and partners¹ | Bhāradvāja . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 1 |
| 35 | Guṇôttunga, son of Śrīmūla . . . | Bhārgava . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 36 | Skandakumāra | Bhāradvāja . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ½ |
| 37 | Śrīraṅgôpādhyāya | Nidhruva-Kāśyapa | " . . . | ... | ¼ |
| 38 | Varadarāja, son of Viśeṣhajña . . | Vāsishṭha . . . | Bôdhāyana . . | Rich . . . | ¼ |
| 39 | Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Nāyinār . | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ¾ |
| 40 | Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | ¾ |
| 41 | Sampatkumāra-panḍita | Kāśyapa . . . | Āpastamba . . | Yajus . . . | 22 |
| 42 | Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, son of Sampat-kumāra. | " . . . | " . . . | " . . . | 6 |
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The inscription ends with three of the usual imprecatory verses (25-27) and the name of the god Śrī-Tryambaka (Śiva).

No. 33.—TWO ANAIMALAI INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. VENKOBĀ RAO; OOTACAMUND.

The two subjoined inscriptions were discovered by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the Nṛsiṃha temple at the village of Nāraṣiṅgam, 6 miles east of Madura. The central shrine of this temple is cut into the hill known as Ānaimalai. In an inscription dated in the

¹ [For *uḷḷiṭṭār* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 54 and 71, and the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, s.v.:—"associés, participans, parties intéressées. Il se dit principalement des frères associés ou qui vivent sous le régime de la communauté; lorsque l'un d'eux fait un marché, les autres sont *uḷḷiṭṭār*." The *Sukṛti-bhātaraṇ* of the Piprāvā inscription probably belonged to such an 'undivided family,' and this is the reason why only the name of Sukṛti, who must have been the head of the family, was quoted there.—E.H.]

33rd year of the reign of the Chôla king Parāntaka I.¹ found in the temple, the hill is called Tiruvāṇaimalai. It is also referred to in his *Dēvāram* by Tiruñānasambandar, the great Śaiva saint, as a stronghold of the Jainas.² Tradition has it that Tiruñānasambandar drove out the Jainas from the vicinity of Madura after converting the then reigning Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ to the Śaiva faith.³ There are still vestiges of Jaina dominancy on the hill. On a rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave there are a number of Tamil inscriptions,⁴ one of which mentions Ajjapandi.⁵ The cave is evidently one of those which the Jainas occupied in old times.

The first inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the central shrine. The letters are cut boldly and deeply, and, being in the interior, the record is in good preservation; at the end of lines 5 and 6 are a few damaged letters which can be easily supplied from the context. The alphabet is Grantha. The final *m* is represented by a smaller *m* with a vertical stroke on its top; see e.g. =*idam* in l. 3. The letter *na* is of a more archaic type than that of the Gaṅga-Pallava period,⁶ and *ya* is also slightly different from the common form of that time.

The record consists of three verses, of which the first mentions the son of Māra of the Vaidya family,⁷ who was the minister (*mantrin*, v. 2) of the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka. He was apparently an expert in the art of composing poetry and hence is called Madhurakavi. His actual name, Māraṅgāri, occurs in the second inscription, where he also bears the title Mūvēndamaṅgalappērariyaṇ. He was a native of Karavandapura (v. 1) or, according to the second inscription, of Kaḷakkudi.⁸ The third verse contains the date—a Sunday in the month of Kārttika of the year 3871 (expired) of the Kaliyuga era=A.D. 770. On this day an image of the god Viṣṇu was set up in the cave.

The second inscription, which, though well preserved, is not cut so deeply as the first, is a supplement to the latter and is engraved on the right side of the entrance. The characters of this record are an archaic form of Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Grantha. The latter is employed in some Sanskrit words that occur in the inscription, viz. *mantri* (l. 2), *Vaiḷyan* (l. 2 f.), *svargg-ārōhaṇa* (l. 6 f.), *anujan* (l. 8) and *mantra-padam* (l. 9). The Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this inscription seems to be the same as that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman published by Mr. V. Venkayya;⁹ compare *r*, *n*, *t*, *u* and particularly *k* (which has not yet assumed the shape peculiar

¹ No. 63 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² *Āṇaimāmalaiy=āḍiyāyav=idaṇṇaḷṭṭu=paḷav=attal-ṣṣ-
r=inargatk=eliyēn=alīn=Riṇṇāḍimāy=ara=nirkavē.*—Tiruñānasambandar's *Tiruvāḷarv Padigam*.

³ *Śeṇḍamāl*, Vol. III. p. 406.

⁴ Nos. 67 to 74 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁵ A Jaina teacher of this name is mentioned in the rock inscriptions at Vaḷḷimalai in the North Arcot district; above, Vol. IV. p. 141 f.

⁶ See e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 320, and *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 90.

⁷ Probably the word *vaidya* is derived from *vēda*, and the name seems to indicate that the members of the family were proficient in the sacred literature.

⁸ In an inscription at Pirāṇmalai (No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903) Karavandapura is mentioned as another name of Kaḷakkudi in the district of Kaḷakkudi, and in a record at Sūchindram (above, Vol. V. p. 43) Karavandapuram is said to have been situated in the district of Kaḷakkudi. Kaḷakkudi is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kaḷakkād in the Nāṅgunēri tāluka, which even to this day has a dilapidated fort (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 314).

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 57. The village granted in this inscription is Vēlaṅṇudi renamed Śrīvaramaṅgalam after the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuṅṇaḍaiyaṇ, one of whose birudas was apparently Śrīvara. In the *Tiruvāymoli* (verses 508 to 516) reference is made to Śrīvaramaṅgai or Śrīvaramaṅgalanagar, which is identified with Nāṅgunēri known to Vaiṣṇavas under the names Vāṇamāmalai and Tōḷadri. It is not unlikely that the two Śrīvaramaṅgalams are identical.

to the later alphabet wherein it is hardly distinguishable from *ch*) with the corresponding letters of the plates. The secondary *i* is written more on the top than on the side of the consonant as it is in later forms. The *pulli*¹ appears to be marked in a number of cases. The vowels *a* and *ā* are the same as those employed on the Kīl-Muttūgūr stones.² Though the Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this inscription resembles to a certain extent the characters of the Madras Museum plates, yet as the Grantha alphabet used in the latter seems to be more developed than that of the Sanskrit portion of the subjoined records, it is safer to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ of the latter is earlier than the Jaṭilavarman of the Museum plates.

The king is here called Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ, i.e. Śaḍaiyaṇ, the son of Māraṇ (or Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māravarman in Sanskrit).³ His minister Māraṅgāri,⁴ mentioned above, excavated the cave at Āṇimalai, but died before its consecration.⁵ His younger brother Māraṇ Eyiṇaṇ alias Pāṇḍimaṅgalaviśaiyaraiaṇ, who succeeded him as minister, subsequently built the *maṇḍapa* in front and performed the consecration ceremony.

From the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya⁶ we learn that he was also surnamed Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. But an inscription of his found at Uttamapālayam⁷ in the Madura district couples Śaka 792 with his 8th year. His accession must therefore be placed about A.D. 862. The Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ of the Āṇimalai inscription was thus a predecessor of Varaguṇa and may have been his grandfather.

It is worthy of note that Madhurakavi was the name borne by one of the Vaishṇava Āḷvārs, and the Madhurakavi of the subjoined inscriptions was also a Vaishṇava. Nammālvār, who, according to Vaishṇava tradition, was a contemporary of Madhurakavi Āḷvār, was called Kārimāraṇ, i.e. Māraṇ, the son of Kāri. Is it possible that he was the son of the minister Māraṅgāri? If this be the case, it is not apparent why he has omitted to mention the shrine built by his father, while the Tirumōgūr temple, which is situated close to it, is the subject of a hymn⁸ by Nammālvār.

TEXT OF NO. I.⁹

1 ¹⁰करवन्दपुरनिवासी श्रीमान्वैदः शिला-

2 रुहं विष्णोः [I*] अंकुत कृती मधुरकविर्भ-

¹ It occurs in *p* and *ṇ* of the word *maṅgalappēraiaṇ* (l. 3 f.), in *ś* of *Māraṅgāri* (l. 4 f.), in *y* and *ṇ* of *-jeyda pinnai* (l. 7), in *n* of *anujan* (l. 8), in *y* of *eydiṇa* (l. 9), in *ṇ* of *Pāṇḍi* (l. 9), and in *ṇ* of *Māraṇ* (l. 11).

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 177.

³ In the Madras Museum plates, the king (called Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māravarman, in the Sanskrit portion and Neduñjaḍaiyaṇ in the Tamil portion) bears the surname Parāntaka along with a number of other titles. This would lead us to identify the Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ of the subjoined records with the donor of the Madras Museum plates. But the alphabet of the latter seems to be more developed than that of the former. A *vṛagal* in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet (No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895) set up in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. The writing seems to resemble that of the Museum plates, and the inscription refers to Viḷuṇam.

⁴ Here again the minister is called Vaidyaṇ. The Madras Museum plates tell us that Mūrti Eyiṇaṇ alias Viramaṅgalappēraiaṇ, who was the king's *Mahāśmanta* in the 17th year of his reign, was a Vaidya. The inscription quoted in the paper on the Madras Museum plates refers to a fourth member of the same family, viz. Śāttangaṇavadi alias Amṛitamaṅgalavaraiaṇ, who was a *Mahāśmanta* in the 6th year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. The last as well as the two brothers mentioned in the Āṇimalai inscriptions were natives of Karavaṇḍapuram.

⁵ The Tamil word *nṛttaḷittal* (or more correctly *nṛttaḷittal*) is synonymous with the Sanskrit *samprōḷaṇa*, which according to Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* means 'the act of sprinkling well over, consecration (of a temple, etc.).'

⁶ No. 414 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1804.

⁷ No. 705 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Pattāmpattu, Mudal Tiruvāymoḷi beginning *tāja tāmarai-ttaḍamaṇi-vayal-Tirumōgūr*.

⁹ From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

¹⁰ The metre of this verse and of the next is Āryā.

- 3 धुरतरो मा[र]सूनुदिम् ॥— [१*] मन्त्री स ए-
 4 व मतिमान्याय्यस्य परा[न्त]काभिधान-
 5 स्य [१*] अमितर्द्धिमग्रजेभ्यः [पादादि]म-
 6 मग्रहारमपि ॥— [२*] कले.¹ [सहस्रत्रि]-
 7 तयेद्गोचरे [ग]तेष्ट्य-
 8 त्यामपि सैकसप्ततौ [१*] कृतप्र-
 9 तिष्ठो भगवानभूत्क्रमादिहै-
 10 ष पौष्णेहनि मासि कार्तिके [॥ ३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Pre-eminently charming (*in manners*), a resident of **Karavandapura**, the son of **Māra**, (*and a*) learned (*and*) illustrious (*member of the*) **Vaidya** (*family*),— **Madhurakavi** made this stone temple of Vishṇu.

(V. 2) The same (*viz.* Madhurakavi), the wise minister of the **Pāṇḍya** (*king*) named **Parāntaka**, also gave away to the first-born (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) this immensely rich *agrahāra*.

(V. 3.) When three thousand and eight hundred and seventy-one years of **Kali** had passed²—on the day of the sun in the month of **Kārttika**, this (*image of the*) god was duly set up here.

TEXT OF No. II.³

- 1 Kō Mārañjadaiyarku u-
 2 ttara-mantri Kaḷakkudī Vai-
 3 dyan Mūvēndamaṅgalap-
 4 pēraraiyaṅ āgiya Mārañ-
 5 [gā]ri i=kkarṇaḷi seydu
 6 nīr[ttā]liyādēy svargg-ārō-
 7 ha[ṇṇā]=jeyda piṇṇai ava-
 8 ṇukku anujan uttara-
 9 mantra-padam=eydiṇa Pāṇḍi-
 10 maṅgalaviśaiaraiyaṅ⁵
 11 āgiya Māraṇṇ=Ei⁶
 12 ṇaṇ muga-maṇḍamaṇ=7je-
 13 ydu nīrttaḷittāṇ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Māraṅgāri *alias* **Vaidyan Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṅ** of **Kaḷakkudī**, the prime-minister (*uttara-mantrin*) of king **Mārañjadaiyaṅ**, made this stone temple and ascended heaven (*i.e.* died) without consecrating (*it*). Subsequently, his younger brother **Māraṇ Eyinaṇ** *alias*

¹ The metre of this verse is Vamśasṭha.

² Literally, "when a trial of thousands and eight hundred together with seventy-one had come within the range of the years of Kali."

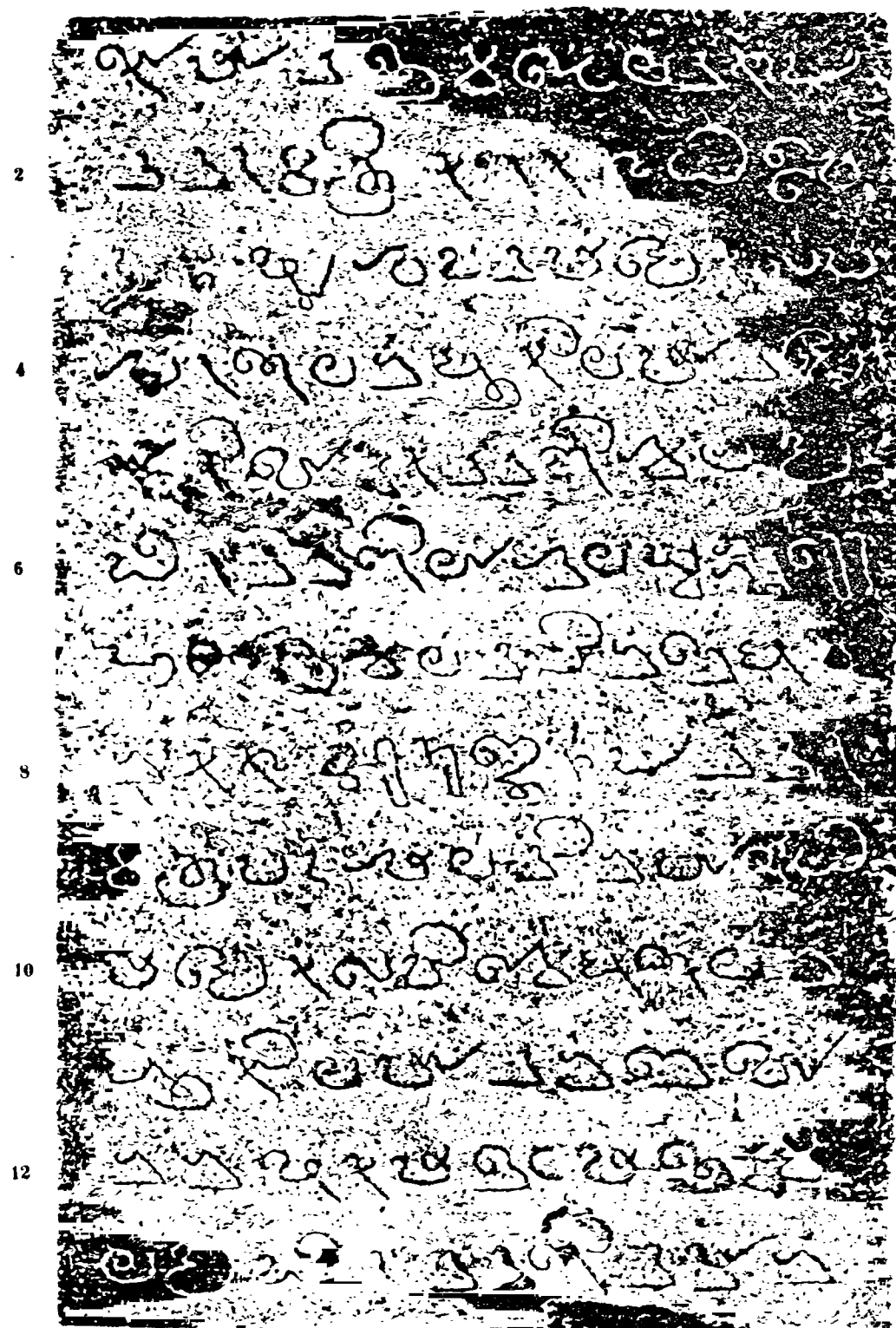
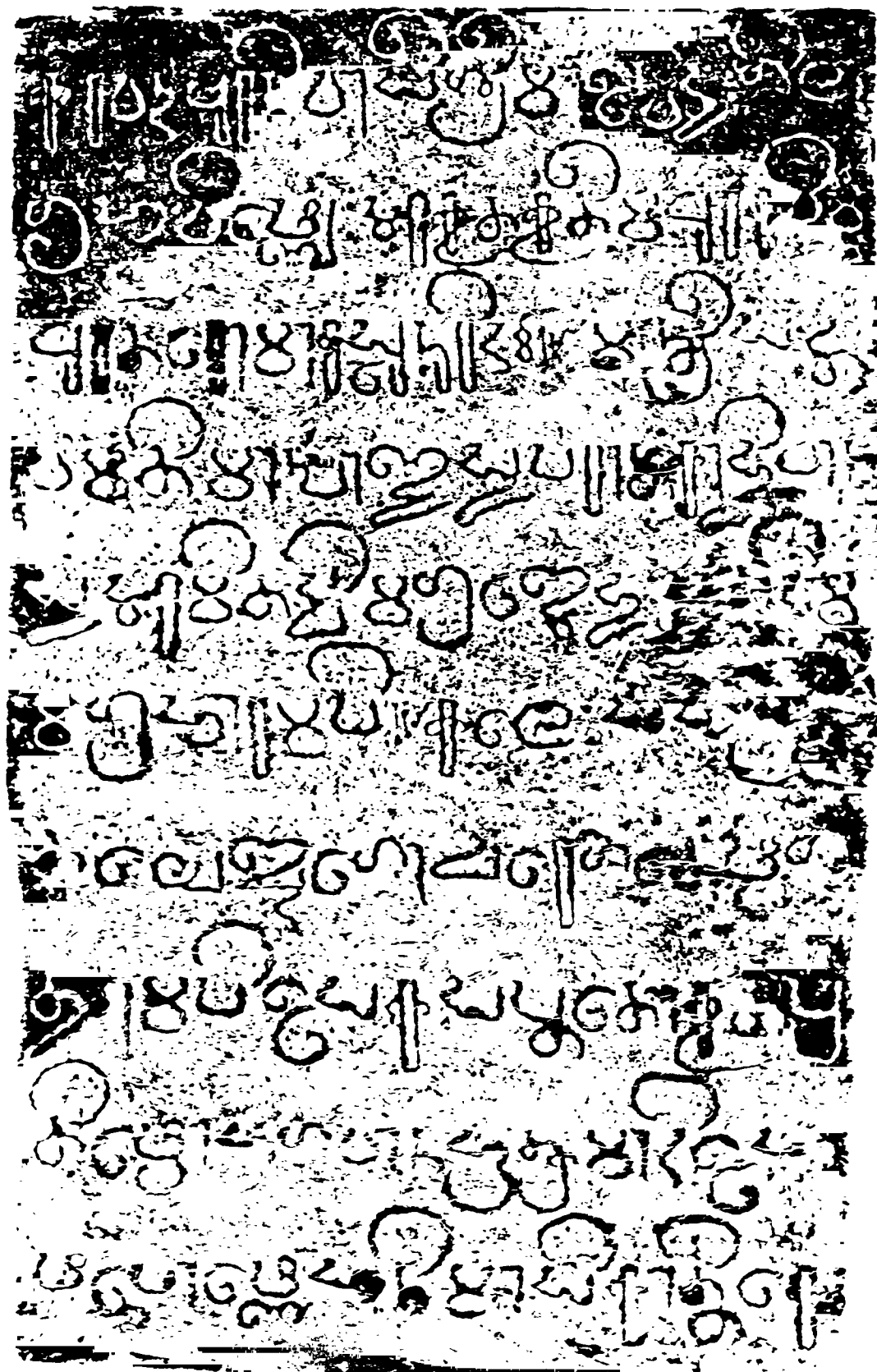
³ From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

⁴ In the original there seems to be a *ka* after the guttural *n*.

⁵ Read °*viśaiyaraiaṅ*. The *r* of *rai* looks like *ka*.

⁶ Read =*Eyiṇaṇ*.

⁷ Read =*maṇḍapaṇ*.



Scale -18

Pāṇḍimaṅgalaviśaiyaraian, who attained to the dignity of prime-minister, made the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and consecrated (*the shrine*).

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¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the Additions and Correction on pp. vi and vii. The following other abbreviations are used :— ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; mo. = mountain; ri. = river; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town; W. = Western.

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